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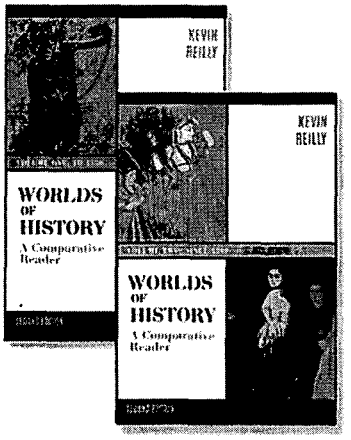
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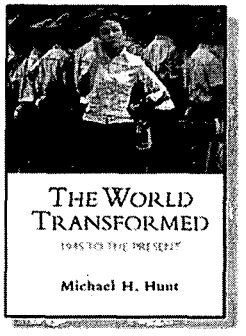


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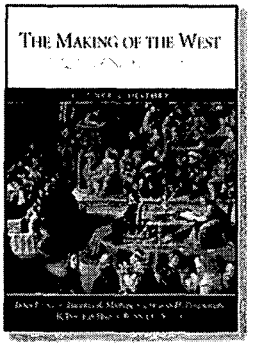


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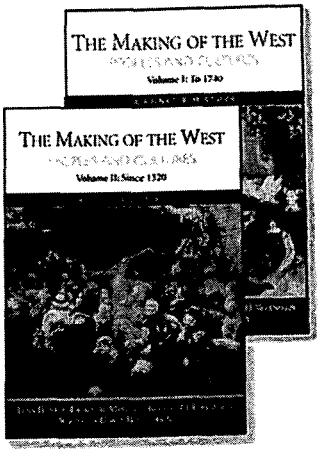
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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum*, and an *AHR Forum Essay*. The articles analyze biological and commercial exchanges in the Pacific, racial thought in East Africa, and global markets. The *Forum* examines the dynamics of power relations in early modern Europe. The *Forum Essay* raises questions about the use of counterfactuals in historical analysis. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

David Igler investigates the biological and commercial exchanges that shaped the eastern Pacific Basin during the decades around 1800. He focuses on the regions that later became the American Far West, including California, the Northwest Coast, Alaska, and Hawai'i. As European, Asian, American, and native Pacific populations converged for trade, they linked isolated Pacific communities to global trade systems. But international commerce brought a hidden layer of global agents that transformed the Pacific: the spread of epidemic diseases from trading vessels to native communities. This influx of deadly microbes gradually culminated in demographic catastrophe for native peoples, and Igler's analysis highlights three crucial reasons: sexual contact between shipping crews and indigenous women, the pre-contact trade and social networks of native communities, and the increasing frequency of trade encounters with outsiders. His analysis of how commercial and epidemiological exchanges constituted a deadly set of relations for native communities during this period helps us understand the critical connections between the histories of disease and the marketplace.

Jonathon Glassman contends that most studies of racial thought present it as a distinctly Western invention, carried to the rest of the world during the process of imperial expansion. He challenges that consensus by looking at the intellectual sources of race-thinking in a corner of East Africa that suffered violent tension in the final years of the colonial era between people who had come to think of themselves as belonging to separate racial categories. Although Western concepts were not irrelevant, Glassman shows how indigenous thinkers used them selectively to craft a locally compelling discourse that drew on a diverse range of intellectual traditions, foreign and domestic. Among those traditions was a multi-racial and

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ecumenically tolerant Islamic modernism, with which Zanzibari intellectuals challenged the claims that the West represented the only universalist civilization. A central irony is how even this liberal discourse, once put to the work of nationalist mobilization, became transformed into an exclusionary rhetoric of racial dehumanization. By arguing that the racialization of discourses of difference must be seen as the product of complex circuits of discourse among African intellectuals themselves, he contributes to a small but growing literature on race in which Western thinkers, and concepts of white supremacy, were of marginal significance. In this way, Glassman's article raises critical questions about explanations of race that assume the experience of the West, and of the United States in particular, are the norm.

Jeremy Prestholdt considers how seemingly marginal people affected larger patterns of global integration in the nineteenth century by demonstrating how diverse and changing East African consumer demands had repercussions for locales as distant as Bombay and Salem, Massachusetts. As their connections to distant regions deepened in the second half of the nineteenth century, East Africans developed specific and highly differentiated consumer tastes. To profit from the East African trade, foreign manufacturers had to appeal to those changing demands. In the cases of Bombay and Salem, the manufacture of textiles for the East African market offered new economic opportunities and provided important stimuli to the industrialization of both cities. Prestholdt's vignettes of trans-regional engagement suggest that negotiated transactions and the consumer desires of people considered marginal to global systems have, at times, been just as important to patterns of global integration as have been "peripheral" adjustments to the demands of international capital. In tracing the international repercussions of African consumerism, Prestholdt demonstrates how a global narrative can be attentive to local contingencies.

AHR Forum: Negotiating Power

The *Forum* analyzes the negotiations for power among various groups of people. **Caroline Castiglione** begins the discussion by examining the abilities of ordinary Europeans to utilize judicial and political systems in which they had restricted legal rights, a subject of considerable historical interest, especially during the early modern period, when overlapping jurisdictions offered a variety of venues for their grievances. Castiglione argues that noble governing practices had to recognize the political power exercised by the villagers through their use of what she terms "adversarial literacy." **Giovanna Benadusi** continues the discussion by exploring last wills drafted by servant women and their masters and mistresses in a Tuscan community during the decades straddling the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She reveals how women of the lower classes defined wealth and, in turn, used their definitions to appropriate for themselves notarial practices otherwise seen as outside of women's domain. Benadusi contends that last wills became an essential instrument of communication for servants through which they engaged in dialogue

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with their employers, the legal system, and cultural practices. This dialogue, as it took shape in last wills, afforded women an outlet for voicing publicly and legally an alternative vision of the social and gender order they inhabited. **Cornelia Hughes Dayton** concludes the *Forum* with a commentary that invites us to rethink the usefulness of agency as an analytical concept. She does so by explaining that the two essays encourage us to think about three major themes in recent scholarship on the negotiation of power relations among unequals in Renaissance and early modern Europe: subalterns' access to writing and to law, the spatial dimensions of village and household politics, and concepts of self.

Forum Essay

Martin Bunzl probes the use of counterfactuals by historians. He contends that historians who defend the use of counterfactuals have usually done so by appealing to the role of imagination in historical analysis. But he challenges such arguments by offering his own defense of counterfactuals. Bunzl asserts three bases for their use: laws, rationality, and causal analysis. He defends these as legitimate means of grounding counterfactual reasoning based on indirect evidence. He also extends his defense of counterfactuals by contending that we should demand no greater standard of evidence for this form of historical argumentation than we do in other areas of historical judgment where informal methods reign. Bunzl's essay is intended to spark a discussion about the place of counterfactuals in historical analysis. *AHR* readers who want to engage in this debate can do so in an online discussion of the article during the first two weeks of September 2004. Details can be found in the introduction to the *Forum Essay*.

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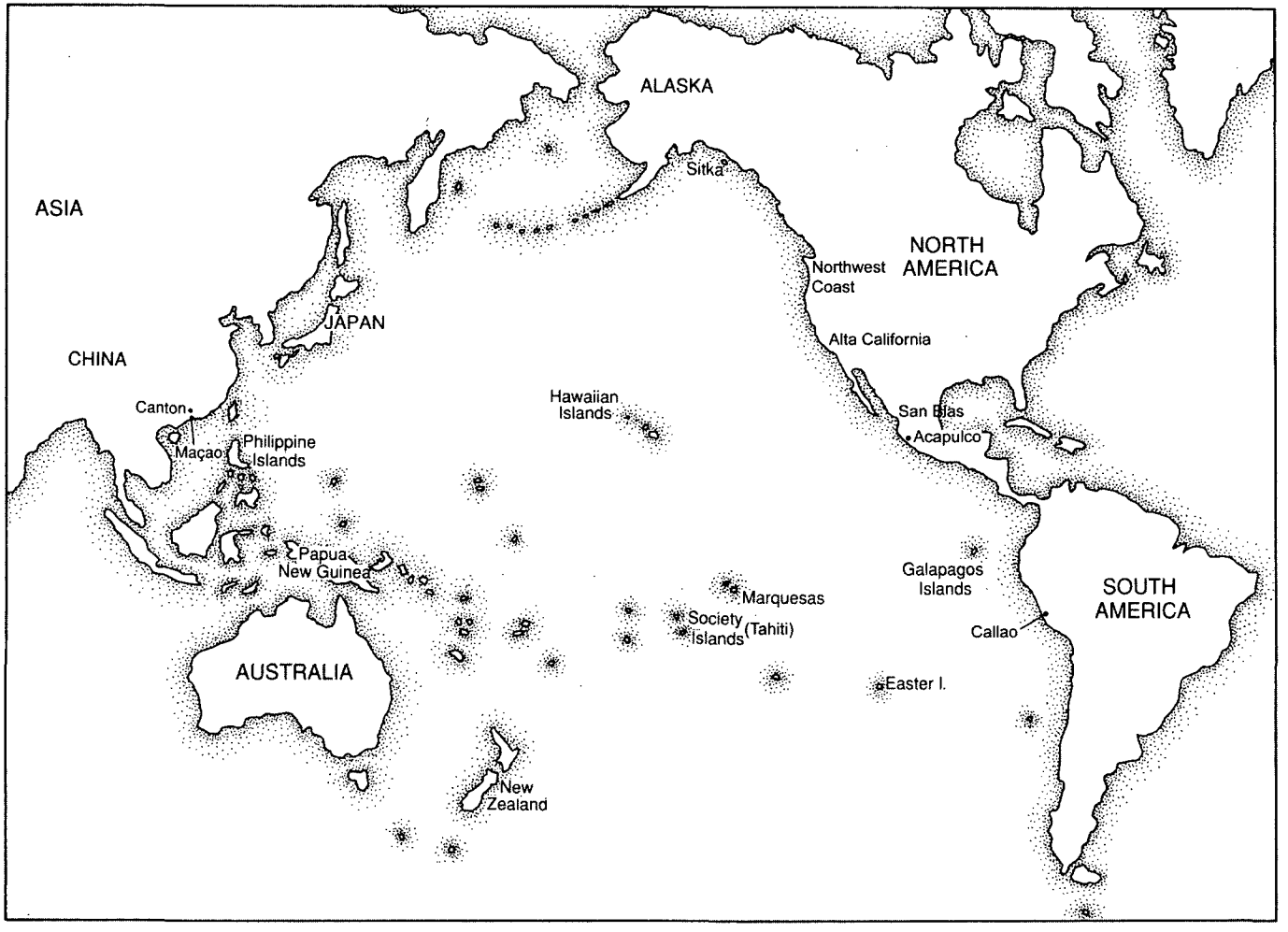


FIGURE 1: The Pacific Basin, including many of the islands and mainland ports that became active sites of international trade in the early nineteenth century. Adapted from Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque, 1993). Courtesy of University of New Mexico Press.

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Diseased Goods: Global Exchanges in the Eastern Pacific Basin, 1770–1850

DAVID IGLER

ON FEBRUARY 4, 1804, THE AMERICAN BRIGANTINE *Lelia Byrd* departed from Canton's markets, sailed down the Pearl River estuary past Macao, tacked northeast through the East China Sea toward Japan and turned east into the Pacific Ocean. The ship arrived at the Columbia River three months later after a voyage, according to William Shaler, "not with much comfort . . . and a constant succession of hard westerly gales." Shaler, the ship's master and half owner, immediately turned to the business at hand. He bartered "trifling presents" for sea otter pelts from the "rude savages" near the mouth of the Columbia before turning the *Lelia Byrd* south down the coastline.[1] Shaler again traded for sea otter pelts along the Alta and Baja California coast, hit ports as far south as Amapalla, Guatemala, and finally ventured north again to complete his cargo on the coastal islands off Alta California. By summer's end, 1805, the *Lelia Byrd* dropped anchor in the Sandwich Islands, and Shaler transferred his valuable cargo to the New England frigates *Atahualpa* and *Huron* for shipment back across the Pacific to Canton's lucrative markets.

Shaler spent the next three months in Hawai'i. "The Sandwich islanders are a large, well made, robust race of people, and many of their women are perfectly beautiful," he wrote. "Fortunately the good constitutions and temperance of these islanders prevents their having often occasion for the skill of their physicians."[2] Most likely, Shaler noted the Hawaiians' "good constitutions" with some relief, because the previous year of trading had acquainted him with the ravages of smallpox, syphilis, and tuberculosis among native peoples of the Pacific coastline. Shaler, however, was mistaken in his estimation of the Hawaiians' good health. Like many early European visitors to the Sandwich Islands, he failed to see the destruction brought by recently introduced diseases that accompanied Hawai'i's rise as the Pacific's commercial entrepôt.

Shaler's voyage coincided with the expansion of global commerce across the entire Pacific Basin. As European, Asian, American, and native populations

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[1] William Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage between China and the North-Western Coast of America, Made in 1804* (Philadelphia, 1808), 138, 139.

[2] Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage*, 166, 168.

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converged for trade during the decades around 1800, they linked isolated Pacific communities to global trade systems. The *eastern* Pacific, in particular, encompassed an immense and largely unfamiliar waterscape where social and economic systems collided in specific ports and coastal regions—the most prominent included Callao (Peru), San Blas, and Acapulco (Mexico), Alta California, the Northwest Coast, Sitka (Alaska), Hawai'i, and, on the Pacific's western rim, Canton (China). The future American Far West, I will argue, occupied a central position in this newly internationalized ocean basin prior to its annexation as the nation's western boundary. But Shaler's voyage coincided with a second layer of global exchange that transformed the Pacific during these decades: the spread of epidemic diseases from trading vessels to native communities. This influx of diseased goods arrived centuries after the initial "Columbian Exchanges" in the Atlantic world, and yet, unlike some disease introductions to the Americas, it rarely produced far-reaching pandemics because of the Pacific's geographically isolated islands and disparate landmasses.[3] Instead, diseases struck specific populations over decades of commercial growth, gradually culminating in demographic catastrophe for native peoples. Commercial and epidemiological exchanges constituted a deadly set of relations during this period due to the way new trade contacts entangled native communities with foreign biological agents.

Two hundred years after Shaler's voyage, historians are well acquainted with disease and commerce as global historical processes, but few studies examine these intertwined factors in a Pacific Basin context. One problem may lie in the Pacific Basin as a spatial concept, or in this case, the eastern Pacific. To what extent does the eastern Pacific Basin hold together as a historical and geographic entity? This concept would have made little sense before the late eighteenth century. The silver trade between Spanish-American ports and the Philippines initiated cross-Pacific commodity exchange in the sixteenth century, bringing the "Spanish Lake" into world commodity markets. In the western Pacific, China and Southeast Asian polities had also formed strong economic connections with European traders long before 1800.[4] Thus global commodity flows already transected the southern Pacific

[3] Historians and anthropologists have hotly debated the rate of depopulation in the Pacific islands, as on the American mainland. See A. D. Cliff, P. Haggett, and M. R. Smallman-Raynor, *Island Epidemics* (Oxford, 1998); David E. Stannard, "Disease, Human Migration, and History," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, K. F. Kiple, ed. (Cambridge, 1993), 35–43; John Miles, *Infectious Diseases: Colonising the Pacific?* (Dunedin, N.Z., 1997); David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu, 1989); O. A. Bushnell, *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, 1983); Alan Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific* (New York, 1966); and A. Grenfell Price, *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and Its Continents* (Oxford, 1963). Pacific "islander-oriented" scholars who comment on (and sometimes contest) the effects of population decline include K. R. Howe, *The Loyalty Islands: A History of Culture Contact, 1840–1900* (Honolulu, 1977); Howe, "The Fate of the 'Savage' in Pacific Historiography," *New Zealand Journal of History* 11 (1977): 137–54; David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890* (Honolulu, 1988); Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu, 1992). The literature on disease in the Atlantic World and the Americas is vast, including Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York, 1986); Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82* (New York, 2001); and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "A Concept: The Unification of the Globe by Disease," in *The Mind and Method of the Historian*, Le Roy Ladurie, ed. (Brighton, 1981), 28–83.

[4] Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Spanish Profitability in the Pacific: The Philippines in the

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and Southeast Asia prior to 1800. But the economic integration of the entire Pacific Basin and the emergence of something approximating a "Pacific world" relied on developments in the ocean's eastern and northern portions, which followed Cook's "discovery" voyages and the subsequent expansion of British, Spanish, Russian, and U.S. commercial ventures along the American coastline. When European and American traders met native communities in Hawai'i, Nootka Sound, or the Marquesas, and also brought international trade to Spanish ports such as San Francisco or Callao, the ramifications for trans-Pacific trade and cross-cultural interactions were tremendous. A geographic construct like the "eastern" Pacific Basin begins to cohere in light of these developments, and yet the relationships between different Pacific ports, trading nations, and indigenous populations remained fluid during this period. The eastern Pacific cohered as a region so long as an open and inclusive waterscape provided the primary connection between the disparate borderlands. The California Gold Rush and U.S. annexation of its initial Pacific territories forever altered these connections; and, by 1850, California, Oregon, and Washington had stronger commercial and new political ties to the transcontinental nation.[5] Quite simply, much of the *eastern* Pacific was now the American *West*.

While historical scholarship on various parts of the Pacific has grown in recent years, too little of this work is cast in a comparative, transnational, or transoceanic mold.[6] A similar critique applies to Atlantic studies, although the "Atlantic world"

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Pacific Centuries: Pacific and Pacific Rim History since the Sixteenth Century*, Flynn, Lionel Frost, and A. J. H. Latham, eds. (London, 1999), 23–37; Flynn and Giráldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13 (Fall 2002): 391–427; O. H. K. Spate, *Monopolists and Freebooters* (Minneapolis, 1983); K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company* (Cambridge, 1985); Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China: The Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (Armonk, N.Y., 1999); Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 166–205.

[5] This argument echoes the frontier/borderland framework developed by Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron: "[A]s colonial borderlands gave way to national borders, fluid and 'inclusive' intercultural frontiers yielded to hardened and more 'exclusive' hierarchies." Adelman and Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *AHR* 104 (June 1999): 816.

[6] Recent trans-Pacific and comparative studies include Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: California-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860–1930* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Richard P. Tucker, *Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World* (Berkeley, 2000); David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (Armonk, N.Y., 1997); *Defining the Pacific: Opportunities and Constraints*, Paul W. Blank and Fred Spier, eds. (London, 2002); and Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Cambridge, 1999). Transoceanic studies include J. R. McNeill, "Of Rats and Men: A Synoptic Environmental History of the Island Pacific," *Journal of World History* 5 (Fall 1994): 299–349; Donald Denoon, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (Cambridge, 1997); Herman R. Friis, *The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Exploration* (New York, 1967). Ethnographic literature on the island Pacific includes Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774–1880* (Honolulu, 1980); Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, 1991); Marshall Sahlins, *Island of History* (Chicago, 1985); Sahlins, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago, 1995); and Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J., 1992). On the United States in the eastern Pacific, see Jean Heffer, *The United States and the Pacific: History of a Frontier*, W. Donald Wilson, trans. (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002);

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concept has gained currency due to a range of factors, such as the millions of free and enslaved transatlantic migrants who repopulated the Americas, the significant imperial struggles and colonial revolutions around the Atlantic, and the valuable quest by U.S. scholars for the nation's international origins.[7] Indeed, U.S. colonial history now employs an international cast and crew. "The new account of American history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," Karen Kupperman recently argued, "demonstrates that America was international before it became national."[8] Kupperman set her stance firmly on the Atlantic coast, and yet we find a remarkably similar international convergence of nations and peoples by moving a century forward in time and 3,000 miles to the west. The future American Far West bordering the Pacific—meaning California and the Northwest Coast, as well as Hawai'i and Alaska[9]—was also "international before it became national." Stated another way, the Far West entertained international commerce, cultures, and biologies long before it became the nation's expansionistic proving ground. While this essay primarily addresses the meeting of international agents in the future American Far West, I contend we can only understand those regional developments in a trans-Pacific and international framework.

World history offers many analytical frameworks in which to place these Pacific encounters. Akira Iriye argues that some subjects provide better instruments to reconceptualize world history, such as "human migrations, economic exchanges, technological inventions and transfers, and cultural borrowing and transformation."[10] Richard White and other environmental historians would hasten to add ecological exchanges to this brief list, with the important reminder that concepts such as international, transnational, and local are "matters of scale," and "relationships between things shift at each scale."[11] Thus global exchanges—such as trade relations—took place throughout the Pacific Basin, but those exchanges were

Arrell Morgan Gibson and John S. Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1993); on Spain in the region, see Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819* (New Haven, Conn., 1973).

[7] For assessments of scholarship on the Atlantic World, see Joyce E. Chaplin, "Expansion and Exceptionalism in Early American History," *Journal of American History* 89 (March 2003): 1431–55; Nicholas Canny, "Writing Atlantic History; or, Reconfiguring the History of Colonial British America," *Journal of American History* 86 (December 1999): 1093–1114; Peter A. Coclanis, "*Drang Nach Osten*: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13 (Spring 2002): 169–82; and Robin D. G. Kelley, "How the West Was One: The African Diaspora and the Re-Mapping of U.S. History," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, Thomas Bender, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 123–47. An excellent study of Atlantic world influences in eighteenth-century colonial society is Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1992).

[8] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "International at the Creation: Early Modern American History," in Bender, *Rethinking American History*, 105.

[9] For persuasive statements on including Hawai'i and Alaska in this regional definition, see Victoria Wyatt, "Alaska and Hawai'i," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha Sandweiss, eds. (Oxford, 1994), 565–601; Stephen Haycox, *Frigid Embrace: Politics, Economics, and Environment in Alaska* (Corvallis, Oreg., 2002); and John Whitehead, "Hawai'i: The First and Last Far West?" *Western Historical Quarterly* 23 (May 1992): 153–77.

[10] Akira Iriye, "Internationalizing International History," in Bender, *Rethinking American History*, 51.

[11] Richard White, "The Nationalization of Nature," *Journal of American History* 86 (December 1999): 977–78; Donald Worster, "World without Borders: The Internationalizing of Environmental History," in *Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective*, Kendall E. Bailes, ed. (Lanham, Md., 1984); J. R. McNeill, "Of Rats and Men," 299–349; and Paul Sutter, "What Can U.S.

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contingent on regional settings and local populations. In a 1996 *American Historical Review* forum, Jerry H. Bentley emphasized "cross-cultural interactions" as an instructive way to understand and periodize world history, noting three processes as especially important: mass migrations, campaigns of imperial expansion, and long-distance trade. Patrick Manning took issue with the term interaction: "In a word, it is not sufficient to identify 'interactions' in world history—one must also identify the type and character of interactions." For instance, Manning continued, "If trade was central to cross-cultural interaction, what dimension of trade was the locus of contact?" My focus on trade deals largely with the growth of European and American maritime commerce with native communities and how these exchanges often relied on indigenous laborers and trade networks. The spread of disease, meanwhile, was both a result as well as a context for this mounting trade between Pacific natives and outsiders.[12]

With this in mind, the first part of this essay examines one ecological factor—human disease—that flowed within and between populations. Disease introductions linked the individual to local, regional, and global scale systems. These overlapping systems enabled the transfer of natural resources, cargoes, personnel, and germs—a fact not lost on Pacific natives who found their lives and landscapes severely disrupted (and in many cases devastated) by outside forces. This essay next turns to international commerce in the eastern Pacific, drawing on information from every known vessel that approached the coast of Alta California between 1786 and 1848. Such traffic illustrates the early connections between today's American Far West, hemispheric (Mexico and Peru), trans-Pacific (Canton), and Atlantic markets. Commercially isolated from one another prior to the late 1700s, these areas soon became linked through trade and deeply enmeshed with the world economy.

BY THE TIME SHALER AND THE *Lelia Byrd* arrived at the island of "Owhyhee" in 1805, Hawaiians already suffered from diseases recognized today as tuberculosis, typhoid fevers, and venereal disorders. This first wave of disease introduction substantially thinned their numbers, due in part to the widespread female infertility resulting from syphilis and gonorrhea.[13] Indeed, the *Lelia Byrd* had traversed a waterscape of death during its Pacific journey. From the Columbia River to San Francisco, the Baja Peninsula to Guatemala, and back to the California islands—Shaler's vessel engaged in trade with a highly select group: the native survivors of the worst plagues Europe had to offer. Shaler speculated as to the cause of the dreadful results he encountered. On one occasion, he reported the decline of a California Indian

Environmental Historians Learn from Non-U.S. Environmental Historiography?" *Environmental History* 8 (January 2003): 109–29.

[12] Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," *AHR* 101 (June 1996): 749–70; Patrick Manning, "The Problem of Interactions in World History," *AHR* 101 (June 1996): 777, 781.

[13] Bushnell, *Gifts of Civilization*, 126–33; David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu, 1989), 50–58; Andrew Bushnell, "'The Horror' Reconsidered: An Evaluation of the Historical Evidence for Population Decline in Hawai'i, 1778–1803," *Pacific Studies* 16 (September 1993): 115–61.

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community from 7,000 to 50 "souls," and he found it "difficult to imagine what [could] have been the cause of this extraordinary depopulation" if not for the "loathsome [venereal] disorder."[14] Far from "extraordinary," such extreme death tolls could be found throughout the eastern Pacific's new commercial borderlands.

On one level, disease transmission represents an extremely intimate and deadly encounter; on another level, it entails a simple transfer of biological goods. Germs spread in order to survive. They require new bodies as carrier agents, and they fulfill their genetic purpose by surviving from one carrier to the next. Disrupt that propagation chain and the disease perishes with its last victim. Yet this epidemiological reasoning sheds only dim light on the social experience and historical explanations of disease transmission. The pioneering historical works on international disease transmission by William H. McNeill and Alfred W. Crosby show how germs thrive in new contact situations where diseased outsiders met "virgin soil" populations.[15] This scenario perfectly describes the Pacific borderlands traversed by the *Lelia Byrd* and countless other vessels, especially for those isolated islands visited by trading ships. Beyond the exceedingly high rates of death and declining health, however, a key issue not addressed by much of the literature involves the particular factors that channeled successive waves of disease between populations. Three historical contingencies explain why the death toll mounted during the decades around 1800: sexual relations between newcomers and Pacific natives, the pre-contact trade and social networks of indigenous communities, and the increasing frequency of trade encounters with outsiders.

Most crew members on Pacific voyages eagerly anticipated the opportunities for "recreation," or "refreshment and recruitment" with Pacific women.[16] Nearing Owhyhee on August 19, 1805, the ship's crew noticed that "great numbers of the natives, of both sexes" approached the *Lelia Byrd*, and Shaler observed how they "brought us refreshments, &c."[17] Shaler's thinly veiled reference to sexual opportunities represented a common experience for Pacific voyagers; in fact, sexual contact proliferated everywhere that European and American ships dropped anchor. Ashore for just one day on Easter Island in 1786, the French explorer Jean François Galuup de La Perouse commented: "Not a single Frenchman made use of the barbarous right which was given him; [but] if there were some moments *dedicated to nature*, the desire and consent were mutual, and the women made the first advances."[18] "Consent," of course, was a highly relative term to describe these cross-cultural encounters, and nowhere was this truer than along the North American coastline. As Russian trade privateers (*promyshleniki*) established beachhead settlements along the Aleutian Islands during the late eighteenth century, they forced the male hunters to gather sea otter pelts by taking Aleut women as hostages and sexual consorts. Spanish soldiers and sailors used barter and force for their

[14] Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage*, 152.

[15] William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1977); Crosby, *Columbian Exchange*. On disease epidemiology, particularly as it applies to island contact situations and human migrations, see Cliff, *Island Epidemics*; and Stannard, "Disease, Human Migration, and History," 35–43.

[16] David A. Chappell, "Shipboard Relations between Pacific Island Women and Euroamerican Men, 1767–1887," *Journal of Pacific History* 27 (December 1992): 131–49.

[17] Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage*, 171.

[18] J[ean]. F[rançois]. G[alaup]. La Perouse, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788* (London, 1798), 2: 18, emphasis added.

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amorous encounters with native women from Baja California up the coast to Nootka Sound. Other Europeans capitalized on the slavery system of Pacific Northwest tribes and had sex with enslaved native women.[19] European and American sailors *perceived* more willing consorts in Polynesia—most notably on Hawai'i, Tahiti, and the Marquesas, where British and American sailors openly fornicated with native women on ship deck and shore. Ranging from "consensual" encounters to mass rape, sexual relations permeated contact situations throughout the Pacific. Sex functioned simultaneously as commodity, shared experience, and assertion of power.

In crossing these sexual boundaries, shipping crews inevitably and knowingly transmitted their exceedingly high rates of venereal disease. The English crews aboard the ships *Resolution* and *Discovery*, for instance, were so debilitated by venereal disorders that Captain Cook delayed the ships' departure from Tahiti in 1777.[20] Reaching the southern shore of Kaua'i in January 1778, Cook feared the epidemiological impact his men would have on Hawaiian women. Due to the "venereal complaints" suffered by his crew, he "gave orders that no Women, on any account whatever were to be admited on board the Ships, . . . also forbid all manner of connection with them, and ordered that none who had the venereal upon them should go out of the ships." But "connections" inevitably took place, and Cook was left with the knowledge that "the very thing happened that I had above all others wished to prevent."[21] Sailors, traders, and missionaries far less famous than Cook also recognized the deadly effects of "recreation" with native peoples. In 1792, the naturalist José Mariano Moziño observed Indians in the Nootka Sound region "consumed by the raging syphilis which the sailors of our ships have spread among them."[22] Three decades later, the missionary Francisco Troncoso noted the "frightful mortality" at Baja California's Rosario Mission "from very active syphilis [which] has caused its almost total ruin."[23] In the decades between Cook's and Troncoso's observations, venereal disorders wreaked havoc on most eastern Pacific indigenous communities, in large part because of their previous isolation from Europeans. The international germ pool had seeped into these localities with devastating results.

Endemic among European and American sailors, gonorrhea and syphilis turned epidemic when let loose among the eastern Pacific's virgin soil populations. Both diseases caused debilitating sickness and increased sterility and infant mortality

[19] Winston L. Sarafian, "Smallpox Strikes the Aleuts," *Alaska Journal* 7 (Winter 1977), 46–49; Robert H. Jackson, "Epidemic Disease and Population Decline in the Baja California Missions, 1697–1834," *Southern California Quarterly* 63 (Winter 1981): 308–46; Robert Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Disease and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774–1874* (Seattle, 1999), 65–74; Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire*, 309–10.

[20] Stannard, *Before the Horror*, 70; McArthur, *Island Populations of the Pacific*, 244. Cook blamed the outbreak of venereal disorders among his sailors on Tahitian women, and presumed those women received the disease during the previous year from French sailors under the command of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville. The French ultimately blamed either Cook's crew or that of the British ship *Dolphin*, which arrived in Tahiti just prior to Bougainville.

[21] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain Cook*, Philip Edwards, ed. (New York, 1999), 532, 535. For a detailed discussion of these events, see O. Bushnell, *Gifts of Civilization*, 135–41.

[22] José Mariano Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, Iris Higbie Wilson, ed. and trans. (Seattle, 1970), 44.

[23] Jackson, "Epidemic Disease and Population Decline in the Baja California Missions," 337.

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rates, creating a reproductive time bomb. Syphilis, in particular, led to rampant infections and slow death. Detailed records and individual anecdotes confirm the immediate and lasting devastation from sexual contact. Venereal disease spread across Hawai'i's 300-mile long archipelago in less than a year from Cook's arrival, according to the *Discovery* surgeon's second mate William Ellis.[24] Franciscan records of neophyte births and death in the California missions offer horrendous testimony of infertility and declining Indian birthrates.[25] William Shaler described Central American coastal natives as "universally infected with the venereal disease; they have no physicians among them, and consequently perish miserably."[26] In the first census of worldwide disease prevalence, published in the 1860s, German epidemiologist August Hirsch mentioned syphilis as endemic throughout the eastern Pacific due to the increase of "active traffic with other countries"—a traffic in both commercial and biological goods.[27]

What drove the active sexual relations that resulted in widespread infection, infertility, and death? The answer is fairly self-evident from the perspective of European and American shipboard workers, who spent months or years away from home on transoceanic voyages. The participation of indigenous women is far more complicated and involves varying levels of coercion. On the Pacific coastline from Baja California to Alaska, women were taken hostage, bartered as sex slaves, and some also entered temporary liaisons in exchange for trade goods (although the power dynamics in this scenario are endlessly complex). Anthropologists of Polynesia, however, emphasize greater reciprocity in sexual relations between European and American sailors and female islanders. Nicholas Thomas argues that, "in the most-visited parts of Polynesia, such as Tahiti and Hawai'i, island women were eager to enter into sexual relations with sailors" during the early contact period.[28] Historian Caroline Ralston suggests that "ordinary" (or non-noble) Hawaiian women initially "threw themselves into the embrace of foreign sailors in what was an enactment of their established cultural practices and beliefs." This practice soon became an "avenue to foreign goods and thus one of many agents of widespread cultural change."[29] Marshall Sahlins emphasizes the role played by Hawaiian men in these exchanges: "Men brought their sisters, daughters, perhaps even their wives to the ships. Call it hospitality. Or call it spiritual hypergamy."[30]

[24] William Ellis, *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage* (London, 1782), 73–74.

[25] On disease and infertility in Alta and Baja California missions, see William Preston, "Serpent in Eden: Dispersal of Foreign Diseases into Pre-Mission California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 18 (1996): 2–37; Jackson, "Epidemic Disease and Population Decline in the Baja California Missions," 308–46; and Jon M. Erlandson and Kevin Bartoy, "Cabrillo, the Chumash, and Old World Diseases," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 17 (1995): 153–77.

[26] Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage*, 147.

[27] August Hirsch, *Handbook of Historical and Geographical Pathology*, 3 vols. (1864; London, 1883), 2: 74.

[28] Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 91. Thomas's most recent book offers a marvelous rethinking of Polynesian sexual encounters, specifically those in which Tahitians may have parodied British sailors' awkward acts. See Nicholas Thomas, *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook* (New York, 2003), 155–59.

[29] Caroline Ralston, "Changes in the Lives of Ordinary Women in Early Post-Contact Hawaii," in Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre, eds., *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact* (Cambridge, 1989), 64. A useful synthesis of this issue across Polynesia is Chappell, "Shipboard Relations," 131–49.

[30] Sahlins, *Islands of History*, 7.

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Contemporary observers also noted these gender dynamics at work, often with brutal consequences. Johann Reinhold Forster, the naturalist on Cook's second voyage, recorded how Maori men "sell the favours of their females to those of our ship's company, who were irresistibly attracted by their charms; and often were these victims of brutality dragged by the fathers into the dark recesses of the ship, and there left to the beastly appetite of their paramours."[31] An expanding market exchange of sex for trade goods (such as any metal object) developed across Polynesia, bringing death and declining health to countless native women and men. The Hawaiian writer John Papa 'I'i—whose life spanned the first seven decades of the nineteenth century—pondered the entanglements of sex, love, and deadly disease: "Death . . . is like love/That flees at my angry reply./It reels, it staggers,/ When it comes, it comes like a sudden sickness."[32]

If sexual activity constituted a primary transmission route for one category of disease, the pre-contact trade and social networks within and between native communities reveal the customary avenues for disease spread in general. Disease often entered a community through a single individual and then spread rapidly along native trade routes and social hierarchies. One brief and well-documented example from Fiji sheds light on what transpired throughout the Pacific: When the HMS *Dido* dropped anchor in Levuka Bay, Fiji, in 1875, it carried the Fijian chief Cakobau, who reportedly "look[ed] anything but well after his trip."[33] Cakobau and his two sons had contracted the measles virus during an official visit to New South Wales—a fact unknown to the large Fijian welcoming party that immediately boarded the *Dido* upon arrival, or the high-ranking chiefs from the outer Fijian islands who arrived in the following days to greet Chief Cakobau, or the group of 800 subjects from the main island who gathered in audience a week later. Measles spread fast and furious from Chief Cakobau down the social hierarchy and outward across the Fijian islands as chiefs and commoners returned to their home villages. Between one-quarter and one-third of Fiji's population died within six months.[34] The *Dido*, meanwhile, departed for the Solomon and New Hebrides islands filled with contract laborers who carried the measles virus with them. According to one study, "it is hard to imagine a diffusion hierarchy more calculated to accelerate [the] spread of the virus."[35]

In fact, this is precisely the type of diffusion hierarchy that typified disease exchange throughout the Pacific when global biological agents entered local populations. For native peoples, contact and trade with outsiders was always an important event—goods changed hands, information was gathered, and the incident was told and retold in communal settings. Tribal chiefs came together in close quarters to assess the meaning of the encounter. Community members—such as the 800 subjects who gathered in audience for Chief Cakobau—arrived to hear the

[31] *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World*, Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach, eds. (Honolulu, 1996), 260.

[32] John Papa 'I'i, "Expression of Aloha for Matthew Kekuana'oa," cited in O. Bushnell, *Gifts of Civilization*, 265.

[33] *Fiji Times* (Levuka), December 13, 1875.

[34] *The Times* (London) reported 50,000 deaths, while demographer Norma McArthur estimated 27,000 deaths. See *The Times*, June 9, 1875; McArthur, *Island Populations of the Pacific*, 34–36.

[35] Cliff, *Island Epidemics*, 156.

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stories and returned home to spread the news to their neighbors. Each stage of this process involved physical and sometimes intimate contact, allowing for the dissemination of viral, bacterial, and other deadly infections. The operative issue is therefore not *how* disease spread so rapidly but, rather, why isolated outbreaks did not *always* create massive pandemics.

Regional outbreaks frequently took hold in the eastern Pacific Basin. When the smallpox virus arrived on the Pacific Northwest coast in the late 1770s, what Indians termed the "spirit of pestilence" moved quickly through the region.[36] Viral infections such as smallpox thrive in closed settings in which airborne transmissions can enter new carriers through the nose or mouth. The virus especially proliferates in new genetic material, so long as the host survives long enough to pass it to a new carrier.[37] Like other groups throughout the eastern Pacific, the Northwest coastal Indians provided the perfect social environment for disease diffusion: relatively high population densities, frequent community gatherings, special potlatch ceremonies often held within the confines of a cedar longhouse, and constant interaction with neighboring groups. Within one year, the virus bounded through the coastal and inland communities of Tlingit, Haida, Salish, Upper Chinookans, Nez Perce, Flathead, and Tillamooks, killing one-third of the population. The survivors bore the visible pockmarks. Another smallpox outbreak ran its course between 1800 and 1808.

The *Lelia Byrd* hit the Northwest Coast during this latter outbreak, but Shaler made no mention of the smallpox epidemic because his vessel quickly sailed south of the infected area. Nonetheless, his trading practices illustrate the forms of contact and trade through which disease could first enter and then spread beyond a community. Anchored in Trinidad Bay on May 11, 1804, "the savages came on board [the *Lelia Byrd*] in great numbers" to trade furs for cargo. Three days later, Shaler "seized and confined in irons" four Indian hostages aboard the ship while crewmembers landed on shore to replenish water and wood supplies, briefly battling with Indians in the process. During his week anchored in the bay, Shaler wandered through an Indian village and entered individual huts, examined several women closely enough to see their "teeth filed down to their gums," and observed that "the young girls . . . have of course a much more interesting appearance than the matrons." Crewmen made "offers" for the young women but found their advances rebuffed.[38] Shaler's account sheds no light on possible pathogens left behind at Trinidad Bay, but the various forms of interaction reveal how germs were typically

[36] Robert T. Boyd's comprehensive study of this outbreak suggests three possible introduction routes: a Russian origin through Kamchatka, where smallpox was prevalent in the late 1760s; a Spanish origin through trading vessels between 1774 and 1776; and a Great Plains–Columbia River route in the late 1770s. The Spanish route is the most widely cited, particularly in regard to the Spanish schooner *Sonora* in 1775. Warren L. Cook notes that there was no reference to active smallpox aboard the *Sonora* (though a great deal of scurvy and general illness), but the virus could survive for years in a latent or dry state on trade goods like textiles. Elizabeth Fenn's work on smallpox in North America during the 1770s and 1780s favors the Great Plains–Columbia River route. See Boyd, *Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, 21–45; Boyd, "Demographic History, 1774–1874," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 7: 135–48; Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire*, 79–81; and Fenn, *Pox Americana*, 226–32.

[37] Charles F. Merbs, "A New World of Infectious Disease," *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 35 (1992): 28.

[38] Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage*, 139–42.

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introduced through fairly ordinary contact events. Crew members brought disease from their ships into local villages, leading some Northwest Indians to describe foreign vessels as "disease boats."[39]

Through international trade, previously isolated Pacific communities began to share experiences with specific infections, creating a deadly coherence to the region's diverse social geography. For instance, Cook's 1778 visit introduced tuberculosis to Hawaiians; tuberculosis first appeared in the Aleutian Islands in the 1780s, Fiji in 1791, Nootka Sound in 1793, and the Cook Islands in 1830. Tuberculosis—more commonly termed consumption or scrofula during the period—survived in an active state during long voyages and quickly spread among the villages through personal contact.[40] The disease appeared frequently during the 1820s and 1830s from Sitka south to Oregon, where trading vessels quite likely carried it to California's coastal missions and trading ports. By the 1830s, dozens of ships annually connected Sitka to California, and this increased traffic brought tuberculosis, smallpox, and other diseases in its wake. The British ship *Lama* left Sitka in August 1836 en route to Fort Simpson, British Columbia, where it introduced smallpox. By February 1837, the *Lama* arrived on the California coast, and either it or the Russian ship *Sitka* carried the smallpox virus to northern California.[41] Smallpox—that "most terrible of all the ministers of death"—made a quick advance to California's interior along centuries-old Indian trade routes, where it circulated among the Miwok, Wappo, Yuki, Wintun, and Pomo communities.[42] Death estimates range widely between 10,000 and 100,000 individuals. Two factors made this outbreak especially virulent. First, California's northern and interior native groups were relatively buffered from the disease introductions that had already ravaged the mission Indian populations south of San Francisco Bay. Second, these northern native groups maintained active trade and communication networks within their region. Indigenous networks in northern California therefore operated exactly like those in the examples of the Northwest Coast (smallpox) and Fiji (measles), and disease spread on the heels of contact situations similar to Shaler's brief trading stopover at Trinidad Bay.

As native community structures assisted the spread of disease in local and regional settings, the rapid expansion of global-scale traffic increased the variety and speed of biological encounters. Quite simply, the disease transmission routes became far more efficient and widespread during the early 1800s. Many variables (which I will address below) contributed to this situation, including the growing number of Pacific trading vessels, the reduction of travel time (which relates to disease incubation period), the sheer size of carrier populations, and the mixing of multi-ethnic labor forces. Transnational commerce united all these variables in the Pacific, and together they telescoped both time and distance for disease transmis-

[39] Boyd, *Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, 54.

[40] Captain Charles Clerke, Cook's second-in-command for the third voyage, carried tuberculosis with him throughout the trip until he died at Kamchatka in 1779.

[41] Boyd, *Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, 123, 130.

[42] Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, Charles Harding Firth, ed., 6 vols. (London, 1914), 5: 2468; quoted in Elizabeth A. Fenn, "Biological Warfare in Eighteenth-Century North America: Beyond Jeffery Amherst," *Journal of American History* 86 (March 2000): 1559; Sherburne Cook, "Smallpox in Spanish and Mexican California, 1770–1834," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 7 (1939): 185; Boyd, *Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, 131.

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sion. Indigenous Pacific peoples quickly grasped the connection between disease and trading vessels. Cook islanders who fell ill developed the phrase *kua pai au*, or "I am shippy," to describe both their suffering as well as the obvious agent of their illnesses: the trading ships.[43] Other native peoples attempted even greater specificity. Some Indians on the Northwest Coast called the smallpox virus "Tom Dyer" after a European sailor who they believed had infected them.[44] Neither sailors nor natives understood the precise epidemiology or etiology of these viruses, but most everyone recognized the deadly biological goods carried by trading vessels. Agents of disease transmission on the one hand, these ships also provide a way to understand the emerging trade patterns that connected local, regional, and global systems.

THAT SOME NATIVE GROUPS USED THE NEOLOGISM "disease boats" to describe foreign vessels provides us with a snapshot of indigenous formulations linking trade to disease. "Disease boats" exposes a reductionist logic: if exogenous diseases often arrived with trading vessels, then all such ships carried disease. Of course, not all ships carried sailors infected with smallpox, measles, influenza, or other diseases. But enough ships did arrive with deadly pathogens that this native logic contained an internal truth for those communities struck by epidemics. Most important to the spread of disease was the increasing frequency of *possible* transmissions through encounters with outsiders. Furthermore, as trade increased during the decades around 1800, commercial activity itself underwent dramatic changes that removed previous barriers to disease spread.

What was the nature of commercial activity in the eastern Pacific, and which vessels plied its waters during the early modern period? Let us return to William Shaler's voyage aboard the *Lelia Byrd*. A 175-ton brigantine, the *Lelia Byrd* sailed under the U.S. flag and was privately owned by Shaler and his partner Richard Jeffry Cleveland. In addition to twenty-four crewmen, it carried an "Otaheite girl" named Harriet, the "wife" of the carpenter's mate. Shaler provided only scant information on Harriet, but the presence of native women on board Pacific vessels was not uncommon, and they frequently succumbed to shipboard diseases.[45] Equipped with a chronometer to allow accurate longitude readings, this trading vessel carefully navigated the Pacific's vast geography in a fashion that would have been impossible two decades earlier. Shaler also outfitted the *Lelia Byrd* with six small cannons that he had previously used to beat a hasty retreat from the San Diego port during his first contraband expedition to Alta California in 1803. The

[43] Wyatt Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles: or, Scenes and Incidents in the South Pacific and New Guinea* (London, 1876), 106, cited in Lange, "Plagues and Pestilence in Polynesia," 332. See also Cliff, *Island Epidemics*, 245.

[44] Jonathan S. Green, *Journal of a Tour on the North West Coast of America in the Year 1829* (New York, 1915), 39, cited in Gibson, "Smallpox on the Northwest Coast," 64.

[45] Shaler mentioned Harriet again when the *Lelia Byrd* docked at Trinidad on the Northwest Coast: "Those poor savages greatly admired Harriet, and when we were at peace she had a constant train of admirers round her. The young bucks were at great pains to paint and decorate themselves to please her; one of them carried his gallantries so far as to present her with an otter skin: a striking instance of the influence of the fair sex on man, in his rudest state." *Journal of a Voyage*, 137, 143; Richard Jeffry Cleveland, *Voyages and Commercial Enterprises of the Sons of New England* (New York, 1857), 206–17.

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voyage route took Shaler and his crew from Canton to the American Northwest Coast, south to Alta California, Baja California, mainland Mexico, and Guatemala before turning north again for Alta California. Fearing the impoundment of his ship and cargo, Shaler carefully avoided major Spanish harbors and instead trafficked along beach settlements, coastal islands, and budding contraband ports such as San Pedro in Alta California. The *Lelia Byrd* finally sailed for Hawai'i loaded with cargo, where Shaler sold the leaking and unseaworthy vessel to Chief "Tamaihamaiha" (Kamehameha) after transferring his goods to the American ships *Huron* and *Atahualpa*. Shaler took passage aboard the *Huron* back across the Pacific, and his large supply of sea otter pelts brought high prices in Canton's luxury market. While remarkable for the years 1804–1805, the *Lelia Byrd*'s trans-Pacific voyage reveals a commercial trend in the eastern Pacific that became increasingly common during the next two decades.[46]

To understand various aspects of Pacific commerce, I assembled a database for every known vessel entering California waters between 1786 and 1848, with information on nationality, ship type, voyage route, personnel, and cargo.[47] In all, at least 953 vessels either stopped in Alta California or approached its coast prior to the Gold Rush, making it one of the most visited parts of the eastern Pacific. The vast majority of these vessels continued on to the Northwest Coast, Alaska, and/or Hawai'i, illustrating the network of commercial ports that linked the future American Far West *long before* the United States annexed its Pacific territories. International voyages from ports in the Atlantic Ocean comprised the largest share of traffic in this regional network. Using California as one point of reference, a broader picture emerges of the eastern Pacific as a free trade waterscape—a vast geography where independent traders competed for the goods and natural resources harvested from commercial borderlands.

Three components of this commerce are most relevant: the increasing number and international cast of vessels, the developing system of unrestricted ports around the Pacific, and the types of cargo carried by Pacific ships. (The first and third components held the most direct repercussions for disease spread.) Based on the 953 ships entering California waters, 6.8 percent arrived between 1786 and 1799, 5.7 percent in the decade after 1800, 7.6 percent in the 1810s, 24 percent in the 1820s, 22 percent in the 1830s, and 34 percent in the first eight years of the 1840s.[48] (See

[46] Less than ten commercial ships had previously attempted this trans-Pacific voyage with cargo from California, the Northwest Coast, or Hawai'i.

[47] David Igler, "Database of California Shipping." This database is compiled from the unparalleled records of historian Adele Ogden, "California Trading Vessels, 1786–1847," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Ogden's sources for each vessel include the original shipping logs, travel accounts, Mexican and Spanish archival collections, and an extensive survey of secondary literature. I entered each record into a spreadsheet with forty-four possible entry fields (including ownership, flag, types of cargo, and destinations) and used Stata to analyze the data. While Ogden's records may not be entirely complete, they represent by far the most comprehensive (and unexamined) compilation of California shipping prior to the Gold Rush.

[48] This decadal increase masks a few important peaks in Pacific shipping, including the end of the War of 1812, Mexican Independence in 1821, and a particular rise of American voyages in 1844. While all the vessels in this database entered California's coastal waters, they did not all enter a California port. This important distinction sheds light on the nature of Spanish rule in California prior to 1821. Vessels involved in the sea otter trade often avoided Spanish ports in California and Mexico for fear of having their cargoes (and sometimes ships) impounded. Therefore, many ships remained offshore and dropped anchor near the coastal islands, where the majority of sea otter hunting was conducted.

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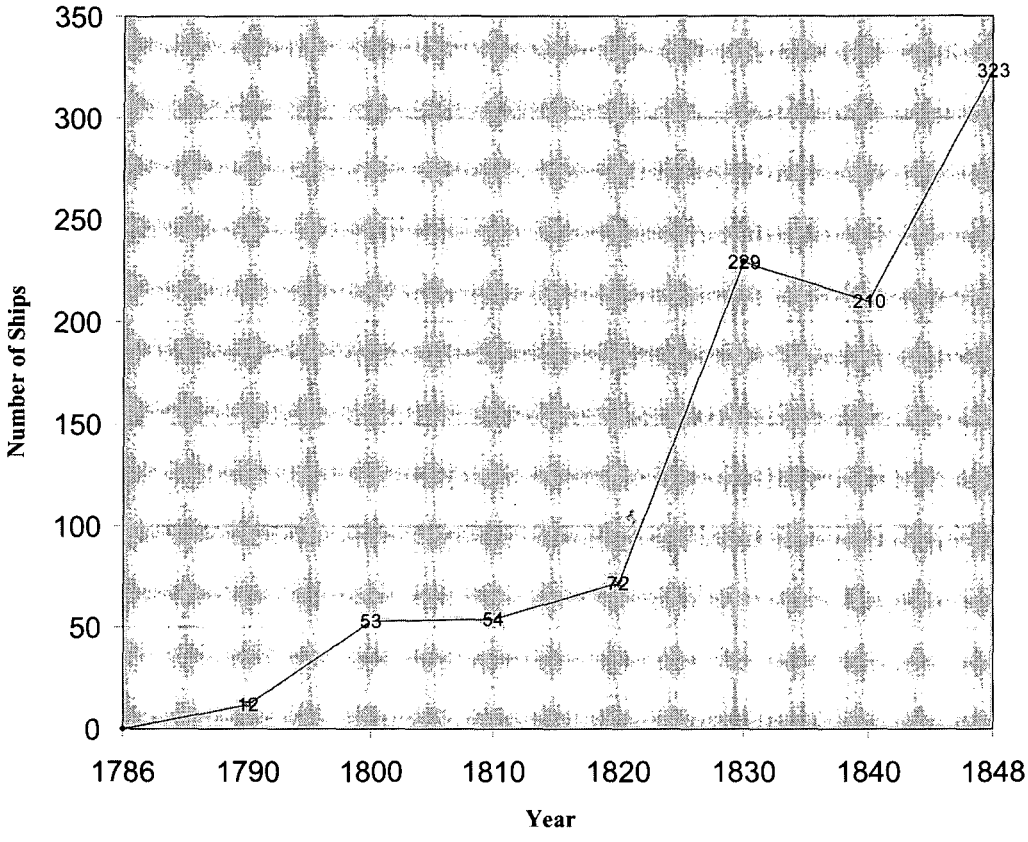


FIGURE 2: The decadal increase of Pacific vessels that stopped in Alta California, 1786–1848. Alta California's coastal ports surged in commercial activity during the 1820s and the first eight years of the 1840s, due in large part to U.S. trading interests in the Pacific.

Figure 2.) In short, trade gradually increased each decade until the 1820s, when it swelled due to developments in California and throughout the Pacific, including Mexican independence, the termination of trade restrictions in many ports (especially Canton and previously Spanish-controlled ports), and the global dissemination of the news about Pacific trading opportunities. The surge in trade also coincided with general improvements in transoceanic sailing vessels, the sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* trade between Pacific islands and China, and the entrance of the American whaling fleet into Pacific waters during the 1820s (whalers comprised 26 percent of ships in California during the decade, and larger numbers docked in Honolulu). These factors allowed international trade to flourish in ports throughout the Pacific Basin—and this rising traffic also brought increased disease exposure to native communities.

As the number of vessels increased each decade, so grew the international cast of participants. The largest share of ships entering California were American (44

By virtually barring these vessels from California ports, Spain lost out on the opportunity to regulate and profit from this valuable trade. See Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784–1848* (Berkeley, Calif., 1941), 32–45.

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percent), British (13 percent), Spanish (12 percent), Mexican (12 percent) and Russian (7 percent), but trading vessels from at least seventeen other Pacific and European nations also visited California in the first half of the nineteenth century.[49] (See Figure 3.) These statistics raise two important issues. First, while Spanish supply ships from Mexico made up the largest share of California traffic before 1800, U.S. vessels soon surpassed all other trading nations by a large margin. U.S. *commercial* interests in the Pacific therefore long predated and ultimately influenced its geopolitical and military interests of the mid-nineteenth century. Second, despite the strong position attained by U.S. trading vessels in California and the eastern Pacific, at least 527 ships sailing under more than twenty different flags also entered California waters. The point here deserves emphasis: California's commercial activity was international prior to the worldwide convergence of gold seekers, and, perhaps more important, this internationalization of commerce mirrored developments throughout the Pacific Basin.

The voyage routes (including all stops) of these 953 vessels provide a strong indication of which ports rose or declined in prominence during the early nineteenth century. Based on vessels entering California, the most frequently visited ports were Hawai'i (42 percent of ships), Callao (22 percent), San Blas (19 percent), Acapulco (18 percent), the Russian port at Sitka (12 percent), and Canton (7 percent). In addition, 13 percent of ships stopped somewhere along the Northwest Coast (primarily Nootka Sound, Fort George, or Fort Vancouver). (See Figure 4.) The island Pacific—beyond Hawai'i—also witnessed increased trade, with the Galapagos, Marquesas, Tahiti, and Philippine islands leading all others. Over 50 percent of ships visiting California had also stopped at a Pacific island, a figure that speaks to the volume of transoceanic trade as well as to the exceedingly high rate of introduced diseases on Pacific islands. By the 1820s, this group of major ports had begun to systematize commodity flows and market activity in the eastern Pacific. A closer examination of selected ports shows not only increasingly open trade but also how commercial shipping created a new trans-Pacific network of markets.

San Blas and Sitka (or Novo-Arkhangel'sk) were the only ports that declined in significance during the first half of the nineteenth century. San Blas, a naval base in the Gulf of California designed for Spain's expansion up the North American coast, was located in a mangrove swamp brimming with mosquitoes, which carried malaria and other diseases. San Blas's large population of 20,000 residents by 1800 more than served the needs of Spanish supply ships that ran the Pacific coast from Baja California to Nootka Sound. But, following independence, Mexican shipping quickly reverted back to the healthier climes of the old silver-trade port at Acapulco, and San Blas steadily declined as a trade port.[50] The presence of malaria (which afflicted both European and American sailors) was one factor contributing to the decline of San Blas. Sitka served a similar function for Russia. The

[49] Adele Ogden's complete list of vessel ownership by nation/region included Spain, England, Peru, Russia, Mexico, United States (Boston, New York, Hartford, Baltimore, Philadelphia), France, Hawai'i, California, Bengal, Canton, Columbia, Hudson's Bay Company, Germany, Sardinia, Mauritius, Ecuador, Chile, Sweden, Canada, Central America, and Denmark.

[50] Edward Inskeep, "San Blas, Nayarit: An Historical and Geographic Study," *Journal of the West* 2 (1963): 133–44; Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire*, 48–51.

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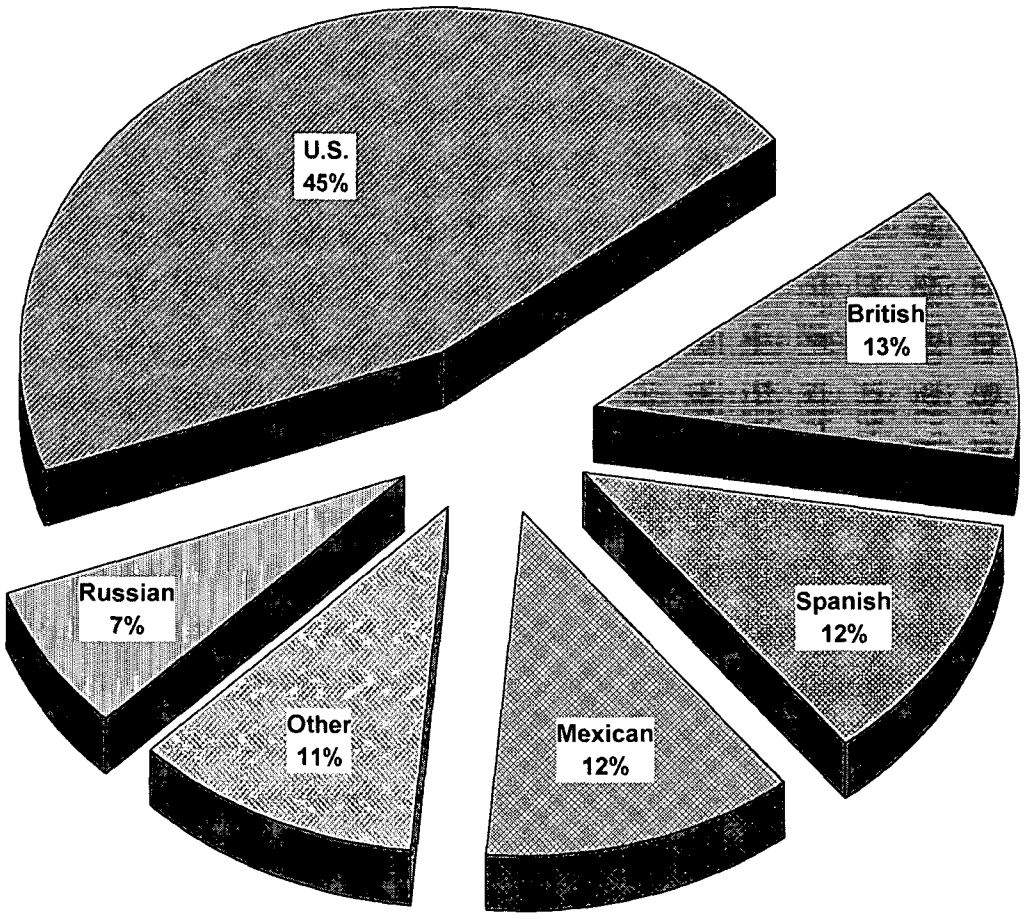


FIGURE 3: Nationalities of ships that stopped in Alta California, 1786–1848. While U.S. ships constituted the largest share (45 percent), vessels from at least twenty other nations also visited this province controlled by Spain and (after 1821) Mexico.

Russian-American Company, created in the 1790s, dominated the Alaskan fur trade based in Sitka and ran supply ships to the eastern Siberian port of Kamchatka and other ships to the Russian outpost at Fort Ross, California. By the 1820s, however, the company's yearly harvest of sea otter pelts and other furs dropped precipitously, as did the population of Aleut and Kodiak contract hunters, who succumbed to smallpox, influenza, and other maladies.[51] Russian traders remained at Sitka, but their participation in international trade steadily declined.

The other major ports (after San Blas and Sitka) witnessed trade expansion in the developing system of Pacific markets. This, of course, seems perfectly logical given the growing number of trading vessels and improvements in navigation. What merits particular emphasis in this trend is that the very nature of economic conditions—and who benefited from trans-Pacific trade—had also changed by the 1820s. Since the time of the Spanish galleon trade, imperial powers and govern-

[51] Ogden, *California Sea Otter Trade*, 45–65; Sarafian, "Smallpox Strikes the Aleuts," 46–49; Ivan Teniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska District* (1804), 248–58.

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ment-sponsored companies had monopolized and regulated specific regions, markets, goods, and Pacific trade routes. The Russian-American Company, the English East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, the Royal Philippine Company, and the Spanish crown's trade restrictions exemplify these controls of regional trade. Historians have generally followed suit and studied how European empires divided the Pacific into spheres of influence (for instance, the Dutch and British in Southeast Asia, Spain along the North American coastline, and so on).[52] While these geopolitical demarcations are important, I would suggest that a different economic climate emerges during the early 1800s, especially in the eastern Pacific. This new market environment found expression in open markets, burgeoning commercial ports, entrepreneurial shipping ventures designed to exploit specific commodities, and private traders who paid little attention to geopolitical boundaries.

The Hawaiian Islands received a steady annual supply of exploratory and commercial voyages prior to 1820. In the period between Cook's "discovery" in 1778 and the arrival of the Russian ship *Kamschatka* in late 1818, ninety-four vessels docked in Hawai'i (primarily British and American, with a few Russian and French ships).[53] Hawai'i's traffic quickly multiplied. It became the hub of trans-Pacific shipping due to its central location, abundant natural resources, and merchant houses established by American and British traders who forged strong alliances with Hawaiian royalty. King Kamehameha II (Liholiho) and these merchants turned the Honolulu harbor into the ocean's Great Exchange, the meeting point of the China trade, the Northwest fur trade, Pacific whaling fleet, and Hawai'i's own exports, which included agriculture, sandalwood, and shipboard laborers. Despite Hawai'i's seemingly isolated location in the middle of the ocean, Honolulu merchants carried on active correspondence with their counterparts in Canton, California, Callao, Boston, and London during the 1820s and 1830s—demanding cleaner hides from California, complaining of bloated warehouses, and inquiring of market prices everywhere.[54] As international trade flourished in Hawai'i, the material "gifts of civilization" spread among the ruling elite and commoners alike, while the biological "gifts" devastated all segments of Hawaiian society.[55]

The port of Callao, just north of Lima, had served the Spanish silver trade since the early 1600s and remained "a stronghold of Spanish authority" until 1818, when the viceroy officially opened the port to British trade.[56] And yet, similar to

[52] This tradition is mostly rooted in national and/or imperial histories; see Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire*; Heffer, *United States and the Pacific*; Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise*; Basil Dmytryshyn, E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughn, and Thomas Vaughan, eds., *To Siberia and Russian America: Three Centuries of Russian Expansion* (Portland, 1988–89).

[53] "Ships to Hawaii before 1819," http://www.hawaiian-roots.com/shipsB1880.htm, July 2002. By comparison, 188 ships entered California waters between 1786 and 1819, but 102 of these voyages were Spanish ships that only sailed between San Blas, California, and the Northwest. Thus California and Hawai'i received approximately the same number of transoceanic voyages (overwhelmingly British and American).

[54] Adele Ogden assembled thousands of these letters from various merchant collections held by the Bancroft Library, Harvard Business School, and Houghton Library. Ogden, "Mexican California: Topics Found in Maritime MS Materials," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[55] O. Bushnell, *Gifts of Civilization*, 215–64; Stannard, *Before the Horror*, 50–52.

[56] Dorothy Burne Goebel, "British Trade to the Spanish Colonies, 1796–1823," *AHR* 43 (January 1938): 318.

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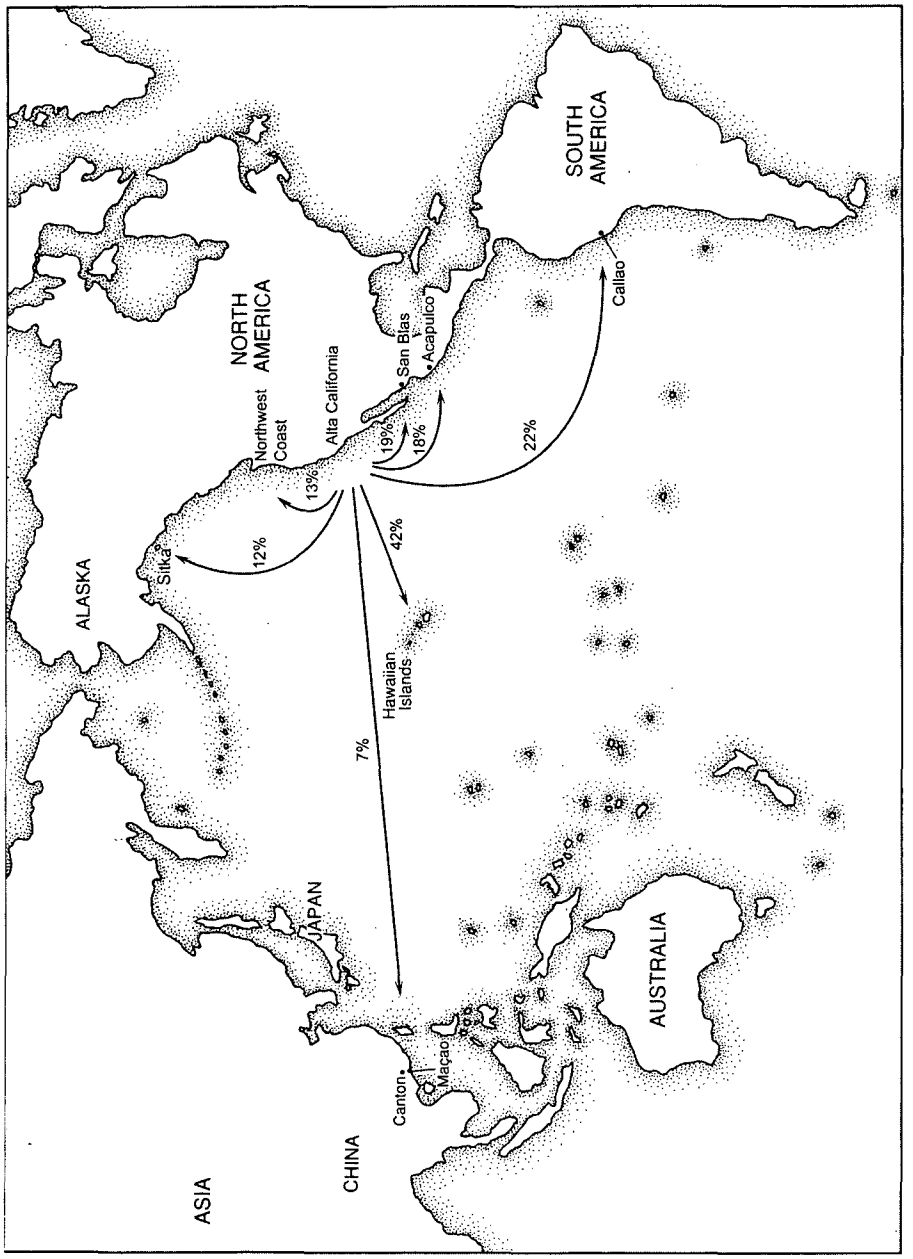


FIGURE 4: By the 1820s, Alta California was a central part of trading networks throughout the eastern Pacific Basin and across the ocean to Canton. This map shows the frequency of different destinations based on ships that stopped in Alta California. Adapted from Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise*. Courtesy of University of New Mexico Press.

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California, contraband trade steadily increased in Callao during the previous two decades—numerous ships stopped each year in this Peruvian port for clandestine trade before sailing north along the American coastline. Callao was opened to all international traffic in 1820, a year when over 200 American ships and nearly an equal number of British vessels plied the Pacific ports.[57] British and American traders quickly established merchant houses in Callao to capitalize on the new commercial opportunities, and Callao or Lima merchants now owned many ships flying the British flag. (Almost two-thirds of British ships that stopped in California after 1820 had this distinction.) Peruvian free traders and protectionists waged political warfare throughout the 1820s, and the protectionists reigned supreme by 1828, but Pacific vessels continued to frequent Callao despite high import tariffs. Even though Charles Darwin expressed grave doubts about the prospects of this port city during his visit in 1835—he especially noted the prevalence of diseases, "anarchy," and the "depraved . . . mixture" of various racial groups—Callao and nearby Lima soon teemed with international commerce and by 1850 became a South American center for wheat, copper, and guano exports.[58]

Changes in the Canton marketplace—and the declining fortunes of the English East India Company (EIC)—exemplify the Pacific-wide trends toward internationalism and unrestricted trade during the early 1800s. Canton drew ships and commodities from the Pacific and beyond: sea otter pelts from the North American Coast, sandalwood from Hawai'i, *bêche-de-mer* (sea slugs) from Fiji, silver from South America, and textiles from India and England. Quite simply, Canton was the Pacific's luxury marketplace, where traders exchanged specie and natural resources for Chinese tea, silks, and other goods. Only 7 percent of ships entering California eventually crossed the Pacific to China, but this figure understates the significance of Canton to trans-Pacific commerce. Many cargoes that were gathered in the eastern Pacific—such as William Shaler's furs aboard the *Lelia Byrd*—were reassembled in Hawai'i or other ports before shipment to Canton. Furthermore, only the most seaworthy vessels would attempt to cross the entire Pacific prior to the 1820s.

The EIC permanently established its Canton "factory" (or commercial house) in 1751 as one of dozens of such factories stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to China. Working closely with the powerful Hong merchants, the EIC Canton representatives carefully monitored all business rivals as part of its mission, according to the EIC's Lord George Macartney, to "spread the use of British manufactures throughout every part of Asia."[59] Textile and other imports from England to Canton provided "sure profit" to the company during the early 1800s, counterbalancing the losses faced by the company's operations in India.[60] This global

[57] Goebel, "British Trade to the Spanish Colonies," 319.

[58] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle*, Leonard Engel, ed. (New York, 1962), 365–68; W. M. Mathew, "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Peru, 1820–70," *Economic History Review* 21 (December 1968): 562–79; Mathew, "Peru and the British Guano Market, 1840–1870," *Economic History Review* 23 (April 1970): 112–28.

[59] Lord George Macartney to Erasmus Gower, July 27, 1793, "China Embassy Letters Received," Box G/12/92, East India Company Collection, British Library.

[60] C. H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784–1834* (Manchester, 1940), 302; John Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (London, 1991), 430.

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commercial framework, carefully designed in London and protected by parliamentary action, worked exceedingly well in a restricted market environment.[61]

This all changed in the winter of 1821–1822, as detailed in reports from the EIC's "Select Committee" in Canton to the "Secret Committee" in London. "The Honourable Company," wrote the EIC secretary in Canton, N. H. C. Plowden, "this season is incurring a very serious loss [in textile] investment, in consequence of the large importations" by American vessels.[62] Plowden meticulously listed every American ship in the port of Canton, with details on home port, destination, cargo, tonnage, and arrival/departure dates. More than doubling the previous year's arrivals, forty-two American vessels were anchored in Canton Bay carrying imports valued at $7,413,096, while the "Honourable Company's" own imports for the season tallied $6,199,242.[63] The American trans-Pacific ships brought pelts, furs, sandalwood, quicksilver, and specie gathered from around the ocean. But the EIC showed equal concern about the U.S. ships filled with American and British-made textiles of "decidedly inferior description to those of the Company's."[64] Panic soon filled the missives from Canton to the EIC's London headquarters: "Unless some measures can be devised to prevent the introduction of these goods into China from Great Britain, by any ships besides those employed by the Honourable Company, it is difficult to calculate upon the effects of such a ruinous competition."[65]

No such "measures" could be devised to prevent European or American goods from entering Canton outside EIC channels. By the early 1820s, Canton's Hong merchants actively encouraged the opening of foreign agency houses to create new markets for Chinese products.[66] French, Portuguese, Spanish, and (non-EIC) British traders increasingly sought business in Canton during the 1820s, while merchants from New York and Boston established some of the most active agency houses, including Perkins & Co., Russel & Co., Augustine Heard & Co., and W. S. Wetmore & Co.[67] During the 1820s, the once-dominant "Honourable Company" struggled for advantage in the new market environment—it failed to restrict American trans-Pacific shipping in and out of Canton and unsuccessfully defended its monopoly in Parliament for the China trade against non-EIC British traders.[68] Facing new competition, EIC correspondents in Canton secretly planned to increase its narco-trafficker trade in highly addictive Patna opium—hardly an

[61] Hao, *Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China*, 337.

[62] N. H. C. Plowden to Joseph Dart, Secret Committee/Department, June 27, 1821, "Secret Letters Received from China, 27 June 1821 to 6 February 1823," Box G/12/284, East India Company Collection.

[63] "List of American Vessels at the Port of Canton, Season 1821, 1822," and "Estimate of the Import Trade on American Vessels at the Port of Canton, Season 1821, 1822," in "Canton Diary for Season 1821/1822," East India Company Collection.

[64] Plowden to Dart, April 10, 1822.

[65] Plowden to Dart, June 27, 1821.

[66] On market activity in Canton and Guangdong province during this period, see Robert Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge, 1998), 163–94; Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 11–41.

[67] Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community in Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1997), 44; Hao, *Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China*, 28.

[68] Downs, *Golden Ghetto*, 46.

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honorable direction for maintaining company profits and one that eventually sparked the Opium Wars.[69]

Canton, obviously, is a long way from California, and the two places are separated by the earth's largest feature—the Pacific Ocean. But those two places began to share certain characteristics. As the orientation and nature of Canton's markets shifted during the early 1820s, these changes paralleled developments across the ocean in Hawai'i, Peru, California, and the Northwest Coast. Trade restrictions crumbled, and independent operators challenged monopolistic companies, resulting in larger numbers of commercial vessels entering previously closed ports and also allowing more opportunities for disease transmission. Canton's commercial activity remained overwhelmingly directed toward the east (Southeast Asia, India, and Europe), but that would also change with the California Gold Rush and the introduction of steamships in the Pacific Ocean. By the 1850s, Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez argue, the ocean between China and California had "ceased to be a barrier; rather, it was a freeway."[70]

The opening of markets in specific ports (Callao, Hawai'i, California, and Canton) contributed to the expansion of Pacific trade during the early 1800s, and yet the question of cargo remains vitally important. What did Pacific vessels actually carry in their hulls? Were they filled with American and European cargo of the manufactured and technological variety? Jared Diamond suggests this scenario in *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, through the question posed by his New Guinean friend, Yali: "Why is it that you white people developed so much cargo and brought it to New Guinea, but we black people had little cargo of our own?"[71] For Diamond (and presumably Yali), "cargo" signified manufactured goods ranging from steel axes to umbrellas. From this perspective, we might imagine trans-Pacific vessels as floating department stores bound for material-deprived ports. But such an image only partially captures the nature of commerce in the early nineteenth-century eastern Pacific, and it fails to account for those items that attracted traders into this region. Instead, the commodities that lured international traders to the eastern Pacific were the natural resources and goods they could directly gather from native communities or indirectly through commercial ports.

Ships entering California arrived and departed with many different items. Spanish ships from Mexico (prior to 1821) primarily shuttled supplies to the California missions and returned with items produced by native laborers, such as hemp.[72] Russian traders brought pelts and returned with the barest foodstuffs and specie to their miserable settlement at Sitka, while American whaling vessels came and left with a singular natural resource, namely whale oil.[73] But California served as a trade depot for a variety of other resources, due in large part to its increasing

[69] See letters between the Select Committee and Secret Committee, March 19 and April 18, 1822, Box G/12/284; "Statement of Opium Imported into China Season 1821, 1822," Box G/12/225, East India Company Collection. Americans were also smuggling Turkish opium into China during this period.

[70] Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, introduction, *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons*, Flynn, Giráldez, and James Sobredo, eds. (Burlington, Vt., 2001), xi.

[71] Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997), 14.

[72] On California hemp production during Spanish rule, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco, 1886–90), 1: 717; 2: 178–81.

[73] Spanish supply ships between San Blas and California account for less than 10 percent of voyages,

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connections with Hawai'i, Alaska, and the Northwest Coast. Prior to 1848, 15 percent of ships arrived and/or left with sea otter pelts destined for Canton's markets, while another 11 percent of vessels carried pelts or skins from other land and sea animals. Introduced diseases played an important role in the expansion of this fur trade, which was based largely in the Pacific Northwest. Recall José Mariano Moziño's observation of Nootka Sound Indians being "consumed by the raging syphilis," and consider the effects such a plague had on social relations and previous restraints on individual hunting practices.[74] California's legendary "hide and tallow" trade accounted for 29 percent of ship's cargoes and dried meat for 6 percent. Timber, dried fish, precious metals, giant tortoises, and native-grown crops also filled the hulls of California outbound vessels.[75] Beyond California—in Hawai'i, Alaska, and the Northwest Coast—a similar set of exchanges took place. In the major ports, ship captains off-loaded trade items and specie for furs, timber, and crops; but outside of the ports, they swapped beads, iron pieces, and what Shaler called "trifling presents" for natural resources and goods acquired directly from native groups.

And therein lies a primary connection between trade and disease: these exchanges frequently required a level of sustained contact with native workers that facilitated the introduction of epidemics. The sea otter trade provides a perfect example. The habitat of the North Pacific sea otter ranged from the Aleutian Islands to the coast of Baja California, well over 4,000 miles of coastline inhabited by countless sea otters in the 1770s, when Russian, British, and Spanish converged in the Gulf of Alaska and Nootka Sound.[76] A lively trade for almost every land and sea fur-bearing animal continued for the next fifty years—but the sea otter's sleek and glossy fur brought the highest returns in Canton and other markets. As early as 1789, Alexander Dalrymple publicized individual sea otter pelts selling in Canton for forty Spanish dollars; by 1821, the price had dropped by only two dollars per skin, according to EIC records.[77] Killing sea otters, however, was a very specialized skill and demanded the labor of native hunters, which explains why Russian *promyshleniki* initially took Aleut women and children hostage and forced the male hunters to gather the pelts. By 1800, the hostage system transitioned into a contract labor arrangement, whereby British and American traders hired Aleut hunters through the Russian-American Company, shuttling the workers as far south as Baja

Russian ships (largely from Sitka to California) account for 7.24 percent of voyages, and whalers (mostly U.S.) account for 22.24 percent.

[74] On relations between traders and Indian hunters in the Puget Sound region, see Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 43–71. For comparative information on the fur trade in Northeast America, see John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, 2003), 463–516.

[75] Manufactured goods became more common as "in-cargo" to California after 1820, but less than 14 percent of ships recorded the nature of these items.

[76] The Spanish had first hunted sea otters off the Baja California coast in the 1730s and sold those pelts in China. The first Russian expedition, under Vitus Bering, returned to China with 900 pelts in 1741. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire*, 41–43.

[77] Alexander Dalrymple, *Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade, and Securing It to This Country, by Uniting the Operations of the East-India and Hudson's-Bay Companys* (London, 1789), 27; "Estimate of the Import Trade on American Vessels as the Port of Canton, Season 1821, 1822," East India Company Collection.

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California. The entire coastline soon became an extended killing field. Imported hunters pursued their prey in coastal bays and offshore islands, while traders like William Shaler filled their ships with the valuable pelts. Between 1800 and 1820, over 90 percent of American and British ships left California with sea otter pelts comprising some portion of their cargo. The region's sea otter population soon faced extinction, despite Mexican officials' last-ditch efforts to conserve the species in California.[78]

The traffic in sea otter pelts—and the manner in which native workers and traders turned them into cargo for Pacific vessels—typifies the process of resource extraction around the eastern Pacific. As furs (sea otter, beaver, etc.), marine species (dried fish, *bêche-de-mer*, and whale oil), timber, and many other resources became valuable commodities for exchange, traders increasingly relied on native peoples as hunters, laborers, and crew members. Native workers inevitably succumbed to disease through their close association with traders. The Aleut men and women (who often prepared the pelts for shipping) brought south for sea otter hunting worked in close quarters with their Russian, British, and American bosses; these Aleuts also had occasional contact with California Indians and Hawaiian, Kanaka, and Kaigani shipboard workers.[79] As a result, Aleuts perished in such large numbers that the Russian-American Company had to seek out a new labor pool, Kodiak Eskimos, for sea otter hunting.[80] Migrant workers aboard ships—whether Aleut hunters or Polynesian sailors—faced a particularly disease-ridden environment. In 1844, the captain of the schooner *California* reported the death from smallpox of three Kanakas en route from Mazatlán to Monterey, California; three years later, influenza broke out on the *Monarch*, and a large number of white and native crewmembers perished. Examples such as these appear in countless ship logbooks. While no concrete estimates exist for the number of native laborers that died aboard Pacific vessels, we do know they worked on most ships and frequently encountered disease.[81] The process of "seasoning" separated those who died aboard ship from those who survived for another voyage.[82]

Furthermore, the dialectic of trade and disease worked both ways: trading vessels spread disease and thereby diminished native communities, while native depopulation brought changes to emerging trade patterns. The end of Hawai'i's direct Kamehameha royalty line—through deaths caused by measles and tuberculosis in addition to low fertility rates—assisted political liberalization, enabled U.S.

[78] See Manuel Victoria, "Victoria al Ministro de Relaciones," Archives of California, Departmental Records (1831), 135–36.

[79] These work relations are described in most firsthand accounts of early Pacific trade; see Petr Aleksandrovich Tikhmenev, "Historical Review of the Origin of the Russian American Company," transcript and translation in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 180–192; Georg Heinrich Von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World, during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807* (London, 1813–14), 215–22; Eliab Grimes, "Logbook of the *Eagle*," Bancroft Library.

[80] Gibson, "Smallpox on the Northwest Coast," 72.

[81] "Log of Schooner California," in "Mexican California: Topics Found in Maritime MS Materials," Adele Ogden Papers; Hirsch, *Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology*, 1: 20. On the risk of disease for recruited laborers, as well as the estimate that one-quarter of native voyagers died while at sea, see Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 66–67, 160.

[82] Ralph Shlomowitz, "Epidemiology and the Pacific Labor Trade," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19 (Spring 1989): 585–610.

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annexation, and extended foreign control over island commerce.[83] The spread of diseases and rising native mortality rates in Hawai'i also sparked debates over the recruitment of healthy native men as sailors at a time when Pacific traders and whalers relied extensively on islanders to fill their crews. By the 1840s, the Hawaiian government took the preventive step of forcing ship captains to post bonds for the safe return of native sailors.[84] In California, native depopulation attended new commercial opportunities during the 1830s and 1840s. The booming trade in cattle hides and tallow destined for New England markets brought wealth to resident Yankee merchants such as Thomas Larkin and Abel Stearns as well as to some rancheros, and yet increased California livestock production relied on the expansion of privatized property (in massive land grants) previously occupied by native communities.[85] Disease during the Spanish period had already shattered these communities, and new outbreaks continued during the Mexican period. The sporadic resistance to Mexican rule by the interior Indian groups was wiped out by violence and disease during the next commercial upheaval—the Gold Rush. Thus native depopulation paved the way for significant commercial changes in Hawai'i, California, and many other places around the eastern Pacific.

THIS ESSAY BEGAN WITH THE ASSERTION THAT new trade relations in the eastern Pacific entangled native communities with foreign—and exceedingly deadly—biological agents. More specifically, trading vessels provided the primary means for diseases to travel around the Pacific's vast waterscape, reach isolated island populations, and strike various communities along the American coastline. Of course, some infections traveled to the Pacific by overland routes, and other diseases arrived on non-commercial voyages; missionary activities certainly spread germs, and Spanish conquests had dispersed deadly germs in parts of the Americas and Pacific prior to the late eighteenth century. Yet, for the period between the 1770s and the 1840s, trading vessels were the main agents of disease, creating in the Pacific what Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has called a "paroxysm" of the "microbian unification of the world."[86] By 1850, the microbes of Europe, Asia, and Africa circulated in almost every Pacific population.

While trade and disease interacted with one another throughout the world in all time periods, context remains exceedingly important, and the eastern Pacific offers

[83] King Kamehameha II (Liholiho) died from measles in 1824; Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) died childless in 1854; Kamehameha IV (Alexander Liholiho) died from chronic asthma in 1863; Kamehameha V (Kapuaiwa) died childless in 1872; and William Charles Lunalilo (the adopted son of Kamehameha III) died the following year of tuberculosis. See O. Bushnell, *Gifts of Civilization*, 202, 210; and Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu, 2002), 147, 151.

[84] Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 162; Chappell, "Indigenous Beachcombers in the Pacific Islands," 4.

[85] On the hide and tallow trade, rancho expansion, and native dispossession, see Paul Wallace Gates, *Land and Law in California: Essays on Land Policy* (Ames, Iowa, 1991), 24–120; David Igler, *Industrial Cowboys: Miller & Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850–1920* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 19–59; and George H. Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769–1849* (Norman, Okla., 1993).

[86] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "A Concept: The Unification of the Globe by Disease," 29, quoted in I. J. Catanach, "The 'Globalization' of Disease? India and the Plague," *Journal of World History* 12 (Spring 2001): 131.

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a diversity of actors, geographies, and ecological factors that is both similar and distinct from the better-known Columbian Exchanges in the Atlantic world. Any comparison between the Pacific and Atlantic basins must begin with the oceans themselves. The Pacific is twice the size of the Atlantic, contains a majority of the world's populated islands, and is separated from European and U.S. markets by a tremendous distance. These geographical factors made Pacific voyages dangerous, highly speculative, and filled with "first" encounters. Islanders and mainlanders alike knew their neighboring groups, but contact with Europeans initiated radical and sudden changes. "[W]hen Europeans arrived in Polynesia," writes I. C. Campbell, "they were not simply a variation on a theme. With the coming of Europeans, the unthinkable happened."[87] Explorers and traders from numerous nations entered the eastern Pacific during a relatively brief contact period—the 1770s to the early 1800s—but, unlike the Atlantic Basin, few European settler societies arrived until the late nineteenth century (with the exceptions of Australia, New Zealand, and California). Trade in natural resources did thrive, though on a different scale from Atlantic trade, due to the sheer distance from Atlantic ports, the available commodities, and the lure of Chinese markets. Pacific trade revealed a highly entrepreneurial nature in terms of the types of voyages, the opening of new ports, and the need to rely on indigenous populations as trading partners. The character of disease transmission followed from some of these characteristics. The Pacific's vast waterscape protected some populations—especially island populations—from deadly pathogens until explorers and traders had reached those native communities. When disease struck, it struck hard and repeatedly due to the constant inflow of sailors, missionaries, and beachcombers.

The contingent interactions between trade and disease may call for tremendous specificity on the local scale, because particular diseases arrived on certain ships carrying individual diseased bodies. For example, Captain Cook's *Discovery* and *Resolution* brought venereal disorders to Hawai'i in 1778; the Hudson's Bay Company's brigantine *Lama* introduced smallpox to Fort Simpson in 1836; the poorly named missionary ship *Messenger of Peace* imported influenza to Samoa in 1830; and the HMS *Dido* brought a devastating measles outbreak to Fiji in 1875. On this local scale, we know many of the ships that carried disease to Pacific populations, the arrival dates, the disease dispersion routes, and, in some cases, the body counts. Given the time and inclination, one could chart similar information for hundreds of ships that arrived at different ports carrying trade goods and their "shadow trade" of deadly viruses. These connections provide the specific links between ships and infected populations, but they also exemplify the global process of exogenous disease entering local communities and triggering waves of death throughout a larger region.

On a more general and transoceanic scale, trade and disease inaugurated severe dislocation in native communities around the Pacific by virtue of the way these forces complemented one another. Disease introduction did not typically result in immediate and far-reaching pandemics. Rather, wave after wave of different diseases struck Pacific populations and caused varying results, and these repeated

[87] I. C. Campbell, "The Culture of Culture Contact: Refractions from Polynesia," *Journal of World History* 14 (March 2003): 65.

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introductions increased in frequency and shifted geographically due to the steady rise in commercial activity. Alta California's commercial traffic, for instance, grew substantially after 1800 as it became linked to a system of Pacific ports. Each vessel entering California waters carried highly diverse crews and equally diverse microbes. Each vessel represented a cultural and epidemiological grab bag as it traveled from one Pacific port to another, and these ports redirected the flow of diseases to commercially profitable points around the ocean. The formerly disparate Pacific borderlands gradually came to share many characteristics, and one characteristic was native depopulation rates ranging between 60 and 95 percent by the mid-nineteenth century.[88]

Though victims of disease and colonization, indigenous Pacific peoples actively pursued the range of possible actions in their localities.[89] They attacked ships, took white hostages, and sometimes compelled advantage in the middle grounds created by trade. Natives frequently sought alliances with traders and personal profit from the Pacific's burgeoning commerce in their roles as producers, consumers, sexual partners, and shipboard workers. Disease and depopulation certainly influenced how native survivors responded to new commercial opportunities. The community disruptions that followed epidemics forced an array of unpredictable actions. Some natives fled to neighboring groups or inland away from a disease outbreak.[90] Others maintained functioning communities, while some chose to join ship crews. As Pacific workers, they possessed varying degrees of autonomy. Fiji's Indian migrants were indentured laborers, while the Aleuts who killed California sea otters worked under contract for limited time periods.[91] Many indigenous island people willingly joined American crews and labored aboard ships around the Pacific, while others were captives who died on ship from horrendous diseases far from home. Ultimately, native agency on the one hand and dependency on the other must be assessed in light of the new environment created by international trade and abrupt population declines.

Economic globalization—with a decidedly entrepreneurial nature—arrived in the Pacific through voyages like William Shaler's. Historians of the eastern Pacific have largely ignored this internationalism and instead focused on specific imperial nations and their conflicts over geography: *Russian* Alaska, the *British* and *Spanish* along the Northwest Coast, *American* interests in Hawai'i, and *Spanish*-turned-*Mexican* control of California. These geopolitical demarcations were clearly significant to empires in the early nineteenth century, and yet those demarcations were far less meaningful to the ascendant interests of international trade. Traders from numerous nations converged in the eastern Pacific and competed for

[88] Stannard, "Disease, Human Migration, and History," 41. For comparative figures on depopulation rates in the Americas, see Stannard, "Disease and Infertility: A New Look at the Demographic Collapse of Native Populations in the Wake of Western Contact," *Journal of American Studies* 24 (December 1990): 325–50; Wilbur R. Jacobs, *The Fatal Confrontation: Historical Studies of American Indians, Environment, and Historians* (Albuquerque, N.M., 1996), 77–89; and Ann F. Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque, 1987), 1–21.

[89] On native agency, rationality, and victimization, see Chappell, "Active Agents versus Passive Victims," 204–28; Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West Pacific, 1830–1865* (London, 1967); and Campbell, "Culture of Culture Contact," 63–86.

[90] Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, 212.

[91] K. L. Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants: A History to the End of Indenture in 1920* (Melbourne, 1962).

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profitable goods. They enlisted and sometimes enslaved local populations in the pursuit of profits. By and large, traders like Shaler successfully circumvented existing imperial laws and gave little credence to international borders. Thus it was the visible hand of global commerce that extended the most powerful—and deadly—reach into this region and forged the strongest links within and between the future American Far West, the Pacific Basin, and beyond.

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Slower Than a Massacre: The Multiple Sources of Racial Thought in Colonial Africa

JONATHON GLASSMAN

> Educated Africans are continually agitating to be given more responsibility, but I submit to you . . . that you will be unable to take that part unless and until you have inculcated in your own people a PRIDE OF RACE. Without this, education is useless.
>
> A. W. Norris, in *Mazungumzo ya Walimu*, 1930.[1]

> Soap and education are not as sudden as a massacre, but they are more deadly in the long run.
>
> Mark Twain, quoted in *Mazungumzo ya Walimu*, 1957.[2]

THE ABOVE INSIGHTS APPEARED IN *Mazungumzo ya Walimu* (Teachers' Conversations), a magazine published by schoolteachers in colonial Zanzibar, an island sultanate just off the East African coast.[3] While unusual for having been written by Westerners rather than Zanzibaris, the quotes represent *Mazungumzo*'s overall faith in the power of education to advance the goals of moral improvement. But Twain's aphorism also fits in a way that was unintended, and is chilling. It appeared in 1957, the opening year of the *Zama za Siasa* or "Time of Politics," when the sultanate became gripped by mounting racial tensions as nationalist parties vied in elections meant to prepare it for independence. Even though the schoolteachers believed their thirty-year project of uplift and nation-building had been as salutary as the teaching of modern hygiene, their rhetoric in fact contributed to the atmosphere of racial hatred that culminated during the early 1960s in pogroms against the so-called Arab elite, including those accompanying the racial revolution

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[1] A. W. Norris, "Pride of Race," *Normal Magazine* 4, no. 4 (April 1930): 30–33. The magazine was later renamed *Mazungumzo ya Walimu*, hereafter *Maz.*

[2] *Maz.*, n.s. 1, no. 3 (May 1957): 14.

[3] Zanzibar consists of two main islands, Zanzibar (or Unguja) and Pemba. From 1890 to December 1963, it was a British protectorate, its official head of state chosen from the Omani Arab dynasty that had established the sultanate early in the nineteenth century. Shortly after independence, the sultan was overthrown by forces loyal to the Afro-Shirazi Party. In April 1964, Zanzibar and the mainland nation of Tanganyika united to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

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that overthrew the sultanate in January 1964, a few weeks after independence.[4] Outsiders viewed the massacres as emblematic of the "primordial attachments" that blocked the way of those who wished to build nations in the former colonies.[5] But, in many ways, the obstacle had been created by the nation-builders themselves.

The schoolteachers and their rhetoric typify the elite intelligentsia who dominated mainstream nationalism throughout Africa in the middle decades of the twentieth century. In suggesting that Zanzibar's postwar racial hatred was rooted in the political discourse they authored, I am going against several currents in the literature on exterminationist ethnic violence in the colonial and postcolonial world. Much of that literature assumes that ethnic conflict arose more or less automatically from social structures that had been bolstered or even created outright by colonial rule. Its emphasis, then, is not on indigenous political thinkers but on European policymakers who defined and divided their subjects by race and ethnicity.[6] Historians who do take cognizance of indigenous racial thinkers usually portray them as marginal figures, the tools of colonial mentors. The result is that the intellectuals who incited dehumanizing violence are treated as aberrations, "sub-nationalist" demagogues isolated from the anti-colonial mainstream of nationalist thought.[7]

Authors who give any consideration to the role of local thinkers in the rise of Zanzibari racial politics (they are remarkably few, for reasons to be explored below) generally bypass the intelligentsia altogether and focus instead on the poorly educated ideologues of the African Association and its successor, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), whose virulent racial populism informed most of the pogroms. These subaltern intellectuals came late to the political scene, as did the migrant workers and urban poor who constituted the core of their constituents, and their rhetoric is

[4] To describe the revolution in this way is to take a stand on an issue that has aroused much contention. The extent of racial violence in 1964 is undeniable, yet several authors have argued that "so-called ethnic divisions" merely masked the fundamental fact that the coup was "not an ethnic, but a social revolution." This distinction between "ethnic" and "social" phenomena is, of course, false. I fully endorse these authors' contention that racial identities are mere "images people have of themselves and others." But the events of 1957–1964 are eloquent testimony to the impact such images can have on people's thoughts and actions, and it is imperative that the historian try to account for how they were constructed. Quotes are from L. Rey, "The Revolution in Zanzibar," in Lionel Cliffe and John Saul, eds., *Socialism in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 1972), 1: 30; and (for "images") Abdul Sheriff, "A Materialist Approach to Zanzibar's History," in A. Sheriff and Ed Ferguson, eds., *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule* (London, 1991), 7.

[5] For a forceful statement, see Michael Lofchie, "Zanzibar," in James Coleman and Carl Rosberg, eds., *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1964), 506. The quoted phrase is from Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States* (New York, 1963). Prominent examples of Western perceptions of the Zanzibar violence include V. S. Naipaul's 1979 novel, *A Bend in the River*, and Gualtiero Jacopetti's 1966 film, *Africa Addio*.

[6] I will consider the African literature below. The classic argument for South Asia is Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi, 1990); for broad critiques, see Sudhir Kakar, *The Colors of Violence: Cultural Identities, Religion, and Conflict* (Chicago, 1996), 12–24; C. A. Bayly, *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India* (Delhi, 1998); Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Historical Approaches to Communalism: Perspectives from Western India," in Peter Robb, ed., *Society and Ideology: Essays in South Asian History* (Delhi, 1993), 247–66.

[7] See the suggestive comments in Michael Chege, "Africa's Murderous Professors," *The National Interest* 46 (Winter 1996); also Gyanendra Pandey, "In Defense of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today," *Representations* 37 (1992): 27–55.

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usually assumed to have been derived from external sources, especially the abolitionist history taught in colonial schools. The intelligentsia, in contrast, were the pioneers of nationalism, first in the Arab Association and later in the islands' first viable political party, the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP). For decades, they had advocated an inclusive form of national identity that bridged racial and class divides by enjoining common loyalty to the sultan and to the longstanding traditions of Islamic civilization that he supposedly represented. This unifying message steadily gained support throughout the 1940s and 1950s (according to the standard account), only to run aground on the racial fears whipped up by the ASP during the Time of Politics of 1957–1963.[8]

Although it is undeniable that ASP demagoguery lay behind much of the violence of the Time of Politics, the racial thinking from which it emerged, and which made so many Zanzibaris susceptible to its seductions, was fairly pervasive and as such is unlikely to be traced to a single cause. On the contrary, as Ann Laura Stoler has observed, a "scholarly quest for origins"—a quest for the moment of "original sin" when "the die of race was cast"—can only obscure a full understanding of the etiology of racial thought.[9] Such quests assume what Loïc Wacquant describes as "the logic of the trial," with investigators seeking to name "victims and culprits" rather than understand complex historical processes.[10] A pointed illustration of the dangers involved can be found in the literature on Rwanda, a case that parallels Zanzibar's in many ways.[11] In a recent synthesis, Mahmood Mamdani focuses on the processes by which notions of difference became racialized during the colonial era. This concept of racialization can be indispensable, for it prompts us to ask how diverse forms of ethnic and national thought can become invested with racial meanings.[12] Yet, like many authors, Mamdani traces the racialization process back to a single source, the actions of the colonial state.[13] The result is a

[8] Allowing for the oversimplification necessary in summing up a complex and nuanced work, this stands as a fair representation of the argument in Michael Lofchie, *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1965). Anthony Clayton criticizes Lofchie for underestimating the divisiveness of ZNP rhetoric; his own account of the Time of Politics serves as a useful corrective: *The Zanzibar Revolution and Its Aftermath* (London, 1981), 37–49. Lofchie's study remains the standard account of the islands' political history, although subsequent authors have emphasized more the colonial derivation of Zanzibari racial thought: for example, Alamin Mazrui and Ibrahim Noor Shariff, *The Swahili: Idiom and Identity of an African People* (Trenton, N.J., 1994); Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar* (Athens, Ohio, 2001). For a fuller discussion of the ASP's racial rhetoric, see Jonathon Glassman, "Sorting Out the Tribes: The Creation of Racial Identities in Colonial Zanzibar's Newspaper Wars," *Journal of African History* 41 (2000): 395–428.

[9] Ann Laura Stoler, "Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth," *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 183–206, quotes from 185.

[10] Loïc Wacquant, "For an Analytic of Racial Domination," *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 221–34, quote from 222.

[11] René Lemarchand, "Revolutionary Phenomena in Stratified Societies: Rwanda and Zanzibar," *Civilisations* 5, no. 1 (1968); Catharine Newbury, "Colonialism, Ethnicity and Rural Political Protest: Rwanda and Zanzibar in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 15 (1983): 253–80.

[12] The concept is often associated with the sociologist Michael Banton, *The Idea of Race* (London, 1977); Jean-Pierre Chrétien makes use of it in his studies of Rwandan intellectual history, some of which are cited below.

[13] Villia Jefremovas observes that most authors neglect the role of elite indigenous intellectuals: "Treacherous Waters: The Politics of History and the Politics of Genocide in Rwanda and Burundi," *Africa* 70, no. 2 (2000): 298–308.

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view of colonial intellectual history in which Europeans are the only actors, inventing and imposing identities as prompted by administrative needs.[14]

The literature on colonial Africa is rife with such interpretations. To understand why this is so, one must confront a cluster of misapprehensions about the nature of race and associated forms of ethnic and national thought, some specific to the study of Africa, others more general. Only then can one craft a strategy that does not underestimate the role played by African thinkers in the construction of race.

THE FIRST OF THESE MISAPPREHENSIONS is a lingering tendency toward what Robert Miles calls the "conceptual inflation" of race into an element of social structure; this is especially pronounced in studies of the colonial world. Most sociologists now reject that tendency, preferring instead to understand race as a mode of thought—in constant interplay with social structures and political processes, to be sure, but best approached as a topic of intellectual history. This understanding stresses that the history of race has involved the "production and reproduction of meanings," specifically, meanings concerning particular ways of categorizing humanity.[15]

However, most studies of the history of racial thought limit themselves by regarding their subject only as a specific corpus of ideas: a "doctrine" that categorizes and ranks humanity in terms of biology. Racial thought is thus usually approached as a school of Western science ("raciology," as it once was called), which realized its classic distillations in nineteenth-century Europe.[16] To be sure, some authors have recognized the limits of such a view, since, even at the height of

[14] Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). This aspect of Mamdani's interpretation contradicts his avowed determination to go beyond analyses that focus on state agency. (It also contradicts his condemnation of "the search for origins" as "the original and persistent sin of Western history writing" about Africa [50].) Yet some of the literature that Mamdani claims to transcend demonstrates the important role played by Rwandan intellectuals in crafting racial myths. Examples include Jan Vansina, *L'évolution du royaume Rwanda des origines à 1900* (1962; rpt. edn., Brussels, 2000); Claudine Vidal, *Sociologie des passions: Rwanda, Côte d'Ivoire* (Paris, 1991), 45–61; Jean-Pierre Chrétien, "Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi," in Jean-Loup Amselle and Elikia M'Bokolo, eds., *Au coeur de l'ethnie: Ethnies, tribalisme et état en Afrique* (Paris, 1985), esp. 146–50; René Lemarchand, *Ethnicity as Myth: The View from Central Africa* (Copenhagen, 1999). This literature renders implausible any suggestion that such intellectuals merely parroted their European teachers. Although racialization was indeed largely a product of the colonial era, the historical record prompts a leading authority to "reject decisively the judgment of those who attribute the distinction between Tutsi and Hutu, and their mutual hostility, to the ideas and actions of colonial masters." Jan Vansina, *Le Rwanda ancien: Le royaume nyiginya* (Paris, 2001), 177.

[15] Robert Miles, *Racism* (London, 1989). For a critique of the continued tendency to inflate race into a sociological category, see Mara Loveman, "Is 'Race' Essential?" *American Sociological Review* 64, no. 6 (1999): 861–98. Understanding race as a mode of thought has become all the more prevalent as scientists have demolished lingering notions that racial boundaries have any biological significance, yet it long predates those advances. It informed Hannah Arendt's influential concept of "race-thinking" (*The Origins of Totalitarianism* [new edn., New York, 1973; orig. 1951]), and can be found in Max Weber, who did not consider race or ethnicity to be sociological categories. Weber, *Economy and Society*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds. (New York, 1968), 1: 385–98; Ernst Moritz Manasse, "Max Weber on Race," *Social Research* 14 (1947): 191–221.

[16] For a consensus that race be regarded as "doctrine," see Michael Banton, "The Concept of Racism," in Sami Zubaida, ed., *Race and Racialism* (London, 1970), 17–34. Miles, *Racism*, prefers the word "ideology." Arendt's idea of "race-thinking" is more flexible, but she, too, treated it as specific to Western thought.

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raciology's academic respectability, few *pogromschiki* or lynch-mob members would have been conversant with the writings of Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau or Houston Stewart Chamberlain.[17] More pointedly, over the past twenty years, a substantial literature has taken cognizance of post-scientific forms that have flourished in the wake of raciology's postwar academic demise. These "new racisms" demonstrate that racial thought need not be manifested in a scientific idiom or entail a comprehensive ranking of racial categories. There now exists a "racism without races," writes Etienne Balibar, "a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences."[18]

Yet even the literature on the "new racism" portrays it as a holdover from classic raciology or, more precisely, as a deteriorated version of that ideology, which once existed in a pristine, originary state.[19] Such literature is mistaken both in its depiction of the supposed newness of culturalist racial thought and in its depiction of the older forms, which in fact were neither invariably hierarchical nor invariably built around a core of biological theory.[20] Past social practices that are universally accepted as classic examples of "racism," including colonial racisms, were informed by a wide variety of ideologies, many of which had little to do with racial science. Far more influential than raciology, for example, was the anthropological concept of clearly bounded "cultural monads," a concept directly connected with contemporary culturalist thought. As Balibar recognizes, the idea of "racism without races" is far from revolutionary.[21]

In succumbing to the search for origins, scholars overlook a central theme of the historical literature on racial science itself, which charts the latter's own varied and multiple sources, including many that were neither "racial" (in the conventional sense) nor scientific. Perhaps most significant of these sources was the concept of "barbarism" and its foil, "civilization," from which modern race-thinkers inherited the project of comparing all humanity according to a single, universal standard.[22] It should be axiomatic that the history of a phenomenon cannot be found solely by

[17] Nevertheless, folk racisms are usually regarded as distinct from the real thing, some authors simply refusing to consider them manifestations of racial thought, others assuming that popular notions arose as pale reflections of ideas whose origins lay in more erudite circles. Examples of the first approach include Banton, "Concept of Racism"; of the second, Eric Wolf, "Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People," *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 1 (1994); and K. Anthony Appiah, "Race, Culture, Identity: Misunderstood Connections," in Appiah and Amy Gutmann, *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 30–105. For an incisive discussion of "the continual barter between folk and analytical notions," see Wacquant, "For an Analytic of Racial Domination."

[18] Etienne Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" in Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Chris Turner, trans. (London, 1991), 21. This literature first arose in response to the arguments of Banton and other British sociologists that the anti-immigrant rhetoric of Tory politicians in the postcolonial UK could not properly be deemed "racism." Banton, *Idea of Race*, chap. 9; Martin Barker, *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe* (London, 1981).

[19] Stoler, "Racial Histories."

[20] Raciology was more about explaining difference than about ranking, and some raciologists considered themselves anti-racists, that is, politically opposed to ranking. For examples, E. W. Count, ed., *This Is Race* (New York, 1950); Benoit Massin, "From Virchow to Fischer: Physical Anthropology and 'Modern Race Theories' in Wilhelmine Germany," in George W. Stocking, ed., *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition* (Madison, Wis., 1996), 79–154.

[21] Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" 23. The term "cultural monads" is from Wolf, "Perilous Ideas."

[22] Classic accounts include Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action,*

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looking for its earliest manifestations as it is defined a priori; to paraphrase Friedrich Nietzsche, in defining a phenomenon we deny it a history.[23] Many scholars nevertheless insist on an absolute divide between racial thought and the concepts that contributed to it, and search doggedly for the precise moment that race emerged from (for example) the discourse of barbarism. As Stoler archly observes, they come up with widely divergent dates.[24]

One of the implications for the study of the colonial world should be clear. If "race" is assumed to arise solely from scientific doctrines, then its presence in the non-Western world must be traced solely to the West. And that, in fact, has become a standard narrative. Building on a set of functionalist assumptions often associated with Immanuel Wallerstein, authors describe how Western expansion called racial thought into being as a way of structuring the worldwide division of labor between the subservient "periphery" and the ruling "core." In tying race so mechanistically to the structures of global capitalism, such analyses remove it from the realm of intellectual history. The result is the kind of conceptual inflation Miles warns against; indeed, several authors explicitly insist that race can be defined only in terms of the "inequalities . . . inherent in a social structure" of Western conquest.[25] Again, such explanations are undermined by a historical literature on the multiple sources of Western racial thought, sources that included, for example, seminal debates about *European* difference.[26] Still, despite disagreements concerning the precise relationship between imperial expansion and the rise of racial thought, there is wide consensus that race was invented in the West and carried to the rest of the world in the toolbox of colonial rulers.[27]

What happens if we abandon the fixation on scientific doctrines and instead recognize racial thought as a shifting field of discourse, a general set of assumptions that humankind is divided among constituent categories, each of which is distinguished by inherited traits and characteristics? ("Racism," a belief that racial qualities can be ranked according to moral status and other criteria, will then be seen as but a possible form of "racial thought.")[28] Raciology and other Western racisms then appear as historically specific manifestations of a much broader trend

1780–1850 (Madison, Wis., 1964); George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago, 1982).

[23] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Toward a Genealogy of Morals*, section 13.

[24] Stoler, "Racial Histories." An example is Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, 1996). The first half of Hannaford's book is an erudite exercise in correcting for the opposite error, that is, the assumption through backward induction that an act of apparent racism from the pre-modern past was the product of raciological doctrines.

[25] John Rex, "The Concept of Race in Sociological Theory," in Zubaida, *Race and Racialism*, 39. For similar arguments, see Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood," in Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class*, 71–85; Roger Sanjek, "The Enduring Inequalities of Race," in Steven Gregory and R. Sanjek, eds., *Race* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), 1–17; Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, "The Essential Social Fact of Race," *American Sociological Review* 64, no. 6 (1999): 899–906; Howard Winant, *The World Is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy since World War II* (New York, 2001).

[26] Banton, *Idea of Race*.

[27] Such is the view of Banton, *Idea of Race*, despite his skepticism that Western expansion *caused* the emergence of racial thought.

[28] These distinctions are developed further by Anthony Appiah, from whom I have derived some of my language: *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (Oxford, 1992); and "Racisms," in David Theo Goldberg, ed., *Anatomy of Racism* (Minneapolis, 1990), 3–17. (Appiah writes of "racialism" rather than "racial thought.")

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in Western thought—and in human thought generally. Relatively few of the intellectual currents that contributed to raciology were peculiar to the West: drawing boundaries between peoples or ethnicities and even ranking them according to universalizing registers of inferiority and superiority have been far from unusual in world-historical terms. Concepts convergent with the ideal of civilization,[29] ostensibly inclusive yet contributing to hierarchical beliefs and practices that look uncomfortably like "racism," have occurred in many non-Western intellectual traditions, Zanzibar's among them.[30] Indeed, Igor Kopytoff has argued that discourses of civilization and barbarism—including tropes marking barbarians as physically different—have been so common in sub-Saharan oral traditions that one might almost speak of them of as part of a continent-wide political culture.[31]

Still, the approaches we have been discussing all assume that race can be fundamentally distinguished from other ways of categorizing difference, such as ethnicity or xenophobia, by the central conceit that cultural identities, and hence cultural boundaries, are fixed in the body, or the "blood."[32] The ubiquity of this distinction is surprising, since it is of recent vintage: it came into its own only after World War II, as social scientists strove to isolate raciology, recently discredited by

[29] These comments do not refer to the French Enlightenment concept of *civilisation*, which, strictly speaking, included the embrace of universal (that is, Western) reason. But the eighteenth-century French neologism was coined to express more general concepts that long predated (and outlived) it, few of which were peculiar to the modern West. Lucien Febvre, "*Civilisation*: Evolution of a Word and a Group of Ideas," in *A New Kind of History*, Peter Burke, ed. (London, 1973), 219–57.

[30] China is the best-known example, for which see Frank Dikötter, "Group Definition and the Idea of Race in Modern China," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13, no. 3 (1990). Many of the concepts that were to become racialized in colonial Rwanda had their origins in earlier distinctions of boorishness and urbanity: Vansina, *Rwanda ancien*, 172–77; David Newbury, " 'Bunyabungo': The Western Rwandan Frontier, c. 1750–1850," in Igor Kopytoff, ed., *The African Frontier* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987), 164–92. Such distinctions were of ancient standing in Bantu-speaking central Africa: for example, John Thornton, "Mbanza Kongo/Sao Salvador: Kongo's Holy City," in David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone, eds., *Africa's Urban Past* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000), 67; Jan Vansina, *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples* (Madison, Wis., 1978). Examples from southern Africa include the contrast between cannibalism and order, and the harsh attitudes harbored toward Khoi and Basarwa hunters and gatherers by their neighbors: Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 212–13; Robert J. Gordon, *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), 31–32; John Comaroff, "Of Totemism and Ethnicity," in John and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), 49–67. Even those whom state dwellers scorned as stateless "barbarians" could harbor their own values of civilization, which might become hegemonic over their immediate neighbors; this irony is illustrated by the pastoralist Maa-speaking "sections" that came to dominate East Africa's Central Rift Valley in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Thomas Spear and Richard Waller, eds., *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa* (London, 1993). A striking parallel to the Zanzibar case involves the so-called *originaires* of French West Africa, whose disdain for certain of their fellow Africans was rooted in concepts of civilization and boorishness that played both on precolonial, Islamic standards and those adopted from French rulers: Rebecca Shereikis, "From Law to Custom: The Shifting Legal Status of Muslim *originaires* in Kayes and Medine," *Journal of African History* 42 (2001): 261–83.

[31] Igor Kopytoff, "The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture," in Kopytoff, *African Frontier*, esp. 49–50, 56–57. Kopytoff notes that discourses of civilization and barbarism shaped the competing claims of peoples who met at the continent's many internal frontiers.

[32] A narrower understanding of "race," as a form of thought that categorizes humanity according to objectively existing somatic traits such as skin color, is historically and conceptually untenable: John Szwed, "Race and the Embodiment of Culture," *Ethnicity* 2 (1975): 19–33; Appiah, "Race, Culture, Identity"; Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985). Again, these views were anticipated by Weber, who stressed the degree to which perceptions of group physical differences are culturally determined and therefore as subjective as other perceptions of common ethnic descent. *Economy and Society*, 2: 392.

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the Nazis, from more general concepts of ethnic and national difference. ("Ethnicity," in fact, was something of a neologism.)[33] Yet the distinction is misleading, for it obscures the fact that all these modes of thought build on the same two core elements. First is the assumption that humanity consists of a discontinuous series of authentic cultural wholes, each internally homogeneous, the creation and property of a distinct "people."[34] Second is the metaphor of descent, that is, the general idea that the peoples who are the guardians of these discrete cultures are somehow linked by consanguinity. Such "blood ties" are imagined with greater or lesser degrees of vagueness. Language we call "race" places more explicit emphasis on the metaphor of descent—or, indeed, on the conviction that the "blood relationship" is more than mere metaphor—than does language we call "ethnicity."[35] The distinction between "race" and "ethnicity," then, is one of degree not kind; and, rather than regard them as qualitatively distinct, it is more useful to recognize them as modes of thought that fall toward opposing ends of a single continuum, the "aura of descent" hovering around them all.[36]

I do not mean to deny the usefulness in historical analysis of distinguishing *descriptively* between doctrines or political ideologies based on explicitly racial concepts and those based on other kinds of ethnic criteria. (So, for example, contrary to the claims of neo-conservative critics, one must acknowledge the historical specificity of white supremacy and the unique forms of oppression it has produced.[37]) But it should be recognized that at any particular historical juncture all such doctrines are part of a common discourse of difference that categorizes

[33] Miles, *Racism*, 42–44; Saul Dubow, "Ethnic Euphemisms and Racial Echoes," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (1994): 355–70; Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars* (Cambridge, 1992), esp. 296–302. As Barkan observes, the trend began between the wars. Similar trends can be found in the history of the French word *ethnie*, which, for example, was first applied to Rwanda only in the early 1960s. Dominique Franche, "Généalogie du génocide rwandais: Hutu et Tutsi; Gaulois et Francs?" *Les temps modernes* 582 (1995): 10; Claudine Vidal, "Le génocide des Rwandais tutsi et l'usage public de l'histoire," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 38, no. 150–52 (1998): 660.

[34] Nowadays, a belief in such "cultural monads" is typically associated with functionalist anthropology and is often criticized as such. But it also formed a central component of classic racial thought and was among the targets of Franz Boas's famous critiques of the latter. Stocking, *Race, Culture*; Stocking, *Volksgeist*; Wolf, "Perilous Ideas."

[35] An explicit emphasis on the blood relationship is not incompatible with an awareness that the relationship is a metaphor for something else. Sati al-Husri, a nationalist intellectual active in Baghdad and Cairo and a major influence throughout the Arab world, including among the Zanzibari intellectuals discussed below, recognized that common descent was merely a metaphor, yet he insisted that it was a useful metaphor for forging national unity. Sati al-Husri, "The Historical Factor in the Formation of Nationalism," in Kemal Karpat, ed., *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, rev. edn. (New York, 1982), 39–43.

[36] This abbreviated discussion describes views held by a variety of authors, many of which were anticipated by Weber. The phrase "aura of descent" is from Ronald Cohen, "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 (1978): 379–403. Discussions relevant to the metaphor of descent also include Charles Keyes, "Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group," *Ethnicity* 3 (1976): 202–13; Eric Voegelin, "The Growth of the Race Idea," *Review of Politics* 2 (1940): 283–317; and various sources already cited. For an insightful discussion of the ambiguity of distinctions between race, nation, and ethnicity, see Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman, *History and Ethnicity* (London, 1989), 1–21. Religious ethnicities would seem at first glance to be an exception to this argument. Yet in fact the notion of religious identity as an act of choice was "a delayed result of the Reformation and a direct result of the Enlightenment . . . Outside the West, religion remained an ascriptive affiliation" (Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, 50).

[37] For a discussion of the neo-conservative position, see Sanjek, "Enduring Inequalities," 8–9.

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humanity via metaphors of descent. The "family resemblance"[38] among them must be grasped if we are to understand how virtually any form of ethnic thought carries implications that are capable of being elaborated in terms of qualities fixed in the "blood." Such elaboration—the process of racialization—is rarely the work of a unified cadre, inspired by a single coherent doctrine. Rather, it emerges from the debates of a diverse range of intellectuals, drawing on multiple and overlapping sources, united only by the general assumptions of racial/ethnic discourse.

Nationalism is one variant of ethnic thought that has proven especially susceptible to racialization.[39] By the mid-twentieth century, the politics of the nation-state had become a global "categorical order," a set of concepts taken for granted by leading political thinkers throughout the colonial world.[40] Of course, this did not automatically lead to unity. Nations have never been defined by any single set of criteria, and conflicts have always been rife among nationalist ideologues over who, precisely, belongs to the national community.[41] It has become a truism that nations are defined as much by exclusion as inclusion, that is, in terms of who does *not* belong. When such exclusionary rhetoric is considered alongside the genealogical metaphors that underlie all ethnic discourse, one can understand how virtually any form of national thought—including, as we shall see, thought based on an ostensibly inclusive, universalizing language of civilization—might be interpreted in ways that denigrate certain categories of people by dint of their descent. There is no firm line between national thought and racial thought, and a racial paradigm of exclusion and dehumanization is implicit in virtually all nationalist projects, even the most liberal.[42]

[38] Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, uses this phrase to describe similarities between idioms of kinship and ethnicity.

[39] We may define nationalism as any political philosophy based on the assumption that each of the mutually exclusive ethnic groups into which humanity is presumably divided ought "naturally" to control its own state. This gloss is derived chiefly from Weber, "The Nation," in *From Max Weber*, H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. (London, 1948). Tonkin *et al.* observe that "it is no more than a tautology to say that nations have ethnic origins" (*History and Ethnicity*, 18)—provided, of course, that one remember that ethnic communities are no less "imagined" than nations.

[40] Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago, 1995); A. M. Alonso, "The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 379–405; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn. (London, 1991). This is not to say that national thought was taken for granted at all levels of colonial society, as has been made clear by historians working on popular politics in Africa and South Asia.

[41] As Eric Hobsbawm has written, the criteria are "fuzzy": *Nations and Nationalism since 1789: Programme, Myth, Reality* (1990; Cambridge, 1992), 6. For an unusually strong rejection of the search for a consistent definition, see Valery Tishkov, "Forget the 'Nation': Post-Nationalist Understandings of Nationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (2000): 625–50.

[42] Authors who have recognized this include Etienne Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," in Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class*, 37–67; Zygmunt Bauman, "Soil, Blood and Identity," *Sociological Review* 40 (1992): 675–701; Carole Nagengast, "Violence, Terror and the Crisis of the State," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 109–36; George M. Frederickson, *The Comparative Imagination: On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 77–97. For a splendid historical analysis that makes use of this insight, see James R. Brennan, "Nation, Race and Urbanization in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1916–1976" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 2002).

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THE MISCONCEPTIONS I HAVE BEEN HIGHLIGHTING are especially common in the literature on Africa, much of which continues to approach ethnicity, race, and nation as analytically distinct. There is a tendency to regard only the last of these as the product of ideologies consciously crafted by African thinkers. Ethnicity and race, on the other hand, are often inflated into "sociological facts," nowadays usually explained instrumentally. Some scholars, as we have seen, dismiss ethnic thought as little more than a European invention, accepted by Africans in order to secure access to resources controlled by missionaries and the colonial state.[43] Others, more persuasively, recognize the role played by African intellectuals, who cast ethnic appeals in ways calculated to resonate with concerns that had been shaped by labor migration, clientelism, and other processes associated with the construction of the colonial political economy. Yet even these authors assume that ethnic rhetoric can be traced to European origins; hence, as Leroy Vail argues in an often-cited overview, African intellectuals should be seen as "brokers." More fundamentally, these authors stress that the power of ethnic appeals can be explained only in terms of material need. In downplaying all other factors, which Vail dismisses as "non-rational" and therefore irrelevant, they minimize the impact of the content of ethnic thought, even while focusing on the intellectuals themselves.[44]

The continuing assumption of a strict analytic divide between nationalism and other forms of ethnic thought is part of a more general failure to break fully with the nationalist paradigm that has shaped African historical studies for the past forty years. And this has prevented historians of Africa from addressing the kind of questions that have marked other literatures on ethnic politics. Those other literatures have examined how intellectuals crafted locally compelling languages of belonging and exclusion whose affective power rarely had much to do with utilitarian logics.[45] In contrast, the Africa literature has largely treated political thinkers "empirically," describing their roles in creating and leading parties and

[43] See the works on Rwanda already cited. Other examples include Patrick Harries, "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa," in Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 82–117; Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*; Mazrui and Shariff, *The Swahili*; Colin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya* (Berkeley, 1974), 198–206. An influential statement dismissed ethnic thought as "false consciousness": Archie Mafeje, "The Ideology of 'Tribalism,'" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (1971): 253–61. For an "internal critique" of this position, see Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa," in Ranger and Olufemi Vaughan, eds., *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa* (London, 1993).

[44] Leroy Vail, "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History," in Vail, *Creation of Tribalism*, 1–19. Vail's essay has been taken as something of a manifesto by subsequent scholars who call their approach "constructivist," thus seeking to distinguish themselves both from those who interpret ethnic identities as the residue of some "primordial" essence and from more straightforward "instrumentalists" such as those mentioned in the preceding footnote. Their insistence that ethnic identities are created historically should be axiomatic, and makes sense only in contrast to a caricature of scholars they deem "primordialists," few of whom, in fact, argued that ethnicity was beyond history. When it comes to charting the historical processes that gave rise to ethnic identities, most "constructivists" remain instrumentalist in their stress on the demands of the colonial political economy and their neglect of inherited intellectual content. They also maintain a strict (and undefined) distinction between ethnicity and nation. These points emerge from a recent statement of the "constructivist" consensus: Paris Yeros, ed., *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa: Constructivist Reflections and Contemporary Politics* (London, 1999), and from a broad reading of the literature on African ethnicity.

[45] Walker Connor, "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16, no. 3 (1993): 373–88.

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associations, but reducing the content of their thought to the formulae of a nationalist calculus: "nationalism" as inherently inclusive and liberatory, "ethnicity" as the divisive legacy of colonialism. The result is a history written from the perspective of the nationalists who took control of the state from the departing colonial powers.[46]

Many of these shortcomings have been remedied in the past decade or so with the emergence of a new literature that seriously engages with the thought of African intellectuals who debated the public good in ethnically specific discourses that were once dismissed as "tribalism" or "sub-nationalism."[47] Rather than force ethnic thought onto a Procrustean bed of utilitarian "rationality," these studies reconstruct alternative rationalities that did not necessarily rest on logics of straightforward material advantage. By tracing the deep histories of these discourses, they demonstrate the limits of colonial-era "invention."[48] They also demonstrate that ethnic thought had a multiplicity of sources, not just the material demands created by the colonial state as interpreted by instrumentally minded political entrepreneurs, let alone the ideological constructs imposed by colonial rulers. Thus they avoid what Nancy Hunt calls the cliché of the colonial encounter, the nationalist paradigm that interprets modern African history in Manichean terms.[49]

But studies of the racialization of African ethnic thought, and of the exterminatory violence it has at times engendered, have proven stubbornly resistant to this kind of analysis. Most studies of African ethnicity deal with vertical or regional divisions that were once commonly described as "tribes": ethnic categories that are imagined to exist side by side, each an "incipient whole society." Genocide and other forms of exterminatory violence, on the other hand, tend to be accompanied by rhetoric in which ethnic categories are imagined as hierarchical strata, linked to one another in relationships that structure the entire society; the violence itself is prompted either by the subordinate group's attempt to throw off those it sees as its oppressors or the dominant group's attempt to preempt such a revolt.[50] Such

[46] Some of my language, and much of my argument, is derived from M. Crawford Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Class in Africa: A Retrospective," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 26, no. 103 (1986): 421–95. Young's comments were directed specifically toward literature on nationalist intellectuals, but they are applicable more generally.

[47] Examples include Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis., 1990); John Lonsdale, "The Moral Economy of Mau Mau," in Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa; Book Two: Violence and Ethnicity* (London, 1992), 265–504; Paul La Hausse, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity, and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c. 1881–1948) and Lymon Maling (1889–c. 1936)* (Pietermaritzburg, 2000); David Lan, *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985); John Peel, "The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis," in Tonkin, *History and Ethnicity*, 198–215. See the discussion in Ranger, "Invention of Tradition Revisited."

[48] The phrase was coined by Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, though her book, too, overprivileges the role of Europeans. For critiques along these lines, see Ronald Atkinson, "The (Re)construction of Ethnicity in Africa: Extending the Chronology, Conceptualization and Discourse," in Yeros, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 15–44; Thomas Spear, "Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa," *Journal of African History* 44 (2003): 3–27.

[49] Despite Young's plea of fifteen years ago, this cliché has been abandoned less quickly in studies of ethnic and nationalist politics than in studies of social history. Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 1–56.

[50] Horowitz (*Ethnic Groups*, chap. 1) is among those who have discussed the contrast between these two ways of imagining ethnic divisions. He usefully refers to them as "unranked" and "ranked"

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situations of "ranked" ethnic stratification parallel the Western experience of race; in fact, there is a sociological literature that distinguishes "race" from "ethnicity" precisely by the presence of such ranking.[51] A recognition of those parallels is what has prompted several authors, including Mamdani, to write of "race" when describing clashes like those in Rwanda or Zanzibar. But, combined with the persistent assumption of an originary distinction between "race" and "ethnicity," as well as the assumption that race is a Western invention, the parallels have also prompted many of the same authors to assume that the primary force behind racialization was colonial indoctrination.

As a result, relatively little attention has been paid to African initiatives in the racialization of "ranked" ethnic thought.[52] One suspects that many authors are immobilized by a set of political scruples borne of the assumption that all racial thought originates in white supremacy; in short, they don't want to appear to be blaming the victim.[53] That assumption and those scruples seem confirmed by the undoubted influence that Western teachings had on African racial thinkers, as well as by the fact that the antagonists in some of these conflicts, including the "Arabs" and "Africans" who fought for political advantage in Zanzibar, defined themselves in terms that converged with major categories of Western racial thought.[54]

These characteristics are amply displayed in the Zanzibar literature, much of which portrays race as a peculiarly Western disease, introduced to the islands by the effects of colonial rule and even the deliberate machinations of European officials and educators.[55] Authors vary in their identification of the malady's local vectors. Many focus on immigrants from the African mainland, reputedly the ASP's most militant loyalists. Mainlanders presumably were more susceptible to European influences, including mission education, than were people rooted in the islands' Islamic communities, who in contrast continued to nurture more flexible local concepts of belonging. Other authors blame the ruling "Arabs," who championed British policies that propped them up as a racial elite.[56] Both variants reflect the political scruples already mentioned, borne of postcolonial politics. In their cruder

ethnicities; the phrase "incipient whole societies" is also his. René Lemarchand ("Revolutionary Phenomena") makes a similar distinction, highlighting the presence of ethnic "stratification" to explain the "revolutionary" upheavals in Zanzibar and Rwanda. John Comaroff ("Of Totemism") proposes the terms "totemism" and "ethnicity" to describe the distinction.

[51] See the works already cited by Banton, Rex, Wallerstein, and Sanjek. A critique of such an approach is implicit in my earlier discussion of literature that approaches race as social structure, and that fails to distinguish between racism and racial thought.

[52] As observed by Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*, 15, although, as we have seen, he does little better.

[53] See Chege, "Africa's Murderous Professors," for suggestive comments.

[54] The latter factor helps explain why the term "race" has been less commonly applied to Rwanda's ethnic conflicts than to similar conflicts in Zanzibar: Tuutsi and Hutu no longer correspond to Western racial categories (but they once did, Tuutsi being imagined as "Hamites").

[55] Hence the leading authority on Zanzibari history, in language similar to that used by many authors, explains ethnic divisions by invoking British "preferences" informed by policies of "divide and rule": Abdul Sheriff, "Race and Class in the Politics of Zanzibar," *Afrika Spectrum* 36, no. 3 (2001): 307–08.

[56] For a pronounced version of the first interpretation, see Mazrui and Shariff, *The Swahili*; for the second, B. D. Bowles, "The Struggle for Independence," in Sheriff and Ferguson, *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule*, esp. 86, 92; B. F. Mrina and W. T. Mattoke, *Mapambano ya Ukombozi Zanzibar* (Dar es Salaam, 1980).

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forms, they constitute nationalist orthodoxies—one supportive of the revolutionary government, the other of the opposition—in which politicians who before independence took the lead in fomenting racial politics absolve themselves of all responsibility by simply blaming the colonial state and its stooges.[57] Whether crude or scholarly, such interpretations depict African intellectuals as having either too little autonomy or too much: either dupes whose thinking was easily molded by British mentors or steadfast anti-imperialists who clung to an authentic subaltern consciousness. Neither circle spoke to the other, and the anti-imperialists avoided all contamination from colonial thought.

Below, I will illustrate how these assumptions might be subverted by reconstructing the precise conversations and debates from which racial thought emerged, a task that requires abandoning images of authentic indigenous discourses and imported infections, and the "logic of the trial" that goes with them. Such a reconstruction reveals that indigenous intellectuals spoke to one another more than they addressed the colonial state or responded to its demands, and that their impact on the emergence of racial thought was arguably greater, and certainly more direct, than that of colonial educators. (As Anthony Appiah has observed, the colonizers were never as fully in control of intellectual life as the nationalist elite subsequently made them appear.[58]) I have suggested elsewhere that the ASP's racial rhetoric emerged within a discursive framework of nationalism whose terms had been set not by colonial officers but by members of Zanzibar's elite intelligentsia.[59] Although the idea of the nation-state may ultimately be traced to the West, its pervasiveness in Zanzibar largely resulted from the influence of local intellectuals, who by the 1950s had persuaded thinkers across the spectrum that politics was about the rights of national groups. Zanzibaris disagreed only over how those groups should be defined.

Yet the intelligentsia's role in the racialization of political thought went still further: their own definition of the nation, despite its inclusiveness, directly contributed to the emergence of the ASP's more explicitly racial nationalism. The process was catalyzed by class factors. In its earliest manifestations, ZNP nationalism was liberal and inclusive, growing from a deep intellectual tradition that defined local communities of belonging in terms of an expansive "civilization" marked by the attributes of an Arabcentric urban high culture. But because the cultural criteria used to mark this civilization were largely class based (that is,

[57] Non-Zanzibari examples of similar practices are described in René Lemarchand, *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide* (Cambridge, 1994); and Dikötter, "Group Definition." The official and oppositional Zanzibari histories differ in which groups are identified as British stooges. Official versions include Omar Mapuri, *Zanzibar: The 1964 Revolution; Achievements and Prospects* (Dar es Salaam, 1996); R. K. Mwanjisi, *Abeid Amani Karume* (Nairobi, 1967). Opposition versions include Ali Muhsin al-Barwani, *Conflicts and Harmony in Zanzibar* (Dubai, 1997); Zanzibar Center of Human and Democratic Rights, *Zanzibar Dola Taifa na Nchi Huru* (Copenhagen, 1994). A curious hybrid version can be found in the writings of Juma Aley, a onetime ZNP government minister who was imprisoned after the revolution and who since his release has published praise of his jailers. Aley repeats the ZNP charge that the British chief secretary personally published the most inflammatory ASP journals, and thereby absolves the ASP itself of any responsibility. Juma Aley, *Zanzibar, in the Context* (Delhi, 1988), 86–87, 94.

[58] Appiah, *In My Father's House*, 7. Appiah's comment stands in marked contrast to much of the literature on colonial education: see the critical review in Sybille Küster, *Neither Cultural Imperialism nor Precious Gift of Civilization: African Education in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Münster, 1994).

[59] Glassman, "Sorting Out the Tribes."

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beyond the reach of the poor), stressing them as marks of national identity risked dividing the very nation that the nationalists aspired to unify. Balibar has observed that this is why proponents of "civilizing" nationalisms often turn their constituents' attention to the threat of "false nationals" ("Jews, 'wogs,' immigrants") who threaten the nation from within.[60] In Zanzibar, as elsewhere, the concept of civilization became an effective tool of nationalist mobilization when it was used to define barbarians to be purged.

Long before the Time of Politics, Zanzibar's elite intellectuals had devoted much energy to reflecting on the history of the Islamic civilization of the Swahili coast, of which they considered Zanzibar the exemplar. This civilization, they argued, distinguished the coast and islands from the rest of East Africa. In the 1950s, the implications of their historical narratives were noticed by the less cultured activists of the African Association/ASP, who accused the intelligentsia of seeking to exclude anyone who did not fully identify with urban high culture, particularly agricultural workers and the urban poor, many of whom traced their roots to the African mainland. To the intelligentsia's invocation of an Arab-driven history of civilization, African Association propagandists responded with historical narratives of Arab conquest and enslavement, and with an alternative definition of national identity based on race rather than civilization. By the late 1950s, ASP charges of racial blood guilt were routinely met by ZNP charges of innate barbarism. The resulting rancor spiraled into every corner of society, contributing directly to racial violence. Thus any attempt to trace the history of popular racial nationalism must begin, paradoxically, with the intelligentsia's rhetoric of history and civilization.

Of course, it would be misguided to neglect the impact of Western thought, including general Western concepts of ethnicity and nation. But such concepts were usually introduced indirectly and only after much reworking.[61] The key actors were local intellectuals, for whom Western thought was but one of many influences, of many provenances; only they were capable of innovating versions of national thought that were locally compelling in ways that pallid imitations of Western discourse could not be. The potential complexities are well illustrated by Zanzibar's political intelligentsia, a vibrant and self-conscious intellectual community that was hardly susceptible to colonial control. The most prestigious intellectual circles were drawn from town-based elite families who considered themselves ethnically Arab. Their main idiom of discourse was Islamic, although, as we shall see, a new cadre of secular intelligentsia began to emerge early in the twentieth century, often from the same families that dominated the ranks of the *ulamaa* (religious scholars). The most learned knew Arabic, with which they read not only religious texts but also Cairo newspapers that championed Islamic modernism and Arab nationalism. Families were especially proud if they could send their children to study in Cairo. Intellectual accomplishment was an important component of family pride, and,

[60] Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," 60.

[61] It is by now a commonplace that anti-colonial nationalism was derived from European discourse: Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism in Asia and Africa* (New York, 1970); B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Basil Davidson, *Black Man's Burden* (New York, 1992). Of course, this does not mean that nationalist thinkers in the colonial world had "nothing left to imagine": Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

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given the kind of learning that was most valued, it is not surprising that such accomplishment was closely connected to a family's ability to claim elite status as Arabs.[62]

Zanzibar's intelligentsia, then, were keenly cosmopolitan—more so, in many ways, than their European rulers and sometime teachers—and, though not isolated from colonial discourse, they had ample intellectual resources to be able to engage with the ideas of nationalism without merely parroting Western ideas. In fact, influence flowed in more than one direction: Zanzibari intellectuals had a marked impact on the thinking of British educators and administrators. Colonial historians acknowledged the influence of their local informants far more readily than is consistent with the image of a discrete and overpowering colonial discourse.[63] The lower echelons of the provincial administration were staffed almost entirely by members of local elite families, who were especially prominent as *mudirs*, the rough equivalent of district officers in other British colonies. These men were routinely commissioned to write reports on local customs and history, which were then circulated throughout the colonial bureaucracy.[64]

In sum, it is just as misleading to speak of two discrete spheres of discourse—one colonial, the other indigenous—as it is to speak of the colonial state's domination of its subjects' consciousness. It is equally misleading to assume that popular discourse existed in isolation from that of the elite intelligentsia. The subalterns who would later support the ASP were not as lacking in political awareness in the interwar years as the standard sources assume;[65] they were listening to and arguing about many of the same issues that propelled the urban intelligentsia. Like any change in political culture, new ways of thinking of ethnic difference emerged from circuits of discourse in which diverse intellectuals spoke to one another—elite and popular, European and African—and in which their ideas were interpreted and debated by the population at large. Thus the history of the popular racial nationalism of the 1950s must be traced to the elite intellectual discourse of a generation before.

[62] The intelligentsia linked the transmission of religious expertise with the inheritance of Arab status: see José Kagabo, "Réseaux d'*ulama* 'swahili' et liens de parenté," in F. Le Guennec-Coppens and P. Caplan, eds., *Les Swahili entre Afrique et Arabie* (Paris, 1991), 59–72. For descriptions of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Zanzibari intellectual life, see Abdallah Salih Farsy, *The Shaf'i Ulama of East Africa*, Randall Pouwels, trans. and ed. (Madison, Wis., 1989); Anne K. Bang, "Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: The Sufi Family Networks of Ahmad ibn Sumayt and the Tariqa 'Alawiyya in East Africa, c. 1860–1925" (Dr.Art. thesis, University of Bergen, 2000); Randall Pouwels, "Sh. Al-Amin b. Ali Mazrui and Islamic Modernism in East Africa, 1875–1947," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13 (1981): 329–45. The elite character of these intellectual circles is implicit throughout the descriptions in Aley, *Zanzibar, in the Context*, who states that "Shirazi" and "African" circles "were less spectacular" than those dominated by Arabs and Comorians (58). Also see Muhsin, *Conflicts and Harmony*; Shaaban Saleh Farsi, *Zanzibar: Historical Accounts*, 2d edn. (s.l., 1995); Norman R. Bennett, *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar* (London, 1978).

[63] For example, W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar: Its History and Its People* (London, 1931), 125, 189–90. Another historian, L. W. Hollingsworth, will figure prominently below.

[64] For the *mudirs*' reports, see I. H. D. Rolleston, Annual Report on the District of Zanzibar, 1935, BA 30/5, Zanzibar National Archives (hereafter, ZNA). These and similar reports continued to be written, and British officials often referred to them.

[65] Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*; compare with Lofchie, *Zanzibar*.

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NONE OF THE ABOVE SHOULD BE TAKEN AS DISMISSING the significance of instrumentalist or structural factors; in Zanzibar, as elsewhere, state formation was central to the context in which a discourse of race was created.[66] But the process of building a racial state did not begin with European rule, as one would expect from most of the instrumentalist literature. It can be traced at least to the actions of the Omani sultans who conquered Zanzibar in the nineteenth century. The sultans also sponsored the settlement of Arab planters and Indian financiers, as well as the import of large numbers of plantation slaves from the mainland. Thus the groundwork was laid for the major ethnic divisions of colonial Zanzibar: Arabs, Indians, indigenous islanders, and African mainlanders. British rule accentuated these divisions, in part through economic policies aimed at preserving the Omani Arabs as a landlord caste (Indian creditors, for example, were discouraged from foreclosing on mortgages) and administrative and educational policies that bolstered their position as a political caste. Although slavery was abolished, mainlanders continued to come to the islands to work as labor tenants ("squatters") on clove and coconut estates.

These ethnic divisions formed a widely recognized hierarchy, with Omani Arabs perceived to be at the top and, at the bottom, slaves and people of slave descent (real or presumed). In the middle were the bulk of the islands' indigenous inhabitants, who often made vague claims of descent from distant Middle Eastern ancestors. These lines of descent were usually fictive; in any case, they could rarely be traced through precise genealogies. Islanders claimed ancestral origins in a variety of exotic places, the most common being the Persian town of Shiraz, whence came the legendary founders of several of the ancient city-states of the East African coast. Such claims are recognizable as variants of a deep political tradition, widespread among speakers of Bantu languages, whereby leading families preserved myths linking them to exogenous conqueror-heroes who had introduced the technologies or forms of social organization by which civilized life was defined.[67] The more specific fashion of claiming Arab or Persian ancestry largely stemmed from coastal Muslims' desire to distinguish themselves from their non-Muslim neighbors and slaves. The fashion had long been present, but it became more pronounced under the rule of the Omani sultans.[68]

The existence of this hierarchy in the minds of most Zanzibaris implied a widespread degree of Arab hegemony. Paradoxically, the persistence of the hierarchy was ensured by the permeability of ethnic boundaries: people of mainland origin (including descendants of slaves) might realistically aspire to become accepted as Shirazi, and Shirazi might realistically aspire to become accepted as

[66] Alonso, "Politics of Space."

[67] Kopytoff, "Internal African Frontier." East African examples are described in Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History* (New York, 2003); Steven Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom* (Madison, Wis., 1974).

[68] For this and much of the following two paragraphs, see my book *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995). Abdul Sheriff and Chizuko Tominaga believe that there was sometimes a kernel of truth to claims of Shirazi descent: see "The Shirazi in the History and Politics of Zanzibar," paper presented at the International Conference on the History and Culture of Zanzibar (Zanzibar, December 1992). For "Arabization" before the Omani period, see Randall L. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800–1900* (Cambridge, 1987).

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Arab. Such claims constituted an affirmation of values by which the Islamic, urban-centered culture of the coast was esteemed as the embodiment of *ustaarabu*, "civilization," and as the antithesis of the non-Muslim culture of the interior, whence came people scorned as "barbarians" or *washenzi* (sing., *mshenzi*). These values were further encouraged by British rule, which was informed by the official policy that Zanzibar was a "protected Arab state," its head of state the sultan, its ruling caste Arabs. In fact, beginning in the 1920s, administrators noticed an acceleration in the adoption of the ethnonym "Shirazi," culminating in 1940 with the founding of the Shirazi Association in Pemba.[69]

Yet no single definition of *ustaarabu* was accepted unquestioningly by all who aspired to embrace it. On the contrary, constant disputes over its precise meaning, including disputes over who should and should not be admitted to the status of the "civilized," are what ensured the persistence of the general idea. Central to claims of Shirazi identity was a deep-seated ambivalence over how to regard the Arab elite.[70] On the one hand, claims of Shirazi identity constituted a way to use Arabcentric notions of *ustaarabu* to distance oneself from mainlanders; fear and disdain of mainlanders was the primary motivation of the Pembans who founded the Shirazi Association. But, on the other hand, members of the older local families often used Shirazi identity to express status anxiety vis-à-vis the Omani ruling caste, whom they regarded as upstarts: more civilized than slaves and other mainlanders, of course, but parvenus when compared to the families who traced their roots to ancient Shirazi settlers.

During the Time of Politics, nationalists on both sides exploited this ambivalence in their attempts to win over the islands' Shirazi majority. The African Association used the rhetoric of racial solidarity to advocate the unity of Shirazi and mainlanders against a common Arab enemy. They eventually persuaded a portion of the Shirazi Association to merge with them to form the ASP. But many of the erstwhile members of the Shirazi Association allied themselves instead with the ZNP, persuaded by the intelligentsia's chauvinistic depiction of a nation founded, not on the solidarity of race, but on the shared values of *ustaarabu*, coastal exceptionalism, and disdain for mainland Africans.

SCHOOLTEACHERS FORMED A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE of the secular intelligentsia that forged a nationalist discourse between the wars. This was not uncommon in colonial Africa, where schoolteachers were more numerous than other figures (say,

[69] Instrumentalist interpretations of the turn to Shirazi identity stress the material benefits that the colonial regime supposedly bestowed on "non-natives": see, for instance, Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*, 51. These interpretations are not always convincing: see Glassman, "Sorting Out the Tribes," 403–04. Furthermore, they make too much of the specific ethnonym "Shirazi," neglecting to recognize that admiration of Middle Eastern status could exist in the absence of that particular ethnonym. Evidence collected before the accelerated turn to Shirazi identity in the 1920s, for example, indicates that although indigenous islanders at that time called themselves "Tumbatu" and "Hadimu," they nevertheless already considered themselves descendants of Persians and as such more civilized than the barbarians of the mainland. F. B. Pearce, *Zanzibar: The Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa* (London, 1920), 248–52.

[70] This ambivalence is described by Ariel Crozon, "Les Arabes à Zanzibar: Haine et fascination," in Le Guennec-Coppens and Caplan, *Les Swahili*, 179–93.

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journalists) defined by the institutions and discourse of national "modernity." Teachers were also more ubiquitous: most were posted to village communities, where they were in an excellent position to forge versions of nationalist ideology couched in local cultural idioms.[71] But Zanzibar's schoolteachers were unusual in their belief that they were destined to lead not only by dint of their mastery of Western education but also by dint of intellectual attributes that they considered part of their distinct racial inheritance.

This situation was the outcome of several convergent trends. From its inception early in the century, Zanzibar's system of secular education was geared toward training an administrative cadre that could serve as the functionaries of a modern state. (Unlike other British colonies, where mission schools prevailed, virtually all secular education in Zanzibar was state-run.) Following general governing principles, that cadre was drawn principally from Arab families.[72] But persistent Arab preponderance in government schools, especially in the higher grades, cannot be understood simply as the result of British policy. The racial vision was never pursued with the rigor that marked, say, Catholic education in colonial Rwanda; in fact, throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the government made repeated efforts to expand education for rural non-elites—efforts that foundered, as we shall see, on villagers' keen distrust of secular education. The urban gentry, by contrast, quickly overcame such suspicions,[73] no doubt influenced by modernist ideas emanating from the Middle East that stressed the benefits of a secular, government-sponsored education.[74]

In 1923, the Education Department opened its first post-primary institution, the Teachers Training School (TTS). The new school was intended to do more than merely train teachers; classroom teaching was to serve as a forcing-bed for the cultivation of an administrative elite. That policy was endorsed by the islands' leading families, who, speaking via the Arab Association, had been demanding that government provide opportunities for sons who were being marginalized by the foundering of the plantation sector.[75] For the next thirty-five years, TTS and its

[71] For a suggestive account of the role of Kenyan schoolteachers in crafting a local cultural nationalism, see David Sandgren, *Christianity and the Kikuyu: Religious Divisions and Social Conflict* (New York, 1989).

[72] For an explicit statement, see the comments by W. Hendry, the director of education, on agricultural education, July 21, 1924, and June 8, 1925, AB 1/365, ZNA. A more general statement regarding the place of "Arab" leadership in educational policy can be found in W. Hendry, "Some Aspects of Education in Zanzibar," *Journal of the African Association* 27, 108 (1928): 351.

[73] For a firsthand explanation, see Zam Ali Abbas, "Yaliopita huzungumzwa (maendeleo ya skuli)," *Maz.*, n.s. 1, no. 2 (January 1957): 15–18.

[74] Indians were also disproportionately represented in the islands' classrooms. For this and the next two paragraphs, see Bennett, *Arab State*, 194–96, 222–34, 245; Farsi, *Zanzibar: Historical Accounts*, 20; O. W. Furley and T. Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa* (New York, 1978), chaps. 6 and 10. Furley and Watson assume, erroneously, that because Zanzibari schools catered to all races, educational policies were non-racial; Muhsin also defends the colonial schools against charges of racial bias, although his memoirs are inconsistent on the issue (*Conflicts and Harmony*, 30–31). Compare Hendry's comments, cited above, which suggest a race-based policy of vocational "tracking." At any rate, the enrollment figures cited by Bennett and Furley and Watson confirm that, regardless of official intent, educational opportunities were skewed by race. Additional evidence of the discrepancy is overwhelming: see, for example, figures in CO 618/44/15, Public Records Office (hereafter, PRO), Kew, United Kingdom.

[75] Zanzibar Protectorate, *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1927* (Zanzibar, 1928), esp. 6–7; W. Hendry, February 27, 1934, and "Memorandum of the Arab Association," February

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successor institutions[76] would train a disproportionate share of the islands' administrative staff, many of whom began their careers in the classroom and finished them as prominent nationalists, particularly within the Arab Association and ZNP.

By 1930, these young schoolteachers had begun to cohere as a self-aware intelligentsia, imbued with a responsibility for building the "modern civilization" on which a nation could be based. Their cohesion was mediated in large part by the Education Department, in particular by the remarkable L. W. Hollingsworth, first director of TTS, whom many leading intellectuals later remembered as a formative influence.[77] In 1927, Hollingsworth launched the teachers' journal *Mazungumzo ya Walimu*, intending it as a forum in which teachers might continue the debates on social topics that he encouraged in the schools. Despite Hollingsworth's loose supervision during its initial decade, *Mazungumzo* was written and edited largely by Zanzibaris. Many of postwar Zanzibar's most prominent intellectuals and politicians first published there in the 1920s and 1930s.[78] The magazine thus served as the center of an inordinately influential circle of intellectuals, who no doubt propagated many of their ideas in the classroom before becoming directly involved in politics.[79]

From its earliest numbers, *Mazungumzo* reveals the schoolteachers' confidence that they were a cultural elite: masters of the skills of modernity as well as of what they considered proper Islam, aloof from the rustic "natives"[80] whose children they were charged to teach but at the same time conscious of their obligations to exemplify Arab civilization in the villages where most were posted. Hollingsworth

5, 1934, both in CO 618/60/15, PRO. Figures from 1937 indicate that teaching school was the most likely salaried post available in the administration for "African" and "Arab" school-leavers: AB 1/184, ZNA.

[76] In 1935, as part of empire-wide educational reforms, TTS was closed and its teacher-training functions divided between two new elite schools, Dole Rural Middle School and Government Secondary School.

[77] Hollingsworth later became director of the elite Government Secondary School, where his influence was, if anything, greater. The already-cited memoirs of Zam Ali Abbas, Ali Muhsin, Juma Aley, and Shaaban Saleh Farsi explicitly acknowledge how the experience of classroom teaching helped foster a sense of belonging to a leading intelligentsia; the latter three discuss Hollingsworth. Also see "Dr. Hollingsworth and Uhuru," *Mwongozi*, September 20, 1963; and Acting Dir. Educ., June 12, 1933, AB 1/76, ZNA.

[78] They include Abdullah Saleh Farsy, one of East Africa's most prominent Islamic scholars and public intellectuals; Yahya Alawi, who would become one of the highest-ranking Zanzibaris in the colonial administration (among his posts was information officer in charge of broadcasting); Zam Ali Abbas, founder of the Zanzibar Association, the islands' first explicitly nationalist organization; Ahmed Seif Kharusi, founder of the influential weekly *Mwongozi*; Juma Aley and Mohammed Salim Hilal Barwani, leading figures in the ZNP; Mohammed Shamte, chief minister of the ZNP/Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party government that would be overthrown in 1964; and Aboud Jumbe, second president of the revolutionary government.

[79] Given Hollingsworth's encouragement of discussion of topical issues as a way to hone expressive skills (and his sympathy for the goals of Arab-led cultural nationalism), there is little doubt that the schoolteachers inculcated some of their ideas in the classroom. Muhsin describes the classroom influence of A. M. al-Hadhrami, the leading figure on *Mazungumzo*'s editorial board in the 1930s (*Conflicts and Harmony*, 64).

[80] This term, with all its pejorative implications, was used in the English-language journalism of the *Mazungumzo* circle. There was eventually a small debate over its appropriateness, sparked, ironically, by the objections of a British educator; Arab Association journalists defended the usage ("Native or African?" *Al-Falaq*, November 8, 1941). Compare the latter-day memories of Juma Aley, a leading member of the *Mazungumzo* circle who as a member of the ZNP government would become notorious for his disdain of Africans (Clayton, *Zanzibar Revolution*, 63); Aley claims that the British imposed use of the word "native" as part of their policy of stirring up racial hatred. *Zanzibar, in the Context*, 40.

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and his Zanzibari colleagues encouraged such ideals, although they frequently felt compelled to admonish *Mazungumzo*'s readers not to yield to outright disdain. (Some teachers were given to abusive language in the classroom, calling their pupils *washenzi*, "barbarians.")[81] The thinking of British educators reflected a mixture of considerations. They saw it as their long-term job to help lay the foundations of a modern nation (albeit one that would not assume self-government until well into the future), making their charges "better Africans" rather than a species of European. Their main strategy, encouraged by the Tuskegeeism prevalent in East African educational circles, involved cultivating an indigenous elite that would lead local communities in the building of modernity.[82]

But British pedagogues were not the schoolteachers' only mentors. Many had older relatives active in the Arab Association, which had been founded in 1911 in a spirit of pan-Arab nationalism.[83] Many, too, were related to the islands' leading *ulamaa*, who since before the turn of the century had been reading and debating Islamic modernism. From those intertwined intellectual movements, perhaps more than from British teachers, they learned of their unique responsibility to lead in building a "modern civilization." Nineteenth-century intellectuals in Cairo and Damascus had originally borrowed this concept from Europe (although one should not ignore the rich intellectual legacy inherited from Arab thinkers like Ibn Khaldun), but by the interwar years it had been elaborated to include elements intended to challenge Western pretensions to represent the moral if not technological epitome of "civilization." Arabs must learn the history of their own civilization, argued the pan-Arabists, and in this crucial nation-building task schoolteachers were to play the leading role. The central figures in spreading this message were pedagogues based in Baghdad, but their influence was felt among educators throughout the Arab world, and it is no doubt significant that many of the first generation of instructors in Zanzibar government schools—that is, the new intelligentsia's own teachers—were recruited from Cairo, another center of interwar pan-Arabism.[84]

[81] This assessment and much of what follows is based in part on a broad reading of *Mazungumzo* from the 1920s and 1930s, as well as Arab Association journalism and files in the Zanzibar National Archives. Fuller documentation can be found in Chapter 3 of my book manuscript under preparation on the rise of racial thought in colonial Zanzibar.

[82] The version of Tuskegeeism introduced to East Africa in the 1920s stressed schoolteachers' roles as community leaders in "community development." See esp. Kenneth James King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa* (Oxford, 1971); also Lene Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919–90* (London, 1994). Zanzibar's longtime acting director of education, G. B. Johnson, was an internationally prominent advocate of Tuskegeeism, and his Swahili-language adaptation of Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* (1901) was a standard reader in Zanzibar schools: *Maisha ya Booker T. Washington, Mtu Mweusi Maarufu* (London, 1937).

[83] For the founding of the Arab Association, see "Mafveraky: Who Is Who?" *Al-Falaq*, December 21, 1946; the context is described in AC 1/151, ZNA (thanks to Philip Sadgrove for directing my attention to the latter source). Previous works have mistaken both date and context: see, for instance, Alison Smith, "The End of the Arab Sultanate: Zanzibar 1945–1964," in D. A. Low and A. Smith, eds., *History of East Africa*, Vol. 3 (Oxford, 1976), 199.

[84] Such themes can be found in the writings of pan-Arabists and Islamic modernists at least as early as Jamal al-Din Afghani and the Egyptian nationalist Rifa'a Badawi al-Tahtawi: see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (Cambridge, 1983). For interwar currents, see Reeva Simon, "The Teaching of History in Iraq before the Rashid Ali Coup of 1941," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22 (1986): 37–51; Simon, "The Imposition of Nationalism on a Non-Nation State: The Case of Iraq during the

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These convergent pedagogies, then, all encouraged schoolteachers to think of themselves as a cultural and political elite. But none, at least in their original versions, had envisioned schoolteachers as *ethnically* distinct from the communities they were to lead. Such a distinction, of course, was in accord with Britain's unusual form of indirect rule over the "Arab sultanate." But it did not originate with the British; rather, like the policy of "Arab rule" itself, it was an outgrowth of precolonial concepts of *ustaarabu* and Arab hegemony. External intellectual currents were significant largely in how they influenced the intelligentsia in their elaboration of those inherited concepts.

Pan-Arabist teachings about history, for example, reinforced local distinctions of civilization and barbarism in ways that accentuated their implicit racial undertones; pan-Arab nationalism was no different from any other in its compatibility with the idea of race.[85] Reeva Simon writes that pan-Arabist narratives were inspired by *volkisch* philosophies of "universal history," in which the origins of civilization were traced to a "primeval ancestor nation" that carried it to other parts of the globe during wanderings from an original homeland. Adapting such theories to their own ends, the pan-Arabists focused on ancient Semites rather than Aryans, invoking the American anthropologist James Henry Breasted to describe how "Semitic waves" emanating from Arabia and the Fertile Crescent had spread civilization to the rest of the world. Despite differences concerning the precise identity of the earliest Semites, all agreed that their crowning achievements, the Arabic language and Islam, were the gift of the Arabs.[86]

Hollingsworth and his colleagues, Zanzibari and British, also urged the teaching of history, of much the same kind. Although the ideas of "universal history" pervade the entire colonialist historical literature, the schoolteachers encountered them most readily in school texts, including several prepared by Hollingsworth himself. Most accessible was *Milango ya Historia* (Gateways of History), a world history primer that he wrote in collaboration with his TTS assistant Abdulla Ahmed Seif and other members of the *Mazungumzo* editorial board, and that was used widely from its first appearance in the 1920s throughout the rest of the colonial period.[87]

Interwar Period, 1921–41," and Israel Gershoni, "Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920–1945," both in J. Jankowski and Gershoni, eds., *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York, 1997), 3–25, 87–104; Gershoni, "The Emergence of Pan-Nationalism in Egypt: Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism in the 1930s," *Asian and African Studies* 16 (1982): 59–94; C. Ernest Dawn, "The Origins of Arab Nationalism," in Rashid Khalidi, *et al.*, eds., *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York, 1991), 3–30.

[85] Arab nationalists had often stressed explicitly racial themes in their definitions of the Arab nation: see the passages quoted from Rifa'a al-Tahtawi and Lutfi al-Sayyid in Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 79, 173; Eve Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Powell, "Brothers along the Nile: Egyptian Concepts of Race and Ethnicity, 1895–1910," in Hagai Erlich and I. Gershoni, eds., *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths* (Boulder, Colo., 2000).

[86] Simon, "Teaching of History," and "Imposition of Nationalism"; C. Ernest Dawn, "The Formation of Pan-Arab Ideology in the Interwar Years," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20 (1988): 67–91. The pan-Arabists, who were first motivated by opposition to Ottoman rule, adopted Breasted's theories in reaction to Ottoman authors who had celebrated the civilizing influence of ancient "Aryan Turks."

[87] L. W. Hollingsworth, *Milango ya Historia*, 3 vols. (London, 1925–31). It was promoted shamelessly in *Mazungumzo* and reprinted many times over four decades; the 1965 edition was approved for classroom use by the Tanzania Department of Education. Hollingsworth acknowledges

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The primer paints its principal narrative, the progress from savagery to civilization, in broad strokes, emphasizing how relatively small nations such as the Greeks and Hebrews spread civilization to the rest of the world. Its definition of civilization must have seemed familiar to its adult readers: proper government (meaning obedience to a single monarch), literacy, and, implicitly, monotheism.[88]

The implication was clear: the attributes of civilization had been introduced to East Africa by outsiders. And to make it clearer still, whenever a foil was needed to highlight the accomplishments of (say) the Greeks, the primer drew its example from the foolish customs of pagan Africans.[89] Aside from such stray comments, only one of *Milango*'s thirty-eight chapters concerns Africa; the text flatly explains that is because black Africans are barbarians who have never done anything of historical significance. But the primer notes one exception: peoples living along Africa's coasts are worthy of study because they had come under the influence of foreigners. To demonstrate, it offers a condensed version of the story elaborated in Hollingsworth's other texts, telling how centuries of Arab presence had rendered East Africa's coastal population more civilized than their upcountry neighbors.[90]

Texts like Hollingsworth's thus flattered the schoolteachers by giving the imprimatur of colonial modernity to their inherited ideas of *ustaarabu* and coastal exceptionalism. It is hardly surprising, then, that such ideas were prominent in the many essays on local history the schoolteachers wrote for *Mazungumzo*. The editors solicited these essays as part of a nation-building project in which colonial, Arabist, and inherited themes played out in an ironic counterpoint. The project was launched in 1930, when Abdulla Ahmed Seif came across an essay by the Gold Coast educator A. W. Norris that he decided to reprint in *Mazungumzo*. Norris's

the assistance of A. A. Seif, A. M. al-Hadhrami, and Mohamed Salim Hilal al-Barwani. Seif appears as translator on the title page of Vol. 1; however, in a list of titles on the back cover of the Swahili edition of another of Hollingsworth's works published by the same company (Macmillan), Seif is credited as translator of all three volumes: *Historia Fupi ya Pwani ya Afrika ya Mashariki* (London, 1966). *Milango ya Historia* was at first used as a reader in Standards 4 through 8, and also urged as a text with which teachers should prepare for teaching other classes; pupils in the upper standards were also assigned Hollingsworth's *Short History of the East Coast of Africa* (London, 1929). G. B. Johnson, "Report on Text-Books in the Swahili Language," *Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year 1927*, 27–31, CO 618/44/15, PRO; W. Hendry, "Memorandum," February 27, 1934, CO 618/60/15, PRO; "Syllabus, 1944," AD 1/80, ZNA. Geography primers told similar stories of civilization and barbarism, often in racial terms: B. M. Hart, *Bara Afrika: Chanzo cha Jiografia ya Afrika* (Nairobi, 1948); E. C. Francis, *Afrika* (London, 1952; first pub. in English, 1933); G. W. Broomfield and D. V. Perrott, *Habari za Walimwengu*, Book 3, *Masimulizi ya Juma juu ya Waingereza* (London, 1954).

[88] Explicit statements of these themes can be found in *Milango ya Historia*, 1: 15–27 (monarchy and literate learning) and 1: 42–48 (the ancient Jews and monotheism). Given the exemplary importance of the Greeks in Vol. 1, Hollingsworth could hardly insist on monotheism as part of his definition of civilization (as he does the other attributes), but the entire work, particularly the last two volumes, emphasizes the civilizing power of Judeo-Christian-Muslim values. Broomfield and Perrott's primer was less equivocal in proclaiming religion "the foundation of all true civilization": *Habari za Walimwengu*, Book 3: 101. Similar views of "civilization" were common in mainstream social science at the time: see Charles Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society: An Introduction to Sociological Theory* (New York, 1925); and other sources cited by Thomas Spira, *Nationalism and Ethnicity Terminologies*, Vol. 1 (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1999), 69.

[89] For example, *Milango ya Historia*, 1: 93–94.

[90] *Milango ya Historia*, 3: 87–94. Also see Hollingsworth, *Short History*; and the work of his close colleague and collaborator, W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar*. These aspects of East African history figured prominently in the Middle School exams in 1933 and the TTS exams in 1957: AB 1/184 and AD 1/213, ZNA.

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refrain was the need for teachers to cultivate "PRIDE OF RACE"; this phrase, the essay's title, recurs throughout, always in capital letters. Such pride, Norris observed, has been necessary to the success of "every known empire and nation"; without it, no nation can "rule itself or others." And the best strategy for cultivating national pride, he argued, was to cultivate historical memory, which might be learned by listening humbly to the tales of the elders.[91]

Norris's essay impressed Seif not only for its emphasis on history and nation-building but also for how it chastised teachers who thought themselves superior to those around them: as we have seen, Zanzibar educators harbored similar concerns. But the message originally crafted for readers in Gold Coast had the opposite effect in Zanzibar. Norris had urged teachers to seek pride not in their modern education but in the history of their entire "race," alluding specifically to "the Akan race" (or Akan "nation"), that is, the ethnic category that comprised the majority of the Gold Coast population. He thus addressed a contradiction that beset most British colonies, where the language of modernity threatened the "traditional" authority of chiefs and elders on which colonial officials relied: by encouraging political traditions built around metaphors of seniority and common descent, officials like Norris hoped to cultivate "tribal" (or "racial") solidarity between chiefs and commoners, including the educated "youngmen" who resented chiefly prerogatives. But Zanzibar's very different traditions of *ustaarabu* and Arab hegemony ultimately rested on metaphors of *separate* descent, thus shaping the schoolteachers' historical narratives in ways that emphasized not unity but difference. Hence most of the narratives published in *Mazungumzo* concerned the Arab or Persian figures whom local lore remembered as having built the city-states that made the coast distinct.[92] The most prolific contributor of historical essays, M. Abdulrahman, wrote a series that depicted the nineteenth century as the story of Arab heroes who explored the mainland, contending with the depravity of African cannibals.[93]

The authors of such narratives plainly drew from colonial texts; Abdulrahman acknowledged as much. But he also relied on oral informants, and it is evident that colonial sources only reinforced distinctions between Arab civilization and African barbarism whose roots were deep and multiple. Some of these roots were revealed in a 1938 debate about the history and meaning of the words *ustaarabu* (civilization) and *mstaarabu* (civilized person). The authors all agreed that the terms were derived from an Arabic form meaning to adopt Arab culture; in tracing the etymology, some displayed a sophisticated knowledge of Semitic prehistory that suggests the influence of the pan-Arabists. Their central dispute concerned whether an African who had been educated only in the ways of Western civilization might properly be described as *mstaarabu* or whether alternative words should be used. One suspects that semantics were not the only source of such misgivings: Zanzibaris

[91] Norris, "Pride of Race." Seif explains the circumstances of the essay's publication in an editorial note introducing it. It originally appeared in the Accra *Teacher's Journal* 6 (October 1929), a publication that had been inaugurated one year later than *Mazungumzo*. Thanks to Cati Coe for sharing the latter information.

[92] Examples include M. Abdulrahman, "Safari ya Kilwa," serialized in six parts, beginning in *Maz.* 12, no. 2 (February 1938): 24–26; Muhammad Othman, "Siku Kuu ya Mwaka," *Normal Magazine* 4, no. 9 (September 1930): 112–15.

[93] M. Abdurrahaman [Abdulrahman], "Maisha ya Watu Wengine," *Maz.* 12, no. 11 (November 1938): 162–63; *Maz.* 12, no. 12 (December 1938); and following issues.

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were known to disdain upcountry people as barbarians even if the latter had attained a Western education—a disdain that British educators, who put more stock in Eurocentric ideals than Arabcentric ones, found amusing.[94] None of the authors imagined an African model of civilization, and at least one assumed that all the continent's ancient states and empires could be attributed to Arab influence.[95] Although the path to civilization was ostensibly open to anyone who wished to travel it, the *mstaarabu* who completed the journey could be recognized only in contrast to another left behind.

That "other," the African barbarian, was not, strictly speaking, defined racially; after all, an *mstaarabu*, in the word's original (Arabic) sense, was one who *became* Arab. But even though the concepts of Arab civilization conveyed in both colonial and pan-Arabist texts focused on culture rather than blood, they also relied, to a greater or lesser extent, on the metaphor of descent. The same is true of local notions of *ustaarabu* and Arab and Shirazi identity.[96] So, although *Mazungumzo*'s historical narratives were *multi*-racial, in that they portrayed civilization being shared by diverse peoples, they were not *non*-racial; in their focus on waves of civilized peoples spreading to East Africa and elsewhere, sharing a common ancestry and identity, which were kept intact over centuries or even millennia, they reproduced many of the assumptions of racial thought. It is no surprise, then, that at least one of the contributors to the debate on *ustaarabu*, having made the small leap from civilization to descent, made the further leap from descent to the body—an association not universal to racial thought but not unique to raciology, either.[97] After describing how the Arabs' introduction of Islam had prompted "the natives of the coast to regard them as their leaders, and mimic them in every way," this author added that, as a mark of having become more civilized, the coast population's skin became clearer and brighter than that of "barbarians" (*washenzi*), "that is, the bush-people of the African interior."[98]

[94] "*Mshenzi*, n. *wa-* a barbarian, savage, one of the aborigines, a person untouched by civilization. Often used contemptuously by the coast native of those who come from the interior, although they are frequently more cultured and refined than the coast native!" Frederick Johnson, *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 419.

[95] Muhammad Othman, "Asili ya Neno 'Ustaarabu na Mstaarabu,'" *Maz.* 12, no. 4 (April 1938): 59–61; A. M. el-Hadhrami, "'Ustaarabu,'" *Maz.* 12, no. 4 (April 1938): 61–62; Ali Said el-Kharusy, "Asili ya Waarabu," *Maz.* 12, nos. 6–7 (June–July 1938): 81–83, 99–101. Parts of this debate were anticipated in the Dar es Salaam paper *Mambo Leo* of February and March 1923 (thanks to Katrin Bromber for this reference).

[96] The importance of the descent metaphor should be clear from all that has been said about Shirazi identity; it is also apparent in all the standard ethnographic studies. For an explicit statement, see Mohammed Shamte's careful consideration of how best to reckon ethnic identity, in "Mpemba," *Maz.* 11, no. 4 (April 1937): 52–54; Shamte opts for a strict reckoning based on descent.

[97] The literature still suffers from embarrassed silence about the degree to which Arab-centered notions of skin color as status marker were and remain widespread on the coast. A good indication of this is the furor raised among Lamu intellectuals by the publication of Abdul Hamid M. el Zein, *The Sacred Meadows: A Structural Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town* (Evanston, Ill., 1974), which describes such notions. Also see Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*, 94–96; and, for nineteenth-century material, Fred Morton, *Children of Ham: Freed Slaves and Fugitive Slaves on the Kenya Coast, 1873 to 1907* (Boulder, Colo., 1990). For the Arab and Islamic world more generally, see John Hunwick, "Islamic Law and Polemics over Race and Slavery in North and West Africa," *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 7 (1999): 43–68; Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York, 1990); Powell, *Different Shade*.

[98] Othman, "Asili ya Neno." He reminds readers of the standard etymology, which traces *mshenzi* to the Persian word *zinj*, meaning black, and the Swahili word he uses to describe coast peoples'

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A discourse of racial chauvinism, then, was beginning to emerge from the intertwined discourses of civilization, modernity, and nation-building. The interconnections can be seen in *Mazungumzo*'s campaigns for the reform of popular culture, another instance in which the nation-building concerns of British educators converged with those of Zanzibari colleagues.[99] The schoolteachers published many condescending essays on village customs, particularly dance rituals, in which they stressed an obligation to reform popular culture along the lines of modernity and (Arab) civilization. The critiques were often harsh: dances were described as foolish, indecent, and unhealthy—a common adjective was *kishenzi*, barbarous—and at least one headmaster thrashed pupils he caught participating in them. Such condemnations must have aroused deep resentments, since festive dance had been central to how islanders defined their very communities.[100] Even more central was Islam, the rituals of which, more than any others, delineated the boundary between civilized folks and *washenzi*. Yet the intelligentsia made little effort to hide contempt for villagers' religious practices. In accord with reformist currents throughout the Islamic world, they were particularly aroused by the practice of melding religious ceremony with festive dance, a practice, they maintained, that smacked of pagan idolatry.[101] At least one leading cleric argued that Islam forbade all festive dances, even those not combined with a religious rite.[102] Although the secular intelligentsia rarely went that far, their general critiques conveyed the

supposedly lighter skin color is far from neutral; the color is cleaner, purified, brightened (*takata*). Othman cites a book entitled *History of Zanzibar*, probably Ingrams and Hollingsworth's 1925 school text. But his essay reflects a variety of influences, including local understandings of Islam.

[99] For cultural nation-building in the Tuskegeeist principles favored by British educators, including the preservation of "tribal customs," see King, *Pan-Africanism*, 167–70, 263.

[100] Examples include Zam Ali Abbas, "Kwenda kwingi kuona mambo," *Normal Magazine* 3, no. 6 (July 1929); Abdul Rahman Muhammad, "Sikukuu ya Mwaka," *Normal Magazine* 3, nos. 10–11 (November–December 1929): 148–49, 162–63; Saleh Muhammad, "Ubaya wa somo juu ya mwari wake," *Normal Magazine* 4, no. 12 (December 1930): 147–48. The essays represent a debate between those who wanted to reform and preserve such dances as symbols of national pride and others who wanted simply to suppress them. By the 1930s, the reformist position had won the day, at least in the pages of the teachers' journal. For festive dance and community identity in the previous century, see Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*.

[101] In theological terms, their concerns were with the dangers of *bidaa* or "innovation," forms of worship sanctioned neither by God nor His prophets, and *shirk*, mixing worship of God with pagan idolatry. For such concerns among East African *ulamaa*, see Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*; Farsy, *Shaf'i Ulama*; and Bang, "Sufis and Scholars of the Sea"; and, for Islamic modernists more generally, Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 225, 231–32. (The latter source refers to Rashid Rida, whose paper *al-Manar* was read in Zanzibar.) These concerns meshed with British officials' desire to discourage festive rites they considered economically wasteful. But the *ulamaa*'s independent theological motives were well established; Islamic modernists had been criticizing such rituals for over a generation. See documents from 1935–1936 in AB 30/22, ZNA. The *ulamaa* continued to condemn such customs well after the campaigns: Muhammad Saleh Abdulla Farsy, *Ada za Harusi katika Unguja* (Nairobi, 1956). For the *ulamaa*'s leadership in similar campaigns on the mainland coast, see Sarah Mirza and Margaret Strobel, eds. and trans., *Three Swahili Women: Life Histories from Mombasa, Kenya* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989); Ali bin Hemedi el-Buhuriy, "Habari za Mrima," *Mambo Leo*, nos. 141–47 (1934–35).

[102] Sheikh Tahir [Abubakr el-Amawi] (senior *qadi*), March 21, 1936, AB 30/22, ZNA. (The *qadi* of the minority Ibadhi sect appended a postscript expressing his agreement.) For other *ulamaa* who took similarly puritanical views, see Saidi Musa, *Maisha ya al-Imam Sheikh Abdulla Saleh Farsy katika Ulimwengu wa Kiislamu* (Dar es Salaam, 1986), esp. 65 and following. But Musa's account must be treated with caution, especially when he attributes such views to Abdullah Saleh Farsy, the subject of his hagiography.

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message that the villagers' very Islam was tainted by barbarism and needed to be corrected by Arabs.

Other objects of the intelligentsia's scorn were the village Koran schools, or *madarasa*, and once again their preoccupations, inspired by modernist Islam, converged with those of British educators. The latter regarded the *madarasa* as obstacles to the spread of secular education in the countryside. The town *ulamaa*, meanwhile, scorned the *madarasa*'s pedagogical practices, particularly teaching children to recite Koranic verses in Arabic, "like parrots," without understanding their meaning. In the mid-1920s, a commission consisting of four eminent *qadis* and the director of education recommended that both problems be tackled by integrating religion into the curriculum of the government schools, where selected verses would be taught in Swahili. But villagers clung to the *madarasa*, resenting any attempt to limit their children's ability to recite in the language of the Prophet.[103] These tensions were still simmering ten years later, when they were captured in a widely circulated report by Mohammed Abeid el-Haj, a local official and former schoolteacher who would soon be among the most influential intellectuals in the colonial administration. El-Haj described the *madarasa* teachers as ignorant and avaricious, routinely mistreating their students and exploiting them for personal gain. But, he asserted, such abuses were characteristic of "African teachers" only. Arab teachers, in contrast, were expert and conscientious.[104]

It is ironic that Islam, with its well-deserved reputation for condemning all ethnic distinctions, should have provided some of the language with which the intelligentsia constructed their chauvinist rhetoric; it is also a powerful index of the breadth of sources on which racial thought can draw. Yet the irony is not unheard of: like all universalizing creeds (including Enlightenment ideals of civilization and progress), Islamic ideologies have often been used to express difference.[105] In Zanzibar, locally inherited concepts of Arab hegemony were compounded by the teachings of Cairo-based modernists who made an exception for Arab ethnic solidarity, arguing that it alone was sanctioned and even encouraged by Islam as necessary for the well-being of the faith.[106] In the societies where they originated, such teachings gave religious support to calls for national unity. But in a place like Zanzibar, they were divisive. They told islanders that, in order to be moral beings according to the religious ideals they themselves held dear, they had to accept the leadership of an ethnically distinct Arab elite.

Because the intelligentsia's interwar teachings on Arab superiority also stressed the lesson of coastal exceptionalism, their impact on indigenous islanders was

[103] Bennett, *Arab State*, 228–29; Furley and Watson, *History of Education*, 122–23; Teaching of Koran and Arabic in Government Schools, 1924–1957, AB 1/390, ZNA. The comparison to parrots was made by one of the *qadis* on the commission (Ingrams, *Zanzibar*, 230).

[104] M. A. el-Haj (Mudir, Koani), "The Koran Schools," 1936, AK 33/294, ZNA. For the report's circulation within the Education Department, see AB 1/82, AB 1/390, ZNA.

[105] Louis Brenner, "Muslim Representations of Unity and Difference in African Discourse," in Brenner, ed., *Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), 1–20. Also see J. Glassman, "Stolen Knowledge: Struggles for Popular Islam on the Swahili Coast, 1870–1963," in Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, ed., *Islam in East Africa: New Sources* (Rome, 2001), 209–25.

[106] Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 299–301 (for Rashid Rida); Gershoni, "Emergence of Pan-Nationalism," 76–77 (for Hasan al-Bana).

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ambivalent. But the message conveyed to African mainlanders was straightforward. Mainlanders were described unreflectively as *washenzi* and hence automatically excluded from any community built on the values of *ustaarabu*. The Arab Association was particularly plainspoken. Its weekly paper *Al-Falaq*, with which the *Mazungumzo* circle had close connections, frequently stressed the inherent differences between islanders and mainlanders: whereas islanders had become "sufficiently Arabianized" to have lost most of the qualities of African barbarism, mainlanders are but "primitive natives . . . whose culture and history are in process of formation only now."[107] These themes became pronounced during the association's first attempt at mass political mobilization in the late 1930s, when, locked in a bitter conflict with the Indian merchants who purchased most of the clove crop, its activists sought to enlist islanders' support for boycotts of all Indian businesses. They did so with a deeply chauvinist rhetoric that made purge categories of both Indians and mainland Africans.[108] Even though Indians were the activists' primary targets at the time, the dehumanizing rhetoric about mainlanders was to have a more potent afterlife in the racial divisions that racked the islands during the Time of Politics.

Hovering around all the paternalist rhetoric about how islanders had been civilized by Arab tutelage was the specter of slavery, a specter that would haunt some of the worst violence of the later years. In accordance with local sensibilities, slavery was rarely mentioned openly before the 1950s. Yet, in their historical essays, the intelligentsia sometimes referred delicately to the "help" slaves had given Arab settlers in building up the wealth of Zanzibar's "Great Arabic Empire,"[109] or indulged in the kind of apologies for "Arab slavery" that would later become standard fare in ZNP journalism. (In a prominent 1937 polemic, the young man who would later found the ZNP argued that "such was the happy state of slaves, that they loathed freedom."[110]) In 1938, *Al-Falaq* went even further, obliquely suggesting that slavery was the very institution that had done the most to civilize African "natives," imposing the control necessary to channel their anarchic energy into productive labor.[111]

These ideas reflect with particular clarity how multiple intellectual strands became densely intertwined in Zanzibari discourses of difference. Bringing barbarians into the light of religion and civilization had once been the key justification of enslavement in Islamic doctrine. *Al-Falaq*'s rhetoric shows that doctrine lingering in

[107] "Our New Educational Chief," *Al-Falaq*, May 20, 1939; "Native Trusteeship (1)," *Al-Falaq*, July 29, 1939; "Memorandum by the Arab Association," February 5, 1934, CO 618/60/15, PRO; "Report on Zanzibar Education (II)," *Al-Falaq*, October 1, 1938.

[108] Lofchie, *Zanzibar*, 119–26; Zanzibar District Monthly and Annual Reports, BA 30/5–7, ZNA; *Al-Falaq*, 1938, *passim*. A leading member of *Mazungumzo*'s editorial board, Mohammed Salim Hilal el-Barwani, was among those most active in this campaign: Secret Police Bulletin, July 4, 1938, AB 12/114, ZNA. I borrow the phrase "purge category" from Brennan, "Nation, Race and Urbanization."

[109] *Al-Falaq*, June 15, 1940; M. A. el-Haj, "Hadimu Land Tenure," May 1940, AK 33/294, ZNA.

[110] Ali Muhsin, "Slavery as It Used to Be Practiced in Zanzibar," *Makerere College Magazine* 1, no. 4 (August 1937): 111. Muhsin's essay was celebrated in *Al-Falaq*; for a full discussion, see Glassman, "Sorting Out the Tribes." Six decades later, Muhsin continued to issue similar apologies: *Conflicts and Harmony*, 177–86.

[111] "The So-Called Native Lethargy," *Al-Falaq*, September 3, 1938. The article was published as part of an ongoing campaign to persuade the authorities to create the legal apparatus by which estate owners might more effectively control agricultural labor.

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post-emancipation Zanzibar, complemented by European concepts of labor-discipline.[112] It also shows the influence of pan-Arabist journalism, in which the contrast between a supposedly benign "Arab slavery" and the cruelties of its Western counterpart was a key point in the defense of national honor.[113] Such apologies grew out of two separate historical misunderstandings. First is the assumption that, despite its long and varied history, an institution like slavery could be characterized and labeled in fixed terms: even though slavery in the Arab Middle East (and Islamic Africa) was indeed often "benign" relative to New World forms, the East African experience shows that such relaxed relations of bondage could become transformed over time.[114] So the label "Arab slavery" in fact corresponded to no single set of practices. Yet such labeling was central to nationalist understandings of history, in which institutions were said to reflect discrete national spirits. In this case, the history of Zanzibar slavery was said to demonstrate the humane paternalism of Arab civilization.

Second, whatever slavery looked like in Zanzibar at any given moment, there was nothing particularly "Arab" about it: contrary to conventional assumptions, many masters were Africans. This misunderstanding stemmed not from imported nationalist philosophies but from local usages, in which the claim of Arab status connoted descent from the planter elite and the absence of slave ancestry. Memories of slavery, in other words, were central to local understandings of Arab identity, and that placed the intelligentsia in the uncomfortable position of having to apologize for it. Given the bitterness with which ASP nationalists would later accuse them of the inherited sin of slavery, it is ironic that the intelligentsia chose to use slavery's history as a narrative tool in their construction of an Arabcentric national identity. But the choice was virtually forced on them by past practices in the construction of ethnic difference.

THE ACUTE RACIALIZATION OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE was an aspect of the nationalist mobilization that only began in earnest during and after World War II. The intelligentsia were the pioneers of that mobilization, and their language of civilization, nation, and modernity had a more direct impact on it than did more esoteric notions of raciology. Yet this impact was profoundly contradictory. Most ambivalent were the responses elicited from the village non-elites who were widely regarded as indigenous to the islands. Arab Association activists invited indigenous islanders to participate in the nation-building project, telling them that they were destined to join ranks with Arabs because of their shared history of *ustaarabu* and Islam. But the invitation was unmistakably condescending, for, although the intelligentsia encouraged islanders to consider themselves superior to mainland

[112] Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (New Haven, Conn., 1980), for British efforts to convince Zanzibari planters of the merits of industrial work-discipline.

[113] Eve Troutt-Powell and John Hunwick, papers presented to the Workshop on Slavery and the African Diaspora in the Lands of Islam, Northwestern University, April/May 1999.

[114] Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, Conn., 1977); Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 79–114; and, for a comparative example, see Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974).

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barbarians, they also implied that Arabs alone were in full command of the civilizing arts. That condescension can be read obliquely in the tone of the few Swahili items that *Al-Falaq* began to carry in 1946. (Before then, the paper had published only in English and Arabic.)[115] It can be read more directly in the paper's assumption that Arab leadership was the norm in all affairs, civil and political, and that, unless Arabs are in charge, "any institution established . . . by Natives" was doomed to fail.[116]

Given such rhetoric, it is easy to understand why the hegemony of Arabcentric notions of *ustaarabu* did not translate into simple consent for Arab leadership but, on the contrary, sometimes encouraged racial resentments against Arabs. This was dramatically revealed by a wartime surge of Shirazi ethnic nationalism in southern and eastern Zanzibar Island, a development that, as the outcome of several converging intellectual trends, provides an excellent illustration of the diverse sources of racial thought.

Before the war, villagers in these agriculturally marginal areas had commonly called themselves "Hadimu," an ethnonym that reflected historical memories of vassalage to the Omani sultans. It was derived from an Arabic word for "servant" or "slave."[117] During the nineteenth century, Hadimu cultivators were pushed out of the fertile central and western portions of the island by Arab settlers who established large estates of clove and coconut trees. By World War II, their villages had become reserves of seasonal plantation labor, in good years extruding the majority of their male population to assist in the clove harvest.[118] Not surprisingly, the intelligentsia's historical narratives skirted the processes by which the expansion of the Arab-dominated plantation sector had relegated the Hadimu to the island's rockiest fringes. The most common ploy was simply to deny that tensions had ever existed and to explain the Hadimu's present-day poverty in terms of their innate fecklessness, typical of "natives."[119]

Within the Hadimu fringe itself, mounting generational conflicts in the 1930s and 1940s had given rise to acute anxieties about the cohesion of village institutions and to dreams of community renewal. Hadimu elders were convinced that the seasonal outmigration of younger villagers had caused a loss of respect for village traditions. In fact, much of the rancor arose when the migrants used their wages in

[115] In a regular column, "Father Zanzibar" addressed his "children" in a patronizing tone unlike anything in the English section ("Risala ya Unguja," *Al-Falaq*, 1946). Otherwise, most Swahili-language items consisted of advice on cooking, child-rearing, decorating, and other non-political matters directed specially at women; again, such items did not appear in the English language section. By 1951, the paper was publishing Swahili translations of leaders from its English and Arabic sections, but Swahili continued to be its tertiary language.

[116] "Itihad-el-Watani," *Al-Falaq*, February 11, 1939.

[117] More precisely, it reflected the villages' subjection to the island's most powerful indigenous potentate, the Mwinyi Mkuu, who in turn became the sultans' direct vassal. John Gray, *History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856* (London, 1962); Pearce, *Zanzibar: The Island Metropolis*; Mohammed Abeid el-Haj, "Hadimu Land Tenure," May 1, 1940, AK 33/294, ZNA; Hemed Jabir el-Farsy, "The Mwinyi Mkuu," Appendix C, Zanzibar District Annual Report, 1935, BA 30/5, ZNA.

[118] Charles Sacleux, *Dictionnaire Swahili-Français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939–41), 2: 622; R. H. W. Pakenham, *Land Tenure among the Wahadimu at Chwaka, Zanzibar Island* (Zanzibar, 1947); John Middleton, *Land Tenure in Zanzibar* (London, 1961); Abdul Sheriff, "The Peasantry under Imperialism," in Sheriff and Ferguson, *Zanzibar under Colonial Rule*.

[119] Among the most telling examples is M. A. el-Haj, "Hadimu Land Tenure"; we have already encountered the influential el-Haj's disdain for village *madarasa* teachers.

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efforts to intrude in village customs more forcefully than their elders deemed proper, paying bridewealth or sponsoring other festive rites by which authority and prestige were accrued. These rites were the very ones that the intelligentsia had condemned as feckless and uncivilized (*Mazungumzo*'s harshest critiques were directed at Hadimu dances), yet for villagers they were central to how the local community was imagined. Late in the war, when new labor regulations backed by the Arab Association threatened migrants' ability to invest in these rites, they seemed to many villagers part of the elite's overall assaults on indigenous culture. So, when the young men who constituted the bulk of the Hadimu migrants launched a boycott of clove labor in 1944, they won broad support from the elders with whom they had only recently been at loggerheads. This newfound solidarity surprised many observers and made the boycott total in the southern district of Makunduchi, where it was concentrated.

The boycott's transformation from a labor action into a movement of communal revival was completed by activists from the Shirazi Assocation (SA). The intellectuals of the SA's Zanzibar Island branch were decidedly different from the sophisticates of the Arab Association and *Mazungumzo*; their president, Ameri Tajo, was a *madarasa* teacher from Makunduchi who had little command of English.[120] More to the point, they did not consider themselves members of the Arab elite, and most of their activities, which focused on extending to indigenous islanders the prerogatives enjoyed by Arabs, were vociferously opposed by the Arab Association.[121] Nevertheless, much of their rhetoric was derived directly from the Arab intelligentsia's own discourse, particularly the historical narratives of Arab conquest. In 1944, as *Al-Falaq* thundered against the Hadimu clove pickers for their laziness and disloyalty, the SA told them that the cause of their troubles was not the labor reform per se but the entire history of Arab dispossession. They reminded villagers of the servile origins of the ethnonym "Hadimu" and, cleverly making use of some of the Arab Association's own propaganda, argued that the reforms were but the latest move in the Arabs' efforts to enslave them. In that spirit, they urged villagers to reject "Hadimu" identity and adopt instead that of "Shirazi." Their success was remarkable. Virtually overnight, villagers throughout the region embraced the SA's language, saying to the Arab elites, in effect: We are not slaves or servants, not "Hadimu," but civilized people, "Shirazi," with an inheritance of *ustaarabu* as deep as your own.[122]

The discourse of Shirazi ethnic revival, then, arose from an amalgam of sources,

[120] Lofchie, *Zanzibar*, 169. For Tajo's lack of English, see CO 822/1376, PRO; for the Shirazi Association generally, AB 12/2, ZNA.

[121] This included the SA's advocacy for indigenous islanders in the ethnically structured rationing schemes being discussed in the opening years of the war, as well as their demand that a non-Arab be appointed *mudir* in the southern district of Makunduchi. See J. O'Brien, October 4, 1944, plus other documents in AB 4/39, ZNA; R. Pakenham, Zanzibar District Monthly Report, December 1943, and other documents in BA 30/7, ZNA; "Shirazi Association," AB 12/2, ZNA.

[122] I spell out this interpretation in a section of a forthcoming book; its sources include various documents in AB 4/39, ZNA; District Reports in BA 30/5–8, ZNA; Timothy Welliver, "The Clove Factor in Colonial Zanzibar" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1990), 380–84; Pakenham, *Land Tenure*; Pascal Bacuez, "Une ethnographie dans son contexte: Administration coloniale et formation identitaire," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 38, no. 149 (1998): 103–33. British officials overestimated the SA's role in instigating the boycott; in fact, the evidence suggests that the SA largely took advantage of a situation that had been initiated in the villages.

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some strictly local, such as the dreams of community revival, others borrowed from the subaltern intellectuals of the SA, whose rhetoric in turn was derived from their opponents among the intelligentsia. Yet, despite this diversity of origins, and despite the anti-Arab resentments expressed by SA supporters in the Hadimu fringe, Shirazi identity was founded on the same distinction between civilization and barbarism that had been elaborated by the secular intelligentsia. And that meant that the category most commonly excluded from the SA's vision of the nation were not Arabs but mainlanders. This was most apparent in Pemba, the birthplace and stronghold of the SA. Because ownership of clove estates was more evenly distributed there than in Zanzibar Island, Pemba was not plagued by the economic tensions that plagued the Hadimu fringe. Hence in Pemba, enmity toward Arabs never overtook the hostility to mainlanders that had prompted creation of the Shirazi Association in the first place.[123]

By the end of the war, then, the intelligentsia had set many of the basic terms of political discourse, including discourse used to express resentment of elite Arabs themselves. Even the subaltern intellectuals of the African Association, who claimed to speak for mainlanders, accepted the intelligentsia's teachings that the nation must be built on the values of civilization and modernity, that those values had been introduced to Africa from abroad, and that upcountry Africans had received them late, from Europeans rather than Arabs.[124] Historical narratives written by African Association journalists differed from the intelligentsia's mainly in their abolitionist perspective—their emphasis that the British had brought Africans not only enlightenment but also redemption from Arab oppression. But even this was not simply a matter of parroting British teachings. Colonial historiography, in fact, more closely resembled the intelligentsia's whitewashing of "Islamic slavery" and glorification of the civilizing effects of Arab rule. In contrast, the racial nationalists of the African Association told the story of Arab rule almost purely as one of conquest and enslavement, which tied mainlanders together in a history of shared victimhood.[125]

African Association propagandists thus seized on elite historical narratives and made their racial undertones explicit, complementing them with notions borrowed in part from the rhetoric of pan-Africanism. (In a sad irony, though, instead of following the pan-Africanists' quest for the African roots of "civilization," they accepted a reactionary Eurocentric vision.)[126] This move enabled them to craft

[123] My interpretation contrasts with others that read Shirazi ethnic revivalism only in terms of a nationalist master narrative: either a divisive identity imposed by colonial rule or a unifying one crafted to defy the British. The first of these interpretations, which accords with the official ASP view, is echoed in Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*; for the second, see Sheriff and Tominaga, "The Shirazi." See Glassman, "Sorting Out the Tribes," 404–05 n.

[124] Even the fiercest anti-Arab nationalists believed, incorrectly, that Africans had never developed their own systems of writing, and that they had always depended on Arabs and Europeans for enlightenment and "true religion." This is apparent from a perusal of the African Association weekly *Afrika Kwetu*; an explicit example is "Kale hata leo," January 13, 1955.

[125] The discussion of African Association rhetoric in this and the next two paragraphs is based mostly on Glassman, "Sorting Out the Tribes." For the British defense of "Islamic slavery" generally, see Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983), 261–68; and Morton, *Children of Ham*; the views of several Zanzibari officials can be found in Sir Arthur Henry Hardinge, *A Diplomatist in the East* (London, 1928).

[126] Jonathon Glassman, "Between Two Worlds: Diasporic Visions and Racial Politics in Colonial

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more straightforward appeals to anti-Arab sentiments than the SA's ambivalent rhetoric of *ustaarabu*. With its emphasis on skin color and "blood purity," their propaganda advocated a hardening of the flexible boundaries between ethnic categories, arguing that God himself had decreed that the races and nations be kept separate. An interpretation inflected by the nationalist paradigm might emphasize that this move revealed the influence of Western racial philosophies. That was no doubt true for pan-Africanism itself. But few of the African Association propagandists were well read, and most derived their pan-Africanism second or third-hand. And whatever the ultimate derivation of pan-Africanist ideas, local intellectuals were the ones who did the job of elaborating them in a local idiom and applying them to the circumstances of local politics.

The African Association's rhetoric of racial solidarity appealed most directly to mainlanders, but, with the introduction of electoral politics, its activists also used it in efforts to win support from indigenous islanders. The contest between the two rival visions of the nation—one based on *ustaarabu*, the other on race—was most hotly fought in the Hadimu fringe, owing to the intense ambivalence there about Shirazi identity. In 1957, Ameri Tajo and other Makunduchi activists led a portion of the Shirazi Association to unite with the African Association, thus forming the ASP. Tajo embraced his new partners' stress on racial unity, and together they excoriated Arabs as oppressive aliens.[127] The partnership proved brittle, however, and two years later Tajo and his associates left the ASP to form the anti-mainlander Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), which allied itself to the ZNP. In marked contrast to his former party, Tajo's new one vilified mainlanders as barbarians, and at rallies he shared the stage with members of the intelligentsia who used history lessons to persuade listeners that by origin and essence Shirazi were the same as Arabs.[128] In the 1961 and 1963 elections, the ZPPP and ASP battled fiercely and violently for Makunduchi's votes.[129]

As the pace of political mobilization accelerated after 1957, members of the intelligentsia who in their youth had written high-minded essays on civilization and uplift took to blaming mainlanders for a wide array of ills. Such rhetoric appeared even in *Mwongozi*, postwar Zanzibar's most sophisticated political weekly. Published by two former Hollingsworth students and closely affiliated with the ZNP, *Mwongozi* had been a voice of Islamic modernism, ecumenical tolerance, and anti-racialism. Yet its essays on history and culture were imbued with all the

Zanzibar," a paper presented at the Workshop on the Western Indian Ocean since 1800, Yale University, November 3–5, 2000.

[127] See the description of the Makunduchi rally at which the ASP was launched: *Afrika Kwetu*, February 14, 1957.

[128] Anti-mainlander sentiments can be found in the ZPPP newssheet *Sauti ya Wananchi*, among other sources; see AK 20/1, ZNA; also Saud A. Busaidy (DC Urban), March 6, 1963, AK 31/15, ZNA. In a particularly telling moment, Tajo shared the stage with Zam Ali Abbas, long a figure on *Mazungumzo*'s editorial board; their speeches are summarized in "Umma Hay!" *Mwongozi*, April 21, 1961.

[129] The tensions at Makunduchi are well reflected in "Makunduchi," and "Mtumwa mwenye ari si mungwana asiekuwa na ari," *Afrika Kwetu*, October 29 and November 5, 1959; also Security Report, July–August 1961, CO 822/2046, PRO. The political events of the Time of Politics are best recounted by Lofchie, *Zanzibar*, although his assertion that ZPPP never posed a threat in Makunduchi is belied by his own data, which show that in 1963 the party lost to ASP there by a mere sixteen votes.

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assumptions of coastal exceptionalism, increasingly expressed as contempt for mainlander savagery. So, for example, adapting to its purposes a deeply rooted popular discourse about criminality and difference,[130] *Mwongozi* blamed crime on immigration policies that admitted too many mainlanders (and ASP supporters), "foreigners who have been allowed to pour into our islands as if this were a rubbish-heap for every type of filth," and castigated its political rivals for wanting to "leave the door open to . . . thieves, cannibals, and naked people." By the eve of independence, the paper was regularly vilifying mainlanders as enemies of Islam and warning that under a ZNP government their "beastialities" (*sic*) would not be tolerated.[131]

THUS BOTH SIDES ENGAGED IN the spiral of reciprocal dehumanization that culminated in bloodshed.[132] Of the two, only the subaltern intellectuals of the ASP espoused a politics that was "racial" in the conventional sense, focusing on the divinely ordained solidarities of common origin manifested by bodily markers; ZNP propagandists, in contrast, remained more preoccupied with the intellectual traditions that had shaped their youthful essays for *Mazungumzo*, stressing the lessons of Islamic universalism and the distinctions between civilization and barbarism. But in terms of their dehumanizing impact, it is difficult to discern between these two rhetorics. And, no matter who was most to blame for the rising intensity of racial politics, it is clear that the discourses of civilization and race informed and fed off one another.

Tracing the precise etiology of racial thought therefore suggests the pitfalls of posing a categorical distinction between race and other forms of ethnic thought. Ultimately, the question is semantic: at what point do we want to use the word "race" to describe a given current of ethnic thought? Few would object to using the word to describe the rhetoric of the postwar African Association; such a description might in fact be useful for historical analysis, since the association's propaganda conveyed more straightforward messages of expulsion and extermination than were initially apparent in the intelligentsia's ambiguous rhetoric of civilization.[133] But to draw an absolute distinction between these two discourses would blind us to the borrowings between them and the ways in which they grew from one another. The subaltern ideologues operated within the same general intellectual milieu as the intelligentsia; indeed, the intelligentsia taught them many of the fundamental lessons of exclusionary ethnic nationalism. The debates and interconnections between these very different groups of political thinkers were central to the intellectual work involved in the creation of racial thought. Such work was not

[130] I spell out the history of this discourse in Chapter 6 of my forthcoming book; for a summary, see "Gangsters, Thieves, and the Construction of Race in Colonial Zanzibar," a paper presented to the African Studies Seminar, University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 10, 2002.

[131] Quotes from "Barua," by "Mzanzibari," *Mwongozi*, May 3, 1957; "Yepi Yaliyowaleta Pamoja Wananchi na Wazalendo," *Mwongozi*, March 3, 1961; "Declaration from Lamu," *Mwongozi*, September 13, 1963. Similar rhetoric can be found in an official ZNP statement from October 1957, CO 822/1377, PRO.

[132] I paraphrase Comaroff, "Of Totemism."

[133] Glassman, "Sorting Out the Tribes."

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merely ancillary to the rise of racial identities but was constitutive of them, and to ignore it is to accept that racial identities reflect inherent differences—it is to accept, that is, that "racial groups" existed prior to their mobilization by ideologues, who merely forged political allegiances from the facts of their existence.

In focusing on the elite intelligentsia who came of age between the wars, I have told only a small part of the story, slighting the ASP demagoguery that contributed most directly to the bloodshed of the early 1960s and omitting entirely the processes, far from inevitable, by which racial thought was transformed into popular conceptions capable of motivating transgressive violence.[134] But because the intelligentsia exerted such an overwhelming influence on Zanzibari political culture, this focus is an essential starting point. It is pertinent in other ways as well. Of all Zanzibaris, the intelligentsia experienced the most direct and sustained influence of colonial education. Reconstructing the development of their thought thus offers a pointed demonstration of the limits of colonial indoctrination. It also demonstrates how even the most liberal and mainstream of nationalist rhetorics might become racialized, not by the sinister workings of colonial mentors (throughout the postwar years, in fact, British officials strove to damp down ethnic conflicts, not fan them), but by political actors responding to political opportunities. Neither the convergence of African and European idioms of ranked difference nor the interplay between them, as in the rich intellectual cross-fertilization that took place between Teachers Training School graduates and their British mentors, is sufficient to justify the assumption that African concepts of racial politics originated solely in the European imagination.[135]

This emphasis on the limits of European indoctrination should not be taken to imply that Zanzibar's racial clashes were manifestations of some ancient, inbred enmity. That, in effect, is the false choice proposed in much of the instrumentalist literature on African ethnicity: since it is plainly ahistorical to view tribalism as primordial, one must therefore see it as a consequence of colonialism.[136] Yet, even though the links between colonial rule and contemporary ethnic politics are unmistakable, they alone are not sufficient for explaining the often profound resonance of ethnic demagoguery, especially its ability to evoke ethnic violence. For that, one needs a historical perspective that is both deeper and broader than a simple focus on the colonial state. The racialization of Zanzibari ethnic thought was indeed a modern process, accomplished by modern thinkers, Zanzibari as well as British. But the modes of thought subjected to the process were neither invented from whole cloth nor imported anew; many had been inherited from precolonial intellectual traditions. At the same time (and contrary to primordialist assumptions), those traditions had always been given to innovation, adaptation, and

[134] The latter theme is explored in two chapters of my forthcoming book that draw on comparative studies of contemporary ethnic violence in South Asia and Central Africa.

[135] Frank Dikötter draws similar conclusions in his critique of a different literature: "Racial Discourse in China, Continuities and Permutations," in Dikötter, ed., *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan* (London, 1997), 12–33.

[136] For a prominent example of such an argument, see Bill Berkeley, *The Graves Are Not Yet Full: Race, Tribe and Power in the Heart of Africa* (New York, 2001). I hasten to add that, despite his emphasis on colonialism's historical role, Berkeley refuses to absolve African politicians of responsibility for pogroms and massacres; compare with the "academic sycophants" denounced by Lemarchand, *Burundi*. And Berkeley fully recognizes the parallels between tribalism and race.

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change. So, for example, although distinctions between Shirazi and other islanders were rooted in precolonial thought, their meanings had changed dramatically in the nineteenth century, with the rise of the plantation sector and Omani rule, and again in the twentieth, with the imposition of the colonial state and the rise of nationalist politics. At the same time, memories of historical events placed limits on innovators' ability to invent new political traditions: this appears with particular clarity in the dilemma faced by elite intellectuals who found themselves having to apologize for "Arab slavery."

As in other parts of the colonial world, racial thought in Zanzibar was derived from a multiplicity of sources, foreign and domestic, and the innovators who rethought and combined them came from many walks of life. Such diversity implies that we cannot universalize any one path toward racial thought. Yet many studies of the non-Western world still reflect a tendency to universalize the experience of the West, and, in particular, the United States.[137] Hence the continued assumption that ethnicity and race had separate origins, the latter arising from imported European doctrines. Although it is undeniable that the divide between "race" and "ethnicity" is fundamental to contemporary American political discourse, that discourse is the product of a long and complex history, which we cannot assume to have been replicated anywhere in identical terms. Abandoning such self-centered assumptions is a necessary first step toward a precise understanding of how racial thought developed elsewhere in the world. And that in turn may help us relinquish the last vestiges of the racial thought in which we ourselves have been schooled: the assumption that racial boundaries have any basis in phenomena that exist apart from the subjective perceptions shaped by our several histories.

[137] This tendency seems most pronounced in the sociological literature, perhaps because that literature has been dominated by American scholars for most of the past century. Howard Winant, "Race and Race Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2000.

Jonathon Glassman, an associate professor of history at Northwestern University, studied with Steven Feierman and Jan Vansina at the University of Wisconsin. This article is drawn from a book-length project on the racialization of political thought in colonial Zanzibar, which will include an examination of how racial identities were reproduced by the acts of violence that ended the sultanate in the mid-twentieth century. In many ways, the project builds on Glassman's first book, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888*, which traces how debates over the structures of power and community in a provincial region of the Zanzibar Sultanate yielded discourses of ethnic and racial identity in the pre-colonial century. The book won the 1996 Herskovits Prize of the African Studies Association, awarded annually for the best book on Africa in any discipline.

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On the Global Repercussions of East African Consumerism

JEREMY PRESTHOLDT

ANALYSTS OF GLOBAL INTEGRATION have been rightfully concerned with elucidating global inequalities. But increasing interconnectivity has also created possibilities for seemingly marginal people to affect larger patterns of interrelation. By concentrating on how economic power is deployed by dominant global actors, analysts of globalizing processes have largely overlooked the ways in which quotidian acts such as consumer demand across the globe influence economic relations, however asymmetrical those relationships may be. Highlighting instances of direct reciprocity in global networks, this essay recovers some of the ways that East African consumers shaped the global economy during the nineteenth century. By tracing courses of global integration through the complexities of global circulation and negotiated transaction, this essay contributes to an alternative genealogy of globalization inclusive of the local contingencies of intercontinental relationships and the interests of historically under-considered populations.

GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEMS are to a great degree determined by the cultural logics of consumer demand. Thus reflection on the effects of consumer desire within networks of relation—even effects that seem to contradict dominant power relations—sheds critical light on processes of globalization, past and present. For instance, the recognition that the social calculi shaping consumer desire are both local and transcend the local, and that global economies regularly accommodate changing desire, makes it less probable that the forms global systems take are reducible to a single logic such as capital accumulation, important as it is. What attention to "peripheral" cultures of demand, or any local interests that produce long-range reverberations, brings to historical analyses of global processes is an appreciation of both mutual determination and plural causality. Yet reciprocities, however uneven, have rarely gained critical attention in the most developed

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paradigms of global economic integration, such as dependency, world-system, and neo-liberal approaches. While it is to their great credit that theorists of the global economy employing these models have long debated the ways in which the non-West became important to the West's economic buoyancy, neither they nor many other analysts of globalization phenomena have fully appreciated how the *interests* of the "periphery" have affected distant societies. This is particularly surprising considering that world-system theory,[1] the most rigorous market-based and often highly deterministic model of global interaction, implies ways of thinking about the repercussions of "peripheral" interests in its basic conceptualization.[2] The very notion of interconnectivity on which theories of the world system are predicated suggests possibilities beyond the deterministic language of core-periphery relations that is frequently assumed in contemporary analyses of globalization, despite broad criticisms of world-system theory.[3] If any part of a system has the potential to affect other parts, we should accept the possibility that seemingly marginal actors can, at times, significantly affect seemingly powerful ones.[4] Indeed,

[1] In using this term, I do not mean to imply that there is unity beyond a concentration on systemic interaction, and a belief that systems exist, among world-system(s) theorists. Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas Hall sum up the field as a concern with *systemness*: how events in one locale have consequences for social structures in another. Chase-Dunn and Hall, *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Boulder, Colo., 1997), 17. According to Immanuel Wallerstein, the general "claim to strength" of the world-systems perspective is that it makes sense out of seeming coincidences that in fact link far corners of the globe. *AHR Forum*: Steve J. Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," and Wallerstein, "Comments on Stern's Critical Tests," *AHR* 94 (October 1988): 829–72 and 884–85 (quote).

[2] See, in particular, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. (New York, 1974–89); *Historical Capitalism: With Capitalist Civilization* (New York, 1995); and "The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World-Economy," in *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, Peter Gutkind and Wallerstein, eds. (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1976), 30–57.

[3] The language of core/periphery categorization has become so normalized that its genesis and assumptions are rarely acknowledged in globalization literature. See, for instance, Kevin Cox's introduction to a recent anthology on economic globalization, *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, Cox, ed. (New York, 1997), 1. Other social scientists working in a historical vein, such as Andre Gunder Frank, have attacked the conclusions of world-system analysts but have not challenged the idea of "cores" as the determining features of global systems. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998). At the same time, some world-systems theorists, such as Chase-Dunn and Hall, have argued that it is a mistake to assume that all relations among "less" and "more developed" societies entail exploitation or processes of underdevelopment. *Rise and Demise*, 36.

[4] Many historians and anthropologists have soundly criticized the monocausal analytical logic at the heart of Wallerstein's model of the world-system, a logic that only explained change in the "periphery" by reference to the system's center, or "core." See Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System," 829–72, and the ensuing debate between Stern and Wallerstein in the same volume. Nearly two decades ago, Roland Robertson and Frank Lechner suggested that contemporary theory *must* account for the trajectories of global integration in a "multidimensional fashion." "Modernization, Globalization and the Problem of Culture in World-Systems Theory," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 2, no. 3 (1985): 113. Peter Geschiere, Richard Kilminster, and Arif Dirlik have recently extended this critique to contemporary globalization studies, arguing that the ability of the local to shape global relationships is still too easily overlooked. Geschiere suggests that only detailed analysis of exchanges "may effectively debunk a terminology, still coming so easily to many colleagues, that serves to depict people in the 'periphery' as only receivers or as re-actors." "Historical Anthropology: Questions of Time, Method and Scale," *Interventions* 3, no. 1 (2001): 37; Kilminster, "Globalization as an Emergent Concept," in *The Limits of Globalization*, Alan Scott, ed. (London, 1997), 269; Dirlik, *Postmodernity's Histories: The Past as Legacy and Project* (Lanham, Md., 2000), 160. Good examples of how global systems can look from local perspectives include Marshall Sahlins' imaginative essay, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of 'The World System,'" in Sahlins, ed., *Culture in Practice: Selected Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 415–70; and Donald Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa* (Armonk, N.Y., 1997).

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a largely forgotten aspect of Immanuel Wallerstein's theorization of global interrelation revealed ways for thinking beyond the monocausality of a world system determined by Western (that is, "core") interests. In his analysis of Africa's integration into the world economy, Wallerstein characteristically stressed that people act for their own particular purposes under conditions constrained by larger structures, but he added the critical caveat, "each actor opting for a given alternative in fact alters the framework of the whole."[5] It is this more complicated insight—individual actors are not autonomous, yet they do possess abilities to alter larger frameworks—that deserves particular attention at a time when the rhetoric of globalization pushes historians to challenge vigorously monocausal narratives of global integration.[6] What Wallerstein's qualification leaves ripe for consideration are the negotiations and interests brought to bear on transactions the world over, no matter how insignificant they might appear on the surface.[7] Transactions can be severely circumscribed, but, as negotiations of demand, they can both determine the shape of trans-societal dynamics and, at times, challenge the assumed power of systemic interactions.

Over the last twenty-five years, African historiography has provided important signposts for moving beyond the restrictive analytical logic of an always dominant "core" that underwrites most models of historical integration. And it has done so by reconsidering the terms of trade manifest in Africa's transactions of global significance. For example, David Richardson's work on West African consumption patterns troubled narratives of the West's imposition of its economic will on Africans by highlighting the ways in which West African demand shaped the parameters of African-British economic relations at the height of the Atlantic slave

[5] Wallerstein, "Three Stages," 35. Wallerstein recognized that linkages between regions in the world economy are reciprocal, but he argued that in these linkages we find the "underlying determinants of social actions at a more local level." I suggest that linkages, because of the reciprocities they convey, reveal both the negotiation of various social actions *and* the imposition of economic constraints. Wallerstein, "Three Stages," 35. Also working through a sociological optic, Anthony Giddens and Roland Robertson moved in a somewhat different direction by stressing the dialogic processes and multicausality inherent in global integration. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1990); and *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London, 1992).

[6] Frederick Cooper offers a sharp critique of the tendency among globalization theorists to derive historical conclusions from "idealized versions of the 'globalized present'" in ways that occlude past contingencies, choices, decisions, and constraints. Cooper argues that globalization models, like modernization theory (I would add dependency, world-system, and neo-liberal approaches), reduce great diversities of phenomena to singular conceptual frames that may reveal important constants but at the same time obscure myriad historical processes. This "singular notion of change" has undermined the utility of most social-science theories of global integration. Cooper, "What Is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian's Perspective," *African Affairs* 100 (2001): 205, 212. For other important efforts to bring historiography into dialogue with globalization studies, see Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York, 2003); Anthony G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History* (New York, 2002); Philip Pomper, Richard H. Elphick, and Richard T. Vann, *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and Identities* (Malden, Mass., 1998).

[7] Perhaps more than any other field, economic anthropology has directly addressed the cultures and social meanings of exchange. See, for instance, Jane Guyer, ed., *Money Matters: Instability, Values, and Social Payments in the Modern History of West African Communities* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995); Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, eds., *Barter, Exchange, and Value: An Anthropological Approach* (Cambridge, 1992); Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Parker Shipton, *Bitter Money: Cultural Economy and Some African Meanings of Forbidden Commodities* (Washington, D.C., 1989).

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trade.[8] Richardson showed that consumer interests across West Africa were divergent and locally contingent, which suggested a complexity in Euro-African commercial relations unexplored in most accounts of pre-colonial exchange. Most important, Richardson's work demonstrated that African consumers directly affected the shape of British trade across West Africa and globally. Africans negotiated the terms of trade by refusing all undesired goods, and the failure of British manufacturers to replicate the kinds of items in demand—certain Indian textiles, for instance—forced English merchants to depend on particular Indian manufacturers.[9] These findings led Richardson to conclude that we can only understand the changing parameters of the eighteenth-century Atlantic slave trade through a proper appreciation of regional variations in West African demand.[10] Richard Roberts's recent work also illustrates how African interests affected global systems of exchange and production. Roberts reveals that the first industrial textile mill in India was founded (by French manufacturers) to produce cloth for the Senegalese market.[11] In the case of Central Africa, Joseph Miller has suggested that demand for certain Indian textiles shaped Lusophone trade both in Africa and Asia.[12] What such examples suggest is that when activities such as consumption in the "periphery" are reinserted into systemic analysis, we can develop multi-

[8] David Richardson, "West African Consumption Patterns and Their Influence on the Eighteenth-Century English Slave Trade," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, Henry Gemery and Jan Hogendorn, eds. (New York, 1979); see also Emmanuel Akyeampong, *Drink, Power, and Cultural Change: A Social History of Alcohol in Ghana, c. 1800 to Recent Times* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1996); Stanley Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves," *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 5–43; George Metcalf, "A Microcosm of Why Africans Sold Slaves: Akan Consumption Patterns in the 1770s," *Journal of African History* 28 (1987): 377–94.

[9] Richardson, "West African Consumption Patterns," 308. Philip Curtin's work on Senegambia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries argued a similar point. French industries were unable to copy Indian-manufactured cloth—even though they attempted to counterfeit the Indian textiles, stamping them with look-alike marks—and were thus dependent on Indian manufacturers until the 1830s. Moreover, Curtin argued that the economy of slave supply in the Western Sudan did not respond to external market conditions, and even at the height of the slave trade the external market did not fully determine the economic orientation of Senegambian states. He concluded that until the end of the slave trade the terms of trade favored Africans. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave trade* (Madison, Wis., 1975), 312–13.

[10] Richardson, "West African Consumption Patterns." Miller, in his consideration of imports at Luanda, predicted, "Imports are likely to prove more momentous for Africa's history than its better publicized exports." He developed this point further in *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, Wis., 1988) by exemplifying the ways in which commodities reconfigured social as well as productive relationships. Joseph C. Miller, "Imports at Luanda, Angola 1785–1823," in *Figuring African Trade*, Gerhard Liesegang and Adam Jones, eds. (Berlin, 1986), 164.

[11] Richard Roberts, "West Africa and the Pondicherry Textile Industry," in *Cloth and Commerce: Textiles in Colonial India*, Tirthankar Roy, ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1996), 142–74. Roberts also notes that colonial conquest in the Western Sahel depended on French abilities to adapt to West African economies.

[12] Miller, "Imports at Luanda," 196–97. Marion Johnson argued that, before colonialism, global trade not only did not destroy local industry in West Africa, it actually spurred local production in some areas. West African weavers imported large amounts of British-spun cotton yarn in the late nineteenth century and even exported cloth to Brazil and Barbados. Johnson, "Technology, Competition, and African Crafts," in *The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India*, C. Dewey and Anthony G. Hopkins, eds. (London, 1978), 259–69; see also Jean and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1991–97), 2: chap. 5, esp. n59; Ruth Nielsen, "The History and Development of Wax-Printed Textiles Intended for West Africa and Zaire," in *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*, Justine Cordwell and Ronald Schwarz, eds. (The Hague, 1979).

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dimensional perspectives on economic relationships that challenge unilinear historical trajectories of the consolidation of economic power in a "core."

The study of pre-colonial East African consumerism offers another way to assess the effects of "peripheral" interests on global economic trends. Through demand, perhaps more than through production, East Africans leveraged global commercial relationships during the nineteenth century. For example, assumptions of the dominance of external market forces in East Africa are immediately thrown into question by the fact that, throughout the nineteenth century, foreign firms doing business in Zanzibar were, to their consternation, subject to local trading partners and the whim of regional producers. The records of foreign traders are replete with references to their inability to spur production or even regulate the prices of their own goods. Moreover, the intense competition between foreign merchants, combined with the sultan of Zanzibar's economic egalitarianism and the relatively buoyant prices of many East African exports, assured favorable terms of trade for both African producers and the marketers of African commodities. From the East African case, an image of global relations emerges which suggests that the shape of world markets has not been determined by Western interests alone but has, instead, been defined by a matrix of shifting accommodation and, lest we forget, in the dynamics of non-Western exchanges. Drawing inspiration from the work of Richardson, Roberts, and Miller, as well as a growing body of interdisciplinary literature that highlights the fact that the West's global relations have rarely been unilaterally determined,[13] this essay will address not only the particularities of exchange in East Africa but also, following Frederick Cooper's appeal, the courses of global interrelation that Africans affected.[14] The profile of global relations that I outline below is one of reciprocal determination, inequitable in the long run, and increasingly so from the beginning of the East African colonial era in the 1880s, but reciprocal nonetheless. This dialectic was one that constricted possibility without foreclosing a variety of actions, choices, or potentials. Global circuits of exchange fixed the parameters of activity, and yet both East African consumer demands and cultures of production forced outsiders into certain relationships with African producers. By paying more attention to reciprocities among actors in macro-

[13] The notion of mutual effect is, of course, not unique to this analysis; it has become a central concern of colonial historiography. Cooper summarizes this stance: "Recognition of the much greater power of the Europeans in the colonial encounter does not negate the importance of African agency in determining the shape the encounter took"; "Conflict and Connection," 1529. Micro-focused accounts of the dynamics of colonial interfaces have begun to reveal how seemingly marginal actors can, at times, significantly affect seemingly powerful ones. For instance, the Comaroffs have explored the cultural complexities of what has been termed "reciprocal determination" in Tswana-European encounters. Although reciprocity does not amount to equity, the Comaroffs and others demonstrate that inequity does not arrest the possibilities of mutual determination and adaptation within a variety of constraining circumstances. Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*; and A. Gupta, "History, Rule, Representation: Scattered Speculations on *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Volume II," *Interventions* 3, no. 1 (2001): 40–46. See also Timothy Mitchell, ed., *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis, 2000), 2; Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power," in *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, Hall, ed. (Oxford, 1997), 184–227; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).

[14] See Cooper, "Africa in a Capitalist World," 394; and "Africa and the World Economy," in *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America*, Frederick Cooper, *et al.*, eds. (Madison, Wis., 1993).

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networks, we can better appreciate the ways in which historically marginalized people have affected distant societies and world systems of relation. Finally, attention to reciprocities complements market-based analyses, institutional, encounter, and other approaches to global interaction by highlighting—much as Richard White did in his analysis of the "middle ground" of intercultural relationships—dimensions of circularity and accommodation that further temper our genealogies of globality.[15]

TO DEMONSTRATE HOW EAST AFRICAN CONSUMERS affected distant societies, this essay will trace the repercussions of East African consumer demand to two distant locales: Salem (Massachusetts) and Bombay. In order to perceive the relationships between places of production and consumption with greater clarity, I will first highlight links in the chains that connected East Africa to other world regions. Such links included the consumers and retailers who purchased goods in mainland East African societies, the caravan porters who carried loads of goods across eastern Africa, the caravan leaders who bought and arranged for the transport of goods into the interior, foreign agents and local buyers in Zanzibar and elsewhere on the East African coast, the ships that delivered cargoes, the firms, brokers, and consignors in Asian, American, and European ports, and the manufacturers of various consumer goods. Along these chains of relation, we can see precisely how consumer demand came to drive the system, how demand was translated and relayed, and how through such translation the production of certain goods was organized and executed. Of these links between East African consumers and foreign producers, two were particularly important: foreign agents in Zanzibar—East Africa's commercial hub—and the caravan leaders who traded directly with consumers throughout mainland East Africa.

The correspondences of Westerners operating in East Africa reveal the local contingencies of global exchange, such as regional cycles of production and changing regional tastes. Letters from American merchants in East Africa abound with frustrated remarks about contaminated copal (a resin used for making furniture varnish), producers' unwillingness to collect it during the planting or harvesting seasons, the lack of caravans during the planting season, and the slowing of business during Ramadan.[16] None of the Americans' efforts affected these patterns of production and exchange. Americans could, at best, attempt to control the volume of their national goods in the market, but they were largely unsuccessful even at this, since there were so many firms in competition. To complicate matters,

[15] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991). On institutional analysis, see Lauren Benton, "From the World-Systems Perspective to Institutional World History: Culture and Economy in Global Theory," *Journal of World History* 7, no. 2 (1996): 261–95; Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (New York, 2002); Douglas North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (New York, 1990). On the encounter approach, see Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts in Pre-modern Times* (New York, 1993).

[16] On the relation of caravan traffic to planting seasons, see Stephen J. Rockel, "'A Nation of Porters': The Nyamwezi and the Labour Market in Nineteenth-Century Tanzania," *Journal of African History* 41 (2000): 173–95.

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while East African demand constantly changed, foreign traders in East Africa could rarely afford to be fickle in their demands. Instead, they had to take, or compete for, what was available and hope that the prices of East African copal, ivory, and cloves remained steady at home. Western agents and travelers, who out of necessity learned East African methods of exchange, were equally frustrated by the complexity of African demand and their utter inability to circumvent it. Joseph Thomson, who fit out a caravan for Lake Tanganyika in the 1870s, wrote, "fashion was as dominant among Central African tribes as among the *belles* of Paris or London." "Each tribe," he explained, "must have its own particular class of cotton, and its own chosen tint, colour, and size among beads." Indicative of the importance of the trader's sensitivity to local tastes, Thomson continued, "The absence of the required article at any particular point, might mean nothing less than disaster and failure to the expedition, as people will have nothing but the cloth or bead that happens to be in fashion. Everything else is of no value, and will hardly be accepted as a present." Venting his dissatisfaction with the terms of exchange, he added, "Worse still, the fashions are just as changeable [as in England] . . . In one year a tribe goes mad for a particular bead; but the trader having supplied himself with the fashionable article, according to latest news, might, if his journey was long, arrive to find the fashion changed, and his stock just so much unmarketable rubbish."[17] Speaking directly to the popular myth of African satisfaction with baubles, Richard Burton remarked that the "Birmingham trinkets and knicknacks, of which travellers take large outfits to savage and barbarous countries, would in East Africa be accepted by women and children as presents, but . . . would not procure a pound of grain."[18] Burton and Thomson, like countless caravan leaders before them, learned this lesson the hard way. In Thomson's case, he took the advice of a caravan leader who had visited the Lake Tanganyika region a full two years earlier and on his recommendation bought "a great amount of beads of a certain size, composition, and color," which he found to be out of fashion on his arrival. The beads, carefully chosen and carried halfway across the continent, were now of little value.[19]

As European travelers would only be the latest to discover, demand was not easy to predict, nor was it necessarily definable by cultural-linguistic group. Individual consumers often sought out particular goods in order to differentiate themselves from their neighbors. Harry Hamilton Johnston, who traveled to Kilimanjaro, described the desires of people he came into contact with as "most varied and capricious," adding that, "scarcely two villages concur in their canons of taste." The solution that East African caravan leaders devised to address the contingencies of fashion was to carry various sizes and shapes of, for instance, a bead that had been reported to be in style in a particular locale. Using the *maji ya bahari* (literally "seawater" in Swahili) beads as an example, Johnston advised potential travelers to carry multiple sizes, since "an entire tribe may affect one shade of blue in their bead necklaces, yet each individual will have special opinion as to the correct size of the

[17] Joseph Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes and Back: The Narrative of the Royal Geographical Society's East Central African Expedition, 1878–80* (London, 1881), 35–36.

[18] Richard Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture Exploration*, Vol. 2 (London, 1860), 400.

[19] Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, 35–36.

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bead."[20] To put the complex nature of demand into perspective, there were at least 400 varieties of beads current during Burton's sojourn in 1857, each with a different value, name, and particular locale of preference. Red beads, for instance, were the only kind salable in Unyamwezi, whereas black beads were currency in Ugogo, though worthless everywhere else. "Egg" beads were valuable in Ujiji and Uguha but refused elsewhere. White beads were popular in Ufipa and parts of Usagara and Ugogo but disliked in Uzigua and Ukonongo. The bright yellow *samuli* (Swahili: ghee) was in demand among Chagga and Maasai consumers but found no market further south.[21] Such drastic divergence in preference meant that merchants had to buy amounts appropriate for the length of travel and the regions passed so that they would not be left with stocks of valueless goods.[22] If a caravan found itself overstocked with a particular variety of bead, its only chance to dispose of the surplus would be at commercial centers such as Ujiji (on Lake Tanganyika), where bead changers traded hundreds of varieties.[23]

Perhaps more indicative of the importance of appealing to East African tastes is the fact that American merchants at Zanzibar had to return entire cargoes when particular goods, such as a certain kind of cloth or gun, found no market in East Africa.[24] In order to gauge the market so that time and money were not lost in sending the wrong kinds of things to Zanzibar, manufacturers in the United States, England, Germany, France, and India sent samples ahead of cargoes.[25] When firms did not follow this practice, they could incur heavy losses. After receiving a shipment of glassware and crockery, an American agent in Zanzibar wrote to his firm that these were both selling very slowly and that, in the future, the firm should be careful not to ship goods before testing samples in the market.[26] Another American agent, William Jelly, wrote angrily to his firm in 1845 that the wrong kind of muskets had been sent to Zanzibar. After giving a detailed explanation of why this particular variety would find no buyers in Zanzibar, Jelly added, with great irritation, that the consignor in Salem had spent enough time in Zanzibar "to know the kind wanted for the Zanzibar market."[27]

[20] Harry Hamilton Johnston, *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition: A Record of Scientific Exploration in Eastern Equatorial Africa* (London, 1886), 45.

[21] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 396.

[22] Henry M. Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa* (New York, 1887), 24; J. R. Harding, "Nineteenth-Century Trade Beads in Tanganyika," *Man* (July 1962): 104–06.

[23] Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone*, 473.

[24] For instance, B. F. Fabens had to send 200 bales of cotton drills back to Salem when he could find no buyers for them. At 700–800 yards per bale, this was a very large consignment of cloth. Fabens to Michael Shepard, August 16, 1844, MH 23, Shipping Papers, Correspondence (1843–1846), Box 12, folder 3, Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (hereafter, PE).

[25] "Invoice of Merchandise Shipped on Board the Brig Cherokee," Salem, February 24, 1840, MH 23, Michael Shepard Papers, B2, folder 6, PE; Charles Ward to Shepard, March 25, 1850, Consular Papers, Vol. B, Letter Book, MSS 47, Charles Ward Papers, PE; *Bombay Gazette*, Part 1, January to December 1875, V/11/2200, India Office Library, British Museum, London (hereafter, IOL).

[26] Ward to Shepard, March 25, 1850, Consular Papers, Vol. B, Letter Book, MSS 47, Charles Ward Papers, PE; Ward to Shepard, May 16, 1846, MH 23, Shipping Papers, Correspondence (1843–46), PE.

[27] A few years later, Burton, the only European traveler to publish a detailed description of East African consumer interests, wrote that the muskets exported to East Africa had to have a black butt and an elephant on the lock, otherwise they would never survive in the market. He also wrote that they had to be inexpensive, not exceeding 3 or 4 shillings. Richard Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast*, Vol. 2 (London, 1872), 412; Jelly to [obscure], April 17, 1845, MH 14, Richard Waters Papers, PE. East

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Brass wire, the third most common import after cloth and beads, was a troublesome commodity to the Americans since its width, shape, length of coil, packaging, and weight all determined value in East Africa. At mid-century, Zanzibari purchasers would only buy certain gauges that they knew to be in demand for making jewelry in the interior.[28] Indian and European merchants also imported American brass wire, and when an American firm wrote to its agent in Zanzibar that the wire was becoming too expensive in the United States, the Zanzibar agent warned the firm that if it ordered wire from England it must not only be the right gauge but also look exactly like the American variety.[29] The form was especially important. Pieces had to be of a standard size, in coils nine to twelve inches in diameter with each coil consisting of either ten or twenty rings. And they had to be wrapped in brown paper so that they would not oxidize. Its "bright appearance," as one American merchant described it, was essential to the wire's sale in the interior.[30] Because of its importance to trade—foreign merchants often likened brass wire's exchange value to gold—and the attention necessary to produce the right product and packaging, American manufacturers began making brass coil conforming exactly to East African specifications. One agent described the brass wire made for East Africa as "a superior article," calibrated for the market.[31]

There was no way for foreign traders to circumvent the exigencies of African demand. In the 1850s, for instance, English chintz did not sell very well in the interior because people across the region preferred French and Hamburg varieties, despite the fact that their price was three times that of English chintz.[32] Imitations were also rarely successful, except under extreme circumstances such as during and after the U.S. Civil War. Lewis Pelly, the British vice-consul at Zanzibar, wrote of several incidents in which foreign merchants attempted substitutions of regional favorites to no avail. In one case, a Hamburg firm tried to copy a popular blue checked turban cloth made in Muscat (Oman). The firm began to import a knockoff that they imagined to be an equally attractive turban cloth and sold it at a price lower than the Muscati-made kind. But Zanzibari consumers found the colors overly bright, and, accordingly, it was "gossamer to a beaver": valueless. Pelly wrote of the similar plight of various textiles that arrived with a stripe too narrow or a line too broad. Such things were, according to Pelly, "sufficient to make the conservative ladies of the Negro races doubt quality, and stick to the original Surat, Broach or

Africans had very specific demands for gunpowder as well. When Americans tried to sell glazed powder in Zanzibar, they incurred significant losses as it was refused on the mainland. Fabens to Shepard, September 27, 1846, and Ward to Shepard, May 16, 1846, MH 23, Shipping Papers, Correspondence (1843–46), PE.

[28] Ward to Shepard, September 24, 1849, Consular Papers, Vol. B, MSS 47, Charles Ward Papers, PE.

[29] Ward to Shepard, March 25, 1850, Consular Papers, Vol. B, MSS 47, Charles Ward Papers, PE. Another American wrote that a consignment of wire received in Zanzibar was about one-third too thick and as a result could find no buyers in town. Fabens to Shepard, August 16, 1844, MH 23, Shipping Papers, Correspondence (1843–46), Box 12, folder 3, PE.

[30] Moreover, the coils had to weigh between nine and ten pounds or else they were very difficult to sell. Ward to Shepard, February 5, 1849, Consular Papers, Vol. B, MSS 47, Charles Ward Papers, PE; Fabens to Shepard, August 29, 1844, MH 23, Shipping Papers, Correspondence (1843–46), PE; Ward to Shepard, December 3, 1850, Consular Papers, Vol. B., MSS 47, Charles Ward Papers, PE.

[31] Jelly to J. A. West, August 30, 1837, MH 235, J. A. West Papers, Box 1, folder 3, PE.

[32] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 397.

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Bengal."[33] East Africans developed both highly differentiated tastes and sophisticated ways of assessing quality. Foreign merchants had to produce goods that fit these parameters if they wished to be successful in East Africa. For example, despite considerable British political influence at Zanzibar, British merchants were virtually frozen out of the direct trade with East Africa because they offered little of appeal to East Africans. A British consul wrote in the early 1850s that English manufacturers simply could not replicate the American cloths so popular in East Africa. "Many have tried," Atkins Hamerton explained, but they failed to produce the "proper article."[34] Yet British cloth did find its way to East Africa. Bombay exporters first broke into the East African market by remaking cheap English textiles with added colors and stamped designs.[35] For example, the *kisuto*, a cloth popular across East Africa, was a plain English cotton that had been dyed and spotted in Bombay.[36] What Bombay-based firms, like all those who would succeed in the East African market, recognized was that success depended on their agents' abilities to identify African fashion trends and relay information about these trends to artisans at home.

Perhaps the most important figure at the interface of global exchange and local consumers was not the urban import-exporter but the merchant in the East African interior. On the East African mainland, imported goods were often sold directly to consumers. Therefore, caravan leaders—the primary negotiators of the caravan trade—were lynchpins in the system of global exchange. Without navigable rivers to connect the coast and the interior, caravans of hundreds or even thousands of porters carried goods into the interior, traded, and then collected goods for export. These caravans, and particularly their leaders, faced the immediacy of local demand, its unpredictability, rapid changes in style, and the political environments of each locale. Caravan headmen, whether of coastal or interior birth, had to know the languages and fashion exigencies of all the peoples with whom they wanted to trade or through whose territory they simply wished to travel. If headmen did not possess such knowledge, the journey could not only be unsuccessful, it could also be extremely dangerous. The caravan leader thus had to gauge the right amounts of each commodity needed in each region. This was a complex metric, drawing on experience, recent reports, and knowledge of trade equivalencies between local produce and imported goods. Before setting out for Kilimanjaro, the adventurers Richard Thornton and Baron von der Decken solicited information from Kapitau, a Mombasan caravan leader with a particular knowledge of Chagga country, who

[33] Lewis Pelly, "Remarks on the Tribes and Resources around the Shoreline of the Persian Gulf," *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* 17 (1863–64): 32–103, quoted in Mohamed R. Bhacker, *Trade and Empire in Muscat and Zanzibar: Roots of British Domination* (New York, 1992). For detailed descriptions of these turban cloths, see "Marchandises d'importation propres au Commerce de la Côte de Zanguébar [ca. 1860]," Océan Indien 5/23 no. 7, Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence (hereafter, CAOM). I owe a great debt of gratitude to Chris Hayden for locating this and other French archival material.

[34] Hamerton to A. Malet [ca. 1852], A 3/11, Zanzibar National Archives, Zanzibar, Tanzania (hereafter, ZNA). At the end of the decade, Burton called for further British attempts to replicate the American cloth. Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 388.

[35] Col. Christopher P. Rigby, "Return of the Imports at the Port of Zanzibar in the Year 1859," AA 2/4, ZNA.

[36] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 398.

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informed them of the goods necessary for their journey.[37] Burton's chief advice to those who wished to travel on the mainland was to seek out such *viongozi* (Swahili: caravan leaders) who knew the route one wished to take, and to inquire as to the "varieties [of trade goods] requisite" for the particular road. "Any neglect in choosing beads," Burton wrote, ". . . might arrest an expedition on the very threshold of success."[38] For instance, James Grant wrote that, in southern Unyamwezi, *gulabi* (Swahili: rose) beads were "great favorites; and when exhausted, the price of everything rose to double." The *maji ya bahari* beads, so highly regarded in the Kilimanjaro area, were utterly refused in Unyamwezi, as were white and red beads, even though red beads had been acceptable just four years earlier. Only when the *ukuti wa mnazi* (Swahili: coconut palm leaf) beads were brought out was the caravan able to buy basic provisions.[39]

Even more important, caravan leaders had to stock unique gifts for the political elites through whose territory they wished to pass. These often mirrored the consumer tastes of coastal elites and included things such as music boxes, silk cloth, musical instruments, European or Asian prints, and the latest firearms.[40] East African discrimination between varieties of imported goods became extremely refined over the course of the century, particularly as trade with the coast, travel to coastal cities, and the sheer volume of imports increased. As Jonathon Glassman has shown, by the 1880s, political elites such as Mandara of Moshi derisively labeled all but the most recent European imports "Zanzibari-made." Much as in coastal cities, the value of certain imported commodities in the interior was rarely stable, since elites were constantly looking for objects that could serve to differentiate them from non-elites. Mandara, like his nephew Miriali, sought out the most unique or technologically sophisticated goods from traders in order to set himself off from his subjects—perhaps even to use such privileged access as a way of maintaining his authority. When offered cloths and other standard gifts by the Bostonian traveler May French-Sheldon, Miriali requested instead her music box, an object highly coveted in the region.[41] The choice of gifts was crucial to the caravan's progression, since inadequate tributes paid to rulers or their appointees could stall a caravan and even force it to find another route to its destination.

To complicate matters further, caravan leaders often shouldered responsibility for directing the remaking of consumer goods in their charge. Since fashions changed quickly, it was necessary to redesign pieces of cloth or restring beads on the road. Caravan leaders purchased the kinds of cloth or beads they thought to be in demand in a particular locale, and, just outside the area where they intended to trade, they would stop and redesign cloth in a way that appealed to local consumers. For example, Maasai only accepted two kinds of cloth, both of which were syntheses of imported materials. Younger Maasai men wanted what was termed *naibere*. This

[37] Richard Thornton, Letters, June 3, 1861, MSS Afr. s. 27, Rhodes House, Oxford; Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (1873; rpt. edn., London, 1971), 452.

[38] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 390.

[39] James Grant, *A Walk across Africa: or, Domestic Scenes from My Nile Journey* (Edinburgh, 1864), 87.

[40] Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, 46.

[41] See Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), 49–51; May French-Sheldon, *Sultan to Sultan: Adventures among the Masai and Other Tribes of East Africa* (London, 1892), 194.

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was a cloth made of about two yards of *ulayti mfupi*, a kind of narrow unbleached cotton, onto which was sewn a strip of red calico six to eight inches wide. After the strip was sewn on, the edges of the cloth would be frayed about four inches, and this fringe would be bound with a red or dark purple fabric. Older, married Maasai wanted a cloth of similar make, though a little wider and about an eighth longer. This cloth was left without the broad stripe in the middle but was given larger fringes. Before entering Maasai country, the Teleki expedition produced nearly 1,200 of these cloths. This remaking of cloth occupied the members of the caravan for several days, with nearly 100 people engaged in the task.[42] Strings of beads also had to be reconfigured for Maasai consumers. Before entering Maasai country, caravan porters had to rethread beads in lengths of twenty-one or twenty-two inches. Such labor was necessary because beads would not be accepted unless in this form.[43] Similarly, at Taveta (eastern Kenya), Thomson's caravan had to restring what added up to 60,000 measures of beads. The remaking of imported goods points up a common fallacy in African economic analysis: the asymmetrical exchange of finished imported products for African raw materials.[44] Although we tend to think of cloth, beads, and brass wire as finished manufactured goods distinct from the "raw" materials Africans exported, it is more appropriate to think of them as only partially manufactured, since they often had to be radically redesigned in India, East African centers of trade, or on caravan trails before they could be sold in local markets. Such was the case in Unyanyembe, where coastal artisans purchased imported English broadcloth and tailored it into the *kizibao*, or short coastal-style coat sought by wealthy men.[45] In Unyanyembe, brass and iron wire was remade before it was sold to consumers; local artisans fashioned imported wire into armlets, leg bracelets, bells, necklace beads, and rings, as well as inlays for gunstocks and knife hilts.[46]

Much of the remaking of imports took place in East Africa's coastal cities. Artisans in Zanzibar altered cloth designs, added prints and colors, and cut and reshaped textiles based on information provided by caravan leaders and porters. In coastal cities, one could find artisans who specialized in weaving colored borders onto imported cloth.[47] This adding of value was essential to the mainland trade since consumers, like many in Chagga country, would not buy long-cloth without *taraza*, or fringes. The Chagga fringe functioned stylistically much like the center strip of a Maasai *naibere*. It gave a measure of American unbleached cloth vibrant color and, because of the elaborate patterns of its stitching, an ornate, personalized aesthetic.[48] Zanzibaris wove varieties of thread into imported cloth in order to

[42] Lt. Ludwig Ritter von Höhnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie*, Vol. 1 (London, 1894), 104–05.

[43] Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes*, 56.

[44] Here I second Christopher Chase-Dunn's critique of the notion that world systems are necessarily constituted by a division of labor in which a core exports manufactured goods and a periphery exports raw materials. *Global Formation: Structures of the World-Economy* (Cambridge, 1989).

[45] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 396.

[46] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 410. Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, 45; Charles Pickering, *The Races of Man and Their Geographical Distribution* (1848; London, 1876), 202.

[47] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 418. Additionally, Zanzibari smiths made brass and copper bracelets for export to Ugogo. Vernon Cameron, *Across Africa* (New York, 1877), 78.

[48] Burton, *Zanzibar*, 1: 224.

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make them more appealing and to drive up their prices. For example, the *uzar*, or silk-cotton wrappers worn by the moderately wealthy on the coast, were often sewn with gold thread at Zanzibar as a way of attracting local consumers and increasing the fabric's value.[49] In the case of the Surati (western Indian) silk *dewli* embellished with a border of gold thread at Zanzibar, the value added was extreme. Without a fringe, three and a half yards of *dewli* cost around seven Maria Theresa dollars ($MT) in 1857; when the fringe was added, the price increased by almost 30 percent; when Zanzibari tailors added a gold fringe, the price reached as high as 80$MT. In the 1850s, Zanzibaris stumbled on a hit in Unyamwezi with the *kitambi banyani*, or white Indian-made cloth stamped in Zanzibar (or less often in India) with a narrow red border. Common Surati white cotton loincloths were given broad border stripes of indigo, red, and yellow for interior markets. Different colored borders on the same type cloth often indicated its target market. The Kutchi-made *taujiri*, or indigo cotton cloth, was in demand in both Yao and Nyamwezi country, although Yao consumers only bought it if it had a red border, while Nyamwezi only accepted the cloth with a yellow border.[50] Coastal artisans also wove cloth for local consumption and export. Weavers in Zanzibar made a popular turban cloth worn by coastal elites and manufactured coarser cotton cloths for the mainland market.[51] Weavers in several northern coastal cities fashioned the *lemali*, a kind of coarse cotton particularly favored in Oromo territory.[52] Zanzibaris even wove and dyed their own *kaniki*, or indigo cloth, although the volume of production was relatively low.[53] By manipulating imports and manufacturing for market niches, regional artisans could respond quickly to East Africa's shifts in consumer demand.

FOR THE ENTIRE NINETEENTH CENTURY, cloth was at the center of East Africa's global exchanges. East African demand for cloth would shape most of the region's trade relationships and draw economies around the world into dynamic relation with African consumers. Until the U.S. Civil War, American trade with Zanzibar was dependent on East African demand for New England cloth. This demand was initially met by Massachusetts' famous Lowell mills. But due to increasing competition for Lowell cottons and the introduction of a rail system between the mills and Boston, Salem merchants were forced to invest in their own mill, which would be the first entirely steam-powered textile factory in North America. Where

[49] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 399.

[50] Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 397–99.

[51] W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *A Voyage round the World: Including an Embassy to Muscat and Siam, in 1835, 1836, and 1837* (Philadelphia, 1839), 38; Col. Sykes, "Notes on the Possessions of the Imaum of Muskat, on the Climate and Productions of Zanzibar," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 23 (1853): 108; Burton, *Zanzibar*, 1: 350.

[52] New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours*, 63, 270. Zanzibaris imported raw, uncleaned cotton from western India for use in the weaving industry, while they exported local bombax floss to Nyamwezi, where it was used as a substitute for cotton. At Ujiji, weavers used bombax to spin a kind of yarn that Burton described as of a better quality than that spun from Unyanyembe cotton. *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 2: 418.

[53] A sample of this local indigo cloth was sent to Bombay in 1862 to ascertain its value. It was later sent on to the Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta. H. Brooke to J. Shaw Stewart, Bombay, June 16, 1862, AA 12/8, ZNA. American merchants sent samples of Zanzibari indigo to the Lowell mills in Massachusetts, but the mills never used it.

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American merchants had once staked their East African investments on simple unbleached sheeting from Lowell, between the 1840s and the 1880s they exported a variety of cloths to Zanzibar, including bleached and unbleached sheeting, brown shirting, "common" shirting, "superior" shirting, unbleached and bleached drills, linen, red broadcloth, and handkerchiefs. In the years leading up to the Civil War, demand for American cloth not only provided a commercial staple for East African merchants, it also assured a primary export market for America's largest textile mill.

In the late eighteenth century, Boston-area merchants sought new markets in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. They exchanged New England–made consumer goods for Chinese porcelain, Indian textiles, Mochan coffee, Muscati dates, and Sumatran pepper. By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, Salem and Boston monopolized American trade with Indian Ocean and Pacific ports. However, the War of 1812 initiated the decline of Salem's mercantile power in the Pacific and Eastern Indian oceans. British hostility kept Americans out of the regions during the war, and as soon as the war was over Salemites faced an equally difficult challenge: competition from New York firms. After 1815, merchants in many New England port cities began to gravitate toward the growing entrepôts of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, all cities with better port facilities than Salem. Moreover, capital investment within New England was shifting from mercantilism to industrial production. By the 1830s, American trade with many of the world's most lucrative commercial ports—across the Atlantic, in India, China, and Southeast Asia—was controlled by firms based in the larger cities. As a result, Salemites began to concentrate on a variety of alternative ports of trade outside the longstanding trade routes. Of the new markets Salemites entered in the Indian Ocean, Zanzibar would prove one of the most important.[54]

The East African market was attractive to Salemites because it supplied two commodities essential to New England industries: hides for regional leatherworks and gum copal, the resin necessary for the varnishes used in the regional furniture industry. In the early nineteenth century, Salem's tanneries were its most significant industry, and East African hides constituted a large proportion of Salem's imported supplies. More important to Salem's economy over the longer term was the fact that the finest copal in the world came from East Africa. During the nineteenth century, high quality copal was dug on the *mrima*, or mainland coastal strip just opposite Zanzibar. Serving furniture manufacturers across the Eastern seaboard, the Whipple Gum Copal Factory in Salem became one of the city's largest employers as a result of its access to East African copal. Fortunately for American merchants, people in the copal-producing region and across East Africa took a great interest in Lowell unbleached calicos (called *merekani*, or "American," in Swahili). Salemites thus gained a distinct advantage over others desirous of East African copal. This unique access would frustrate British manufacturers. Indicative of British furniture manufacturers' interests in circumventing the American copal monopoly, Richard Burton received a letter before embarking on his "exploration" of East Africa that urged him to seek out possibilities for lowering the cost of copal

[54] Much of this discussion is taken from P. H. Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar–East African Trade, 1825–1845," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 90 (1954): 123–53, 261–73, 361–88; and Cyrus Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa* (Salem, Mass., 1950).

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imported to Britain. The letter writer asserted that any suggestions for reducing the price of varnish would "entitle Captain Burton to a larger share of the gratitude of his countrymen than the measurement of the elevation of the Mountains of the Moon or the Determination of the Sources of the Nile."[55] In the face of fierce competition from New York and Boston, Salem merchants were able to ensure their city's economic viability by turning, at least in part, to trade with Zanzibar, a port that offered a market for local manufactures and access to important materials for Salem's industries. The profits that were derived from the sale of copal, cloves, ivory, and hides, moreover, provided capital for the shift from mercantilism to industrial manufacturing in the Salem area.[56] The relation of Zanzibar to the vitality of Salem is clear if we consider that many of the merchants invested in the Zanzibar trade became key members of boards at Salem banks, insurance companies, and new factories. And East African demand for various products, such as cloth, furniture, shoes, and glass, gave new life to an array of Salem's industries. The repercussions created by Salem's fiscal dependence on markets like Zanzibar even had perceptual dimensions: the mother of Richard Waters, one of the most important American traders in Zanzibar, was said to know more about Zanzibar's surroundings than she did the outskirts of Salem, even though she had never visited East Africa.[57]

East Africans consumed a great diversity of American manufactures. Salem exports found markets throughout the region and across socioeconomic categories. Most of the *merekani*, brass coil, and beads were sold to caravans heading into the interior, while furniture, clocks, and agricultural goods appealed to coastal consumers. A typical cargo of American goods illustrates the kind of diversification that allowed Salemites to hold an important position in the Zanzibari market: cargoes generally included cloth, brass wire, specie, gunpowder, loaf sugar, muskets, and flour.[58] Yet the cargo manifests of Salem vessels reveal that most ships brought much more than these staple articles. For example, the Salem-based ship *Rolla* sold many of the above products at Zanzibar but also discharged cedar shingles, 200 chairs, 200 boxes of soap (4,000 pounds), rocking chairs, almost 3,000 lustre plates, gold watches, and a diversity of less expensive timepieces.[59] Other cargoes included things such as lumber (11,226 feet in one shipment), clapboard, bread, ice, and even ham—a surprising import for Muslim Zanzibar.

Of course, North America's greatest trade staple was *merekani* cloth. By the mid-1830s, the popularity of American unbleached cottons had begun to challenge the dominance of indigos from Kutch (northwestern India). British manufacturers

[55] Burton, *Zanzibar*, 1: 266.

[56] Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar–East African Trade," 128–31, 153.

[57] This kind of global consciousness was not out of the ordinary in Salem. Salemites prided themselves on their knowledge of places like Canton and Zanzibar. See Winifred Barr Rothenberg, "The Invention of American Capitalism: The Economy of New England in the Federal Period," in *Engines of Enterprise: An Economic History of New England*, Peter Temin, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 69–108; Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar–East African Trade," 372.

[58] Capt. Mansfield, "Navigation and Commerce of the United States at This Port of Zanzibar during the Quarter Ending June 30, 1858," Roll 2, Vol. 4–5, U.S. Consulate, Zanzibar, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, hereafter, USCZ).

[59] "Invoice of Goods Shipped on Board the Brig Rolla, 1843," MH 14, Richard Waters Papers, Ships Papers (*Rolla*), Box 1, folder 4, PE.

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had no luck replicating the American fabric, even though they attempted to counterfeit it by stamping English cloths with American marks. This strategy was unsuccessful, according to one American in Zanzibar, because "the people say, the strength and wear of the American goods are so superior"; and he added that, "lest they be deceived, [Zanzibaris] will no longer even purchase from Englishmen."[60] In 1847, the British consul wrote that *merekani* had come into "universal use" in Arabia and East Africa, in no small measure because of its durability. He wrote to his superiors in Bombay that even the most extreme measures—such as pressing the sultan of Zanzibar to change his treaty with Britain in order to favor the importation of British cloth—would still not allow British merchandise to compete with American cloth.[61] So successful was the American unbleached calico by the early 1860s that an American merchant compared the *merekani* domination of the market to another American victory over Britain: "Zanzibar," he proudly proclaimed, "is the Saratoga of the East."[62] More important, in the late 1840s, *merekani* supplanted Indian manufactures as the most common article of imported clothing for all East Africans. Within just ten years of its introduction, *merekani* was more commonly used than the Surati and Kutchi-made indigo *kaniki*: the cloth with the longest history in the East African market.

From the 1830s until around 1847, the vast majority of unbleached shirting and sheeting that arrived in East Africa was manufactured at the Lowell mills.[63] Echoing his predecessor, the American consul wrote in 1851 that the demand for *merekani* in East Africa seemed infinite, since people across the region preferred them to all other imports.[64] As we have seen, *merekani* cloth was remanufactured into all manner of clothing by stitching other material onto it, dyeing it, or tailoring it. It was also used for making burial cloth, and it was durable enough to use as sailcloth.[65] In some societies, even the stamps that the mills printed on the textiles became fashionable. James Grant wrote that at Ukuni (in southern Unyamwezi, Tanzania), when people acquired a piece of *merekani* bearing the blue stamp "Massachusetts Sheeting," they would wrap the cloth around their body in such a way as to ensure that the words appeared clearly across the front of the garment. According to Grant, anyone who could afford this particular length of *merekani* was thought "a considerable swell."[66] American cloth was authenticated by its stamp, and the stamp itself became not only a signifier of quality but also an item of fashion.

The steady increase of elephant hunting, intra-regional slave trading, copal digging, and grain as well as clove production for export led to a greater

[60] Ruschenberger, *Voyage round the World*, 47.

[61] Hamerton to [obscure], March 26, 1847, AA 1/3, ZNA. British firms, such as that of Newman, Hunt, and Christopher, had operated in Zanzibar in the 1820s and 1830s, but the entrance of American cloths pushed them out of the market.

[62] S. Speer to William H. Seward, June 25, 1862, Roll 2, Vol. 4–5, USCZ.

[63] Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa*, 116.

[64] C. Abbott to Daniel Webster, March 12, 1851, Roll 1, Vol. 1–3, USCZ.

[65] Burton, *Zanzibar*, 1: 72, 382–83. It was even used as a form of tributary payment. The governor of Pangani, according to J. L. Krapf, paid tribute to Kimweri ye Nyumbai of Shambaa in the form of two hundred yards of Lowell sheeting. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1860), 375.

[66] Grant, *Walk across Africa*, 87.

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commodification of economic and social relationships in East Africa. The new tendency to consider the exchange values—not simply the use values—of both people and produce, and the increasing ease with which people could sell commodities to the market, meant that imported cloth was more accessible to more people than ever before.[67] By the 1840s, it was no longer only the elite who could access imported goods but anyone who had produce valued by passing caravans or who was willing to carry produce to regional markets. The enormous demand for American cloth was directly affected by the increasing commodification of produce and people across East Africa as well as the buoyant prices of East African exports. Increasing African demand was soon reflected in New England. Demand for Lowell cloths domestically, in East Africa, and in other export markets strained the supply of Massachusetts cotton mills in the late 1830s and early 1840s. In 1843, a Salem consignor wrote to the American merchant Richard Waters in Zanzibar to inform him that *merekani* was scarce because Lowell could simply not stay apace of demand.[68] The strain on Lowell production led to a rapid inflation in the prices of cloth, and soon Salem merchants were forced to contract for future consignments at prices to be determined at the time of delivery. These conditions were disastrous for Salem exporters, since the buying price of Lowell cottons was now raised above the projected returns from the East African trade.[69] It was this crisis of the Salem trade and possibilities for increased profits from manufacturing in a moment of great consumer demand that, as P. H. Northway first argued in his treatise on Zanzibar-Salem relations, encouraged Salemites to invest in the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company.[70] The opening of Naumkeag would be a landmark in Salem as well as American history.

Founded by a former shipmaster in 1847, the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company was both the first fully steam-powered textile mill in the United States and the largest mill in North America. Richard Waters, a long-time agent in Zanzibar, and probably the American most knowledgeable of the East African market, became the director and later president of Naumkeag.[71] In the late 1840s, Naumkeag's output was not only greater than its competitors, but the quality of its manufactures was among the best in the nation. During its first year of production, Naumkeag won national acclaim for its textiles.[72] Although the mill made twills as well as various other cloths, it focused production on the sheeting that underwrote

[67] For a thorough discussion of the importance of commodification processes to the political economy of nineteenth-century East Africa, see Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, chap. 1; See also Edward Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa: Changing Patterns of International Trade in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975); Juhani Koponen, *People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania: History and Structures* (Jyväskylä, 1988); Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770–1873* (London, 1991); Philip D.Curtin, *et al.*, *African History*, 2d edn. (New York, 1995), chap. 13.

[68] David Pingree to Waters, May 13, 1843, MH 14, Waters Papers, Box 1, folder 2, PE.

[69] Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar–East African Trade," 367.

[70] Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar–East African Trade," 375.

[71] The mill boasted a board of directors that included many of Salem's most prominent Zanzibar exporters. Waters would later become the director of the Naumkeag Bank as well. Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar–East African Trade," 273.

[72] *Annual Report of the Engineer to the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, Salem (Mass.)* (Salem, 1848), 7.

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the East African trade.[73] From its opening, the mill was fantastically successful, and between the late 1840s and the early 1860s the growing East African market was one of the most important export outlets for Naumkeag.[74] In the 1850s and early 1860s, Salemites gained much more control over the prices, designs, and availability of the cloth they exported. As a result, the volume of *merekani* exports to Zanzibar grew exponentially. Americans soon dominated Zanzibar's trade with the Atlantic.[75] From 1855 to 1859, British, Hamburg, French, Portuguese, Prussian, Spanish, Danish, and Hanoverian ships visited Zanzibar, but the number of American vessels and their total tonnage consistently surpassed all other Atlantic nations. In most years, Americans shipped at least twice the tonnage of Hamburg vessels, their closest European competitor.[76] In 1859, for instance, Americans imported all of the cotton piece goods brought directly from Atlantic ports (most English cottons came through Bombay); this added up to almost 5 million yards of *merekani*.[77] In the same year, Americans exported almost 1,000 clocks and 3,000 chairs to Zanzibar, while Hamburg merchants, since they had difficulty finding consumer goods for the East African market, were forced to import bullion.[78] In the six years leading up to the American Civil War, East Africans consumed over 29 million yards of *merekani* cloth.[79]

Yet America's dominance of the textile import trade in East Africa would prove short-lived. Soon after the Civil War began, Salem's cotton supplies were cut off. American merchants in Zanzibar stayed on during the war but became hopelessly dependent on imported specie, a dependence that severely cut their margins of profit. The *merekani* once dominant in the market was now far too rare and expensive to sell in East Africa. American imports fell to a fraction of what they had been, and Bombay firms began flooding Zanzibar with English-made *merekani* knockoff cloth in an attempt to gain market share.[80] Unfortunately for the Americans, the volume of ivory exported from Zanzibar increased steadily over the war years, as did the demand for imported goods in East Africa. As a result of the expanding purchasing power of East Africans, the total value of beads and brass wire imported more than doubled in a short four-year span, while the total value of

[73] Rudolph Dick, *Nathaniel Griffin (1796–1876) of Salem—and His Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company* (New York, 1951), 11–13; Dick, "Pequot Mills: The Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company of Salem, Mass.," *Cotton History Review* 1, no. 4 (1960): 109–17; Peter Temin, "The Industrialization of New England, 1830–1880," in Temin, *Engines of Enterprise*, 109–52.

[74] Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar–East African Trade," 128–31.

[75] On the details of this trade, see "Marchandises d'importation propres au Commerce de la Côte de Zanguébar [ca. 1860]," CAOM; and "Lois & coutumes de Douaner: Commerce sous les divers pavillons [ca. 1860]," Océan Indien 5/23 no. 2, CAOM.

[76] Col. Christopher P. Rigby, "Return of Merchant Shipping Arrivals at the Port of Zanzibar during the Last Five Years," AA 2/4, ZNA. And all of this was direct trade between the United States and Zanzibar, not ships involved in the "carrying trade," or intra–Indian Ocean exchange.

[77] Rigby, "Return of Merchant Shipping Arrivals at the Port of Zanzibar during the Last Five Years," AA 2/4, ZNA. For purposes of comparison, the amount of cloth imported into Zanzibar in 1859 was more than the total projected annual production of the Naumkeag mill during its first year of operation (1848). *Annual Report of the Engineer*, 7.

[78] Rigby, "Return of the Imports at the Port of Zanzibar in the Year 1859," AA 2/4, ZNA.

[79] Foreign Office 54/22, Public Record Office, Kew (hereafter, PRO).

[80] Edward Ropes, Jr., "Report on the Commerce of Zanzibar, October 5, 1865, Roll 2, Vol. 4–5, USCZ.

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textiles imported nearly doubled as well.[81] Indian-exported textiles, both Indian and British-made, filled the enormous gap in the market created by the exit of the *merekani* and widened by rising ivory prices.[82] As the Civil War drew to a close, cloth exports from India—exported from both Kutch and Bombay—accounted for the vast majority of the total Zanzibari textile import trade.

By the end of the war, Americans had lost the battle for East African consumers. Moreover, the cost of postwar American labor forced the prices of cottons well above their competitors, Indian as well as British. For much of the rest of the century, Americans were reduced to buying East African products with gold.[83] Furthermore, Salem firms that had once been important to the Zanzibar trade were coming under increasing pressure from Boston merchants, who were now aware of the commercial prospects of East Africa. New York and Providence merchants soon followed, and by the 1880s Salem firms had taken a back seat in Zanzibar. Even though East African consumers continued to show an interest in the American unbleached cloths well into the 1880s, their terminally high prices, compared to the affordability of Bombay copies, made it extremely difficult for Americans to regain the sizable share of the market lost during the war.[84] The situation of American merchants became dire in the early 1880s. In 1884, the American consul Edward Ropes, Jr., wrote angrily about Bombay *merekani* knockoffs that were meticulously folded, stamped, and packaged to look like real American cloths yet were sold for far less.[85] Writing three years later, the American consul lamented the retreat of American cloth from Zanzibar: "Immense quantities of Brown sheetings, the production of the many Bombay mills," Seth Pratt explained, were now the standards of the Zanzibar economic system. "Their merit," he remarked bitterly, "is their extreme cheapness."[86] While East Africa had been important to Salem's economy in an era of intense competition from larger Boston and New York firms, its greatest importance to Salem was in the transition from mercantile capitalism to industrialization. Not only was the first steam-powered mill in North America built in part to accommodate the East African trade, but Zanzibar was essential to the expansion of several local industries. Salem's most important industries were all linked to East Africa, and what was perhaps the largest industry for much of the 1840s—varnish making—was entirely dependent on African copal producers. Finally, the returns from the East African trade in part allowed Salem to remain a viable commercial center despite its crippling lack of competitive port facilities.

FOR CENTURIES, INDIAN MANUFACTURERS produced textiles and other consumer goods for the East African market. Varieties of Gujarati indigo-dyed cottons, for

[81] Edward Ropes, Jr., "Report [on Zanzibar], 1865," Roll 2, Vol. 5, USCZ.

[82] See Sheriff's table (appendix A) for the dramatic increase in Bombay textile exports to East Africa beginning in 1861. *Slaves, Spices, and Ivory*, 249–52.

[83] F. R. Webb, "Report on the Trade of the Zanzibar Coast for the Two Years, Ending This Day [September 30, 1873]," Roll 3, Vols. 6–7, USCZ.

[84] L. Bachelder, "Report on the Trade of Zanzibar for the Year Ending June 30, 1880," Roll 3, Vols. 6–7, USCZ.

[85] Edward Ropes, Jr., "Trade Report on Zanzibar June 30th '83–June 30th '84," in *The Zanzibar Letters of Edward D. Ropes, Jr., 1882–1892*, Norman Bennett, ed. (Boston, 1973), 121.

[86] Seth Pratt, "Trade Report of Zanzibar, July 1, 1886 to June 30, 1887," Roll 4, Vol. 8, USCZ.

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example, were staples of East African exchange since at least the fifteenth century.[87] In the early nineteenth century, Kutch became the center of Indian textile manufacturing for East Africa.[88] By the 1820s, Zanzibar was the single most important market for the Mandvi (Kutch's metropole) export trade, and weaving constituted the city's largest industry.[89] Mohamed Reda Bhacker suggests that, from 1800 until about 1840, Mandvi exported three times as much cotton cloth to Zanzibar as did Surat or Bombay, while it imported at least twice as much African ivory.[90] In turn, capital investments and credit from Kutchi and Kutchi-born Bombay businessmen helped fuel the expansion of the East African regional economy. Indian merchants at Zanzibar acted as intermediaries between East African consumers and Indian as well as British, American, German, and French firms. The role of Indian merchants, financiers, and small business operators in the nineteenth-century East African commercial boom cannot be underestimated, since the majority of Zanzibar's largest retailers at mid-century were of western Indian descent.[91] In fact, by 1863, at least four-fifths of the entire trade of Zanzibar passed through the hands of British Indian subjects, most of whom were either from Kutch or Bombay.[92] Western Indians had long been important to East Africa's global relationships, but after the American Civil War their response to the consumer demands of East Africans would have enormous consequences for the industrialization of the western Indian Ocean's emerging commercial center: Bombay.

Two shifts in the Zanzibar market during the early 1860s drew East Africa and Bombay together. First, the Civil War took the popular *merekani* cloth out of circulation. Second, the total value of East African ivory exports increased dramatically. Even though the volume of ivory on the coast had been increasing since 1857, the rise in demand in Europe, India, and China put a premium on East African ivory. This, combined with the sudden removal of *merekani*, provided an ideal opportunity for Bombay exporters interested in selling Indian cloth in the Zanzibar trade. Bombay exporters moved quickly to flood the market with Indian consumer goods.[93] The immediate success of Bombay goods in East Africa is exemplified by the fact that before the war Zanzibar was an insignificant consumer of Indian-made cloth exported from Bombay, whereas by 1863 it had already become the second most important export destination for Bombay-made cloth.[94]

[87] Edward Alpers, "Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa, 1500–1800," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (1976): 22–44. Gujarati traders' concentration had shifted to Mozambique by the turn of the nineteenth century. Personal communication, Pedro Machado, October 2001. For earlier examples of the relationships between Indian cloth manufacturing and East African consumers, see also Michael Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1998); and my "*As Artistry Permits and Custom May Ordain*: The Social Fabric of Material Consumption in the Swahili World," *Northwestern University Program for African Studies, Working Paper no. 3* (Evanston, Ill., 1998).

[88] Bartle Frere to Granville, May 7, 1873, FO 84/1391, PRO; T. Postans, "Some Account of the Present State of the Trade between the Port of Mandvie in Cutch, and the East Coast of Africa," *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* 3 (1839–40): 170, 174.

[89] Marianne Young, *Cutch, or Random Sketches of Western India* (London, 1838), 12, 14.

[90] Bhacker, *Trade and Empire*, 160.

[91] James Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa* (London, 1876), 356.

[92] R. L. Playfair to Earl Russell, December 20, 1863, AA 3/21, ZNA.

[93] Playfair to Earl Russell, January 1, 1865, FO 54/22, PRO.

[94] "Report on the External Commerce of the Presidency of Bombay for the Year 1863–4," V/17/290, IOL. In using the term "export destination," I mean to make a distinction between Indian and

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This trend continued, and in 1866–1867 the number of Indian-made cloths exported to East Africa increased ninefold.[95] To put this trade in perspective, the only Indian product of more importance to Bombay exporters was opium.

Initially, however, it was neither Indian-made cloth nor dyed, printed, and otherwise remade British cloth that became an important item of export to East Africa; it was instead unbleached English cloth, the closest match to the *merekani* available in sufficient quantities at the outbreak of the Civil War. The volume of this cloth exported to East Africa in 1863–1864 was more than twice that of Bombay-dyed English cloth.[96] English unbleached cloth coming through Bombay picked up where the *merekani* left off, and this meant a windfall for Bombay merchants and their British suppliers. It also made the Bombay export sector more dependent on East African consumers than it had ever been. The volume of East African cloth consumption would continue to increase throughout the 1860s. After the end of the Civil War, ivory production and prices remained high, and Bombay textile exporters stocked the Zanzibar market. In the short four years between 1866 and 1870, East African consumption of Bombay-exported English unbleached cloth quadrupled. With the increasing price of ivory and African production of a greater variety of commodities for the world market, Bombay's new relationship with Zanzibar would change Bombay as much as East Africa in the early years of the 1870s.

In the first half of the 1870s, the exportation of Bombay-manufactured unbleached cottons to East Africa increased, while the volume of British unbleached cotton sent to East Africa declined proportionally. By 1878, Bombay exports of locally made cloth to Zanzibar reached a volume of 2.8 million yards annually, surpassing the volume of British-manufactured unbleached cloth exported to East Africa. Another telling sign of the increased volume of the Indian cloth trade was that, by 1878, the East African region had become the most important importer of Indian-manufactured soap, which was used to wash and soften stiff new cloth. In aggregate, the volume of cloth exported to East Africa from Bombay increased many times over in the late 1870s, even though the Bombay trade in British cloth decreased by 15 percent.[97] The changes in Bombay's relationship to Zanzibar were, much like similar changes in Salem production forty years earlier, directly related to local production for the East African market. As Bombay merchants and financiers began to invest heavily in expensive European industrial machinery, they appealed to East African tastes in order to secure a growing foreign market. During the 1880s, East Africans would be Bombay's most important

non-Indian reported destinations. The annual reports on trade do not make such a distinction. Instead, they simply list the port to which a cargo was sent. This means that many Bombay textiles sent to Surat or Kutch could have also found their way to East Africa, but I have chosen not to speculate on this indirect trade.

[95] "Report on the External Commerce of the Presidency of Bombay for the Year 1866–67," V/17/293, IOL. This was not always constant, however, since by 1870 these percentages had fallen somewhat.

[96] "Report on the External Commerce of the Presidency of Bombay for the Year 1863–4," V/17/290, IOL.

[97] "Annual Report on the Trade and Navigation of the Presidency of Bombay for the Year 1874–75," V/17/301, IOL.

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overseas consumers for its single most important manufactured export: unbleached cotton cloth.

The first textile mills in Bombay were built in the 1850s, and their number increased rapidly in the 1860s and 1870s, reaching almost seventy by the mid-1890s. What is particularly important about these mills from the perspective of the western Indian regional economy, and colonial India's history, is that they were founded almost entirely by investments of Indian, not British, capital.[98] Bhatia (a Hindu social group) merchants, many of whom relocated to Bombay from Kutch, built up the Bombay overseas trade and invested tremendous amounts of capital in the new mill industry at the very moment that the exit of American cloth left a consumer vacuum in the western Indian Ocean region.[99] Bhatia firms, along with many Parsi houses based in Bombay, expanded their operations and came to command much of the export trade of western India, which included cotton, opium, rice, and diverse manufactures. It was these firms that had the greatest interest in, and seemingly the most to gain from, the establishment of Bombay as western India's industrial center. Mills that could both spin cotton and manufacture cloth provided ideal investments for Bombay-based houses, as they allowed Bhatia and Parsi cotton traders flexibility in a volatile global cotton economy. With the option to either export cotton thread or manufacture cloth at home, firms could export raw and spun cotton when prices were high or produce their own textiles when cotton prices were depressed. The ubiquity of Indian firms in East Africa ideally positioned Bombay's textile industry to produce for the East African market. Moreover, in the 1870s, the establishment of a telegraph station at Zanzibar allowed for immediate communication between Bombay firms and their Zanzibar agents. Perhaps most important, a revolution in carriage between Zanzibar and Bombay substantially lowered transportation costs and, in turn, reduced the retail price of Bombay cloth in East Africa: direct steamship service.

In the late 1870s, Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar, as part of his vision for the commercial preeminence of his sultanate, introduced a line of six steamships to run between Bombay, Zanzibar, and Madagascar. Even though the British Indian Steam Navigation Company already covered the route between Bombay and East Africa, Barghash was unsatisfied with the company's service and so instituted his own line. The sultan bought several large steamers from German and Scottish manufacturers and offered cargo space at low rates.[100] Since most of his revenue would come from duties, which increased with the introduction of the line, this investment was based on good, long-term fiscal reasoning. Bombay firms quickly began consigning thousands of tons of cargo to each voyage. American residents reported, with great dissatisfaction, that these vessels increased the business between Bombay and Zanzibar exponentially. In the early 1880s, trade in Zanzibar

[98] Although the first mechanized mills in India were founded in Pondicherry, these employed European, not Indian, capital. Roberts, "West Africa and the Pondicherry Textile Industry"; Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, *The Origins of Industrial Capital in India: Business Strategies and the Working Classes in Bombay, 1900–1940* (New York, 1994), 26, 247.

[99] Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capital in India*, 56.

[100] Ropes, in Bennett, *Zanzibar Letters*, 34 n113; Holmans to William MacKinnon, June 1, 1879, MacKinnon Papers, PPMS1/Corr 1, Box 22/folder 88, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library, University of London.

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expanded so much that Barghash was forced to enlarge the Zanzibari customs house to accommodate the new volume.[101] With lower shipping rates, firms based in both Zanzibar and Bombay began to saturate East Africa with unbleached *merekani* look-alike sheeting, *kaniki* (usually English cottons indigo-dyed in India), as well as rice, wheat, sugar, furniture, and wood—all products that would become essential to the Bombay export trade in the 1880s and that would contribute to Bombay's position as the premier entrepôt in the western Indian Ocean region.[102]

By replicating American cloth and capitalizing on subsidized shipping to Zanzibar, Bombay could continue to lower its cloth prices and appeal to a vast market. Assuming the place American exports had once held in the East African market, the Bombay-manufactured unbleached cloths were a hit, and the repercussions were immediately felt in Bombay. In 1881, the annual volume of Indian-manufactured unbleached cloth exported to Zanzibar reached 5.5 million yards, far outpacing British cloth exported from Bombay.[103] Over the course of the 1880s, this trend intensified such that in 1887–1888 Zanzibar imported almost all of the unbleached drills, more than half of the unbleached Indian-manufactured sheeting, as well as nearly one quarter of all *dhoti* (a lighter loincloth material) exported from Bombay. In terms of value, these cottons comprised the most important category of Indian-manufactured exports leaving Bombay. By 1888, Bombay exports of unbleached and English cloth to Zanzibar had reached the dizzying height of over 15 million yards a year.[104] An indication of the increasing buying power of East Africans, the decreasing costs of consumer goods, and a revolution in Bombay manufacturing, the volume of imported Indian unbleached cloth alone was now 30 percent higher than the American export trade had been at its apex.

East African consumers were also becoming essential to Bombay's other manufacturing sectors. They were now buying Indian carriages and carts, cabinet ware, furniture, boots, shoes, stationary, rice, ghee, and even fresh vegetables.[105] While the Bombay export economy as a whole was still focused on unmanufactured or semi-manufactured exports such as rice, opium, raw cotton, and thread, Bombay manufacturing for export received critical stimulus from East African consumers. At the same time, convergent price curves meant a windfall for African consumers.

If we track the aggregate Bombay trade with Zanzibar up to the creation of the British protectorate in 1890, we can see that in just five years (1885–1890) the total value of Indian-produced exports to Zanzibar more than doubled. What is so noteworthy about this statistic is the fact that, although the total volume of the

[101] Ropes, in Bennett, *Zanzibar Letters*, 20.

[102] Cheney, "Trade in Zanzibar for the Year 1883–4," Roll 3, Vols. 6–7, USCZ. Steamers were only one sector of the trans–Indian Ocean trade. On the all-important dhow trade of the western Indian Ocean, see Erik Gilbert, "The Zanzibar Dhow Trade: An Informal Economy on the East African Coast, 1860–1964" (PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1997).

[103] "Annual Statement of Trade and Navigation for the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1881–82," V/17/311, IOL. At this time, the total exports of Indian manufactured goods were increasing, but the increases in textile trade were particularly marked.

[104] "Annual Statement of Trade and Navigation for the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1887–1888," V/17/317, IOL.

[105] See, for example, the "Annual Statement of Trade and Navigation for the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1881–82," V/17/311, IOL.

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export trade of Bombay had not increased significantly, Zanzibar's share of that trade had increased dramatically. In 1890, Zanzibar imported almost 13 million yards of unbleached cotton cloth—India's most important manufactured item—amounting to nearly *half* of the total unbleached cloth exported from Bombay.[106] By the date of the sultan of Zanzibar's acquiescence to protectorate status, East Africa was importing 10 percent of the total of all Indian manufactured goods and produce exported from Bombay, which less than fifty years earlier had only accounted for 10 to 15 percent of the market but now accounted for the vast majority of Bombay's trade.[107] Zanzibar's share of India's trade would further increase in the 1890s and only reach a plateau after the turn of the century.

Bombay had become the Indian Ocean's most important commercial and industrial center, and its success was related, in part, to East African demand for a constellation of consumer goods. On the eve of colonial imposition in Zanzibar, Bombay had not only overtaken its American and Kutchi competitors, it had supplanted their manufactures by developing its own textile industry, one that also catered to the tastes of East Africans. As a result, unbleached cottons became the central focus of the Bombay export trade in manufactured goods. Between the 1860s and the early 1890s, Bombay had affected a radical economic change, drastically increasing its export and manufacturing capacities. When the British government appropriated Zanzibar in 1890, East African consumers were crucial to both the export trade in Bombay-manufactured goods and the external commerce of South Asia's commercial hub generally.[108] This new relationship was clear in East Africa as well. Imported cloth had become ubiquitous throughout the region, and wearing an abundance of cloth was by no means uncommon. For instance, May French-Sheldon, visiting Taveta (eastern Kenya) in the late 1880s, wrote that the elders with whom she met wore up to fifteen yards of cloth at a time.[109]

It is difficult to assess the myriad or long-term ways in which East African consumers affected India's export economy, but the figures I have considered here, combined with Bombay's trajectory as the British Empire's second city and most important colonial capital, suggest the significance of East African consumer demand to Indian industrialization and British Indian interests. When the East African consumption of Bombay goods peaked at the end of the 1890s, Bombay was India's most important port for foreign trade. The mills were Bombay's primary industry and the city's largest employer. Textile production was the foundation of the city's prosperity and rapid economic growth. The industry shaped the nature of

[106] "Annual Statement of Trade and Navigation for the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1881–82," V/17/311, IOL. Again, I have excluded Bombay exports to other Indian ports in this tabulation. This number includes almost 10 million yards of unbleached sheetings (52.6 percent of the total Indian-produced sheetings exported from Bombay), over 2 million yards of other unbleached cloth (28.8 percent of the total), as well as the majority of drills, jeans, and chadders exported from Bombay. Zanzibar also imported nearly 9 million yards of British-manufactured colored cloth from Bombay, bringing the total annual Bombay export trade in textiles to East Africa up to 22 million yards. Zanzibar was the single largest market for Bombay-exported umbrellas, glassware, and furniture as well.

[107] "Annual Report of the Trade and Navigation of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1889–90," V/17/319, IOL.

[108] "Annual Report of the Trade and Navigation of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1889–90," V/17/319, IOL. Mozambique imported nearly 25 percent of Bombay's unbleached cloth exports. This made eastern Africa the single largest market by far for the Bombay textile industry's export trade.

[109] French-Sheldon, *Sultan to Sultan*, 225.

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the regional labor market and patterns of rural-urban migration, making Bombay one of Asia's most important manufacturing centers.[110] Under pressure from cheap English textiles—what Marx famously called the "heavy artillery" of capitalism—the Bombay export industry appealed to East African consumers. While English merchants flooded Indian markets with British cloth, Indian merchants both remade this British cloth to meet African standards and cultivated a market for Bombay-manufactured textiles by replicating the American varieties popular in the western Indian Ocean region. In choosing to buy immense amounts of Indian cloth, East African consumers in turn stimulated Bombay's industrialization.

THIS ESSAY HAS SOUGHT TO EXAMINE the complex relationships among economies, cultures, and the global systems they affect by considering the importance of East African consumer desires to the nineteenth-century global economy. Significant international competition for East African commodities—such as ivory and cloves—assured East Africans favorable terms of trade. As a result of this commercial position, East Africans had great leverage in defining their relationships to other world regions. American, Indian, and European producers learned that they had to appeal to African tastes and often found no market for goods that did not meet Africans' shifting aesthetic standards. Yet fashions changed so quickly in East Africa that overseas manufacturers could not always stay abreast of trends. Thus many trade goods had to be refinished or remade in Zanzibar, other coastal cities, at inland centers of trade, or on the caravan trail. Despite the complexities of East African trade, manufacturers in America and India produced inexpensive cloth that appealed to East African consumer interests. In the process, Salemites built the first steam-powered textile mill in the United States, while Bombay embarked on a program that would make it the industrial center of the Indian Ocean region by the end of the nineteenth century. For two cities on opposite sides of the world, manufacturing for the East African market offered new economic opportunities and provided important stimuli to industrialization at conjunctural moments in their histories. What we can discern from these vignettes of transregional engagement is that negotiated transaction and consumer desire on the part of people considered marginal to global systems have, at times, been just as important to patterns of global integration as "peripheral" adjustments to the demands of international capital. More specifically, we can conclude that the terms of trade in the southwestern Indian Ocean were constantly being negotiated before colonialism, and that these terms were never wholly determined by the interests of Americans, Indians, or Europeans.[111] The direct reciprocities evident in these

[110] Chandavarkar, *Origins of Industrial Capital*, 239; D. Mazumdar, "Labor Supply in Early Industrialization: The Case of the Bombay Textile Industry," *Economic History Review* 26, no. 3 (1973): 477–96.

[111] Even colonial conquest did not negate the effects Africans could have on economic systems through consumer demand. See Christopher Steiner's analysis of European textile production for West African consumers under colonialism: "Another Image of Africa: Toward an Ethnohistory of European Cloth Marketed in West Africa, 1873–1960," *Ethnohistory* 32, no. 2 (1985): 91–110. See also Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham, N.C., 1996).

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exchanges were not a function of equity or symmetry over the long term—Europeans colonized Africa, after all—but they did entail a dialectic that reshaped extra-African locales at the same time that foreign interests, ideas, and strategies were transforming East Africa.

The global repercussions of East African consumerism point up an epistemological concern that transcends the networks I outlined above. By not recognizing the kinds of histories of interdetermination evident in East Africa's global relationships, we indulge a mode of thinking that imagines the world as a conglomeration of historically disjointed spheres only brought into relation by the interests of Westerners. Such a divisive ideology, born of the nineteenth-century imperial imagination, dispossesses "peripheries" of global historical relevance beyond production for a world market and obscures the ways in which societies have always constituted themselves in direct relation to others across the globe. It is my belief that interconnected pasts have the power to challenge modern fantasies of historical isolation and contest notions of discrete national or continental historical trajectories that underwrite much of contemporary globalization rhetoric.[112] The archive of an interdependent past, of which the repercussions of East African consumerism are only a small part, offers myriad stories that complicate assumptions of hermetic pasts. A reconsideration of global interrelation from a multidimensional, historical perspective allows us to see contemporary globalization processes as overlaying and drawing on, as well as departing from, past moments of integration. Vignettes of relation like those I offered above can resuscitate visions of globality that have fallen prey to a process of forgetting integral to imperial, colonial, and nationalist knowledge production.[113] In considering the global repercussions of African consumerism, for instance, we disrupt unidimensional histories of Western and Indian economies.[114]

The global repercussions of East African consumerism demonstrate that any account of globalization that posits a singular historical trajectory is untenable. While we should not discount the constraints on choice faced by people around the world, the evidence I offered above suggests that seemingly marginal individuals have possessed abilities to affect larger frameworks. Thus I believe that the frames of reference and strategies for self-definition that many people outside of the "core" employ in their everyday lives deserve greater attention in the development of an inclusive genealogy of globalization. By considering trajectories of global integration from the standpoint of "peripheral" interests, we both reinsert multidimensionality into narratives of globalization and offer alternative perspectives on global relationships that do not assume the primacy of any unmitigated globalizing

[112] For important interventions that challenge discrete historical trajectories, be they national, regional, or continental, in contemporary globalization discourse, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Perspective of the World: Globalization Then and Now," in *Beyond Dichotomies: Histories, Identities, Cultures, and the Challenge of Globalization*, Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, ed. (Albany, N.Y., 2002); and Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). Of course, building an archive of human interrelation beyond the categories of nation-state and continent lies at the heart of the World/Global History project.

[113] Vinay Lal, *Empire of Knowledge: Culture and Plurality in the Global Economy* (London, 2002).

[114] See, for example, K. N. Chaudhuri's assumption of East Africa's relative unimportance to the economic history of India and the Indian Ocean in *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (New York, 1985).

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dynamic. The evidence offered here suggests that we can ascribe systemic constitution and change to not only the interests of the "core" but also to consumer desires across the globe and myriad transactions as seemingly inconsequential as the purchase of a length of cloth.

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AHR Forum

Negotiating Power

Recovering the relationships between elites and subordinates in the past is the primary focus of this Forum. *The participants use examples from the early modern European world to examine the complexities of negotiations over power between these groups and their implications for our understanding of hierarchal relations in that time and place as well as in other ones.* **Caroline Castiglione** *reconstructs the ways in which Italian villagers successfully asserted their claims against a noble family.* **Giovanna Benadusi** *analyzes how female servants in Tuscany used their wills to make public statements about their place in the homes of their masters and mistresses.* **Cornelia Hughes Dayton** *argues that the two essays reassert the issue of agency in historical analysis in important and analytically useful ways. The* Forum *thus offers compelling examples of how negotiations over power can be used to illuminate the lives of people at various levels of society.*

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AHR Forum

Adversarial Literacy: How Peasant Politics Influenced Noble Governing of the Roman Countryside during the Early Modern Period

CAROLINE CASTIGLIONE

DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES, the aristocratic Barberini family traced its political genealogy to God. Though once the monarchical family of the Papal States during the papacy of Maffeo Barberini (Pope Urban VIII, 1623–1644), upon his death his nephews and their descendants had to "settle" for merely ruling the country territories where they had bought their way to lordship during his reign. Seventeenth-century edicts issued for one of those purchases, the semi-independent *stato* of Monte Libretti, made grand claims for the sovereignty of the noble family in the territory, including the right not only to issue the laws but to interpret them as well in the case of any ambiguity. Seventeenth-century edicts also asserted that rural officials stood in place of the noble family, and deserved all the reverence that would ordinarily be shown to the aristocratic lord. One should, in their presence, "take off one's cap, and speak with every reverence, calmly, and in a way which doesn't cause public or private scandal." For an "intentional" violation of this law, which included ridiculing or laughing at the official, the penalty was the strappado and exile from the *stato*. Throughout the eighteenth century, Barberini edicts continued to assert the importance of village reverence for Barberini rule. As an edict issued (and reissued) in the 1750s put it: "every human and divine law demanded that [Barberini] vassals faithfully maintain the rights of the noble family." A village assembly that produced decisions that contravened the noble family's opinions had clearly made an error due to having been swayed by "human considerations," rather than the venerable orders of the noble family. In the proclamations and letters of the noble family, obedience to noble laws remained intertwined with the divine order of the universe, a political theology that suggested there were links between eternal life and edicts on pig grazing.[1]

I would like to thank audiences at the meetings of the following associations and institutions for their comments and questions on earlier versions of these ideas: American Historical Association, the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, the Erasmus Institute, and the New York Area Faculty Seminar on Modern European History. I thank the American Council of Learned Societies, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, and the University of Texas at Austin for funding research for the article. James Sidbury, Brad Gregory, John Martin, Mike Rose, and the anonymous reviewers at the *American Historical Review* offered valuable advice and criticisms, especially on the term "adversarial literacy."

[1] Vatican City, Vatican Library, Archivio Barberini Colonna di Sciarra (hereafter, ABCS) 248,

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But that theological perspective was evidently easier to see in Rome than it was to recognize in the countryside. Many villagers in the territory of Monte Libretti thought that you could shake the lofty aristocratic perch a bit and not risk divine wrath. Hierarchical systems like those of early modern Europe frequently oscillated due to such shoves. E. P. Thompson and a number of persuasive successors have analyzed the political content of these everyday nudges, insisting on the politics embedded in grumbling, foot dragging, anonymous petition-writing, and practicing "rights piecemeal . . . [that] were denied in law." In this article, I will examine how villagers in central Italy shifted from dragging their feet to dragging their lords into the judicial avenues offered by the papal government for addressing their grievances. The willingness and skill with which villagers around Rome availed themselves of these possibilities underscores the political vitality of the early modern period, especially the extent to which its civic culture thrived from Castile to Württemberg, from central Italy to eastern France. Clearly, the state itself had a role in shaping the development of this political culture. One historian has recently allotted it most of the credit for the emergence of modern civil society. However, the willingness—and the wiliness—of ordinary people to avail themselves of its possibilities and to push it in directions beyond its adherents' intended scope suggests that early modern civil society flourished at times not because of the state but in spite of it. The early modern state did indeed act as a broker between competing social groups, but villagers in central Italy showed themselves remarkably determined to recast its deal-making in terms more favorable to them. A similar transformative process shaped village reception of education, written sources, and Roman Catholicism. In the politically coherent world of the Barberini, all of these should have served to reinforce the bonds of allegiance between lords and villagers. In the countryside, they became the tools to challenge village subjugation. What aspects of village culture contributed to this type of political activism on the part of the villagers? How did their political activities shape the ruling practices of the Barberini, who continued to make extensive claims in the eighteenth century about their right to rule and who remained the most consistent governing presence in the *stato*?[2]

fascicolo 7, edicts issued by the General'Auditore, Alessandro Gavello, probably in the 1620s, edicts 95, 90, 91. For the eighteenth-century edicts, see ABCS 248. The example here is fascicolo 98 (issued 1750, 1751, 1753, 1754, 1756). The village assembly led astray in this case was that of the village Monte Libretti, during a conflict with the Barberini over grazing in the village lands. See Vatican Library, Vatican City, Archivio Barberini Computisteria (hereafter, ABC) 991, 611r [December 3, 1746].

[2] Edward P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (London, 1975). See also his essay, "The Patricians and the Plebs," in *Customs in Common* (New York, 1991). I agree with Wayne te Brake's definition of politics as a bargaining process. Te Brake, *Shaping History: Ordinary People in European Politics, 1500–1700* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 6. The "rights" quote is from James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 190. In Italy, the centrality of civic culture to the history of the city is a vast historiography, whose importance was controversially underscored by Robert Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, N.J., 1993). For a critique of this work from an early modernist's perspective, see Edward Muir, "The Sources of Civil Society in Italy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 379–406. Muir emphasizes the importance of judicial systems in making allegiances to the city state beyond the boundaries of the city. Stephan R. Epstein provides a brief overview of rural people's political culture in Italy, a relatively new field of inquiry. See Epstein, "The Peasantries of Italy, 1350–1750," in Tom Scott, *The Peasantries of Europe: From the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1998), 82–87. On the centrality of the state to the development of

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Between the late seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth century, villagers in the *stato* of Monte Libretti were able to sustain their struggle against the Barberini through the use of "adversarial literacy," a political reading and writing whose basic features I will sketch in this article. While scholars of literacy studies remain divided about how much importance to assign to literacy in contemporary and past societies, the impact of village literate practices, especially those related to village politics, have yet to receive close scrutiny, especially during the early modern period. Yet adversarial literacy was critical to village resistance, and, while not called by that name, it was recognized by the Barberini family as the key source of the troublemaking in the village, hence the noble family's promotion of other forms of literacy. But despite the noble family's opposition, adversarial literacy reached its target. Although little, in the course of one hundred years, changed in the rhetorical claims to power on the part of the family, and many of the family's rights to intervene in village politics remained formally in place, the Barberini were forced to concede in practice that the villagers were an important political force in the countryside. A comparison between the reign of the first Barberini rulers of the *stato* of Monte Libretti (Taddeo and Maffeo Barberini, 1640s–1680s) and the rule of Giulio Cesare Barberini Colonna di Sciarra (1730s–1760s) will here illustrate the key transformations in the Barberini rule of the *stato* and the literate strategies used by the villagers to promote it.[3]

How were peasants with little education and minimal political power beyond the village able to accomplish this? Villagers in the Barberini territory availed themselves of all the possibilities offered by the papacy to challenge the terms of noble rule. In the late seventeenth century, they used the avenues offered by the papal law courts and, in the eighteenth century, the possibilities offered by the expansion of the papal Congregation of the Buon Governo, which was devoted to

civil society, see Ian F. McNeely, *The Emancipation of Writing: German Civil Society in the Making, 1790s–1820s* (Berkeley, 2003). On the state as a broker or mediator between social groups, see John A. Marino, *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore, 1988); Antonio Calabria and Marino, eds., *Good Government in Spanish Naples* (New York, 1990); Julius Kirshner, ed., *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Chicago, 1995). On early modern politics outside of Italy, see esp. Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516–1700* (Baltimore, 1990); Peter Blickle, *Obedient Germans? A Rebuttal: A New View of German History*, Thomas A. Brady, trans. (Charlottesville, Va., 1997); David Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500–1800* (London, 1992); Hilton L. Root, *Peasants and King in Burgundy: Agrarian Foundations of French Absolutism* (Berkeley, 1987); David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984).

[3] There has been a "crisis" in literacy studies on a number of levels. Two issues of continuing debate are how to assess the relationship between orality and literacy and whether literacy has an impact on the way people think. Jack Goody and Ian Watt hypothesized over thirty years ago that there was a strict boundary between orality and literacy and that literacy had a critical impact on thinking and social development. See their article, "The Consequences of Literacy," in *Perspectives on Literacy*, Eugene R. Kintgen, Barry M. Kroll, and Mike Rose, eds. (Carbondale, Ill., 1988), originally published in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, Jack Goody, ed. (Cambridge, 1968). The "crisis" in literacy studies is discussed in Ellen Cushman, Eugene R. Kintgen, Barry M. Kroll, and Mike Rose, "Introduction: Surveying the Field," in *Literacy: A Critical Sourcebook*, Cushman, *et al.*, eds. (Boston, 2001), 1–15; in the same anthology, see John Szwed, "The Ethnography of Literacy," esp. 421, on the "crisis." R. A. Houston's recent survey offers a wonderful overview of literacy, especially useful for its coverage of literacy through the school. He gives some attention to states and literacy and a comprehensive survey of literacy in a variety of other aspects. His skepticism about the potential impact of literacy is expressed throughout, but he acknowledges that what people do with literacy is ultimately unpredictable (8–9). *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, 106–12, 8–9.

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auditing communal accounts and collecting taxes. Gradually, over several generations, the villagers' tactics increased in sophistication and in frequency. By the mid-eighteenth century, the new ruler of the territory of Monte Libretti had to take this level of adversarial literacy into account in order to govern, if he wished to accomplish his goals. The Barberini accepted that the noble right to rule had to be negotiated with villagers, especially with the villagers who participated in the politics of their local communal governments. Surviving noble letters illustrate that this reality was recognized by the Barberini lord by the mid-eighteenth century, even if it was not always acted on—imposing his will remained too attractive to abandon altogether, despite its inefficiency.

Historians of the Roman countryside have long maintained that the great aristocratic families withdrew from actively governing the countryside due to the successful expansion of the papal government in the early eighteenth century. A number of historians have assumed that such interference effectively broke the hold of the barons on the rural communes directly subject to them, a historical transformation equivalent to the triumph of the royal intendants over the local aristocracy in France. The nearly obsessive interest of the Barberini family in governing the territory of Monte Libretti belies this characterization of the Roman nobility. The papal bureaucracy continued to depend on the aristocratic family for very basic information about the village governments, their budgets, and their personnel. The family continued to control who could participate in the village assembly and who could be eligible for village office. The Barberini also concerned themselves with details of village life historians had previously assumed the nobility had abandoned. Noble power was not sufficiently challenged in the countryside by the papacy, except insofar as villagers were willing to avail themselves of that power, sometimes to push it in directions the papal officials were unwilling to take it. By the eighteenth century, the Barberini and the papal bureaucrats were allies at least as frequently as they were adversaries in ruling the countryside, and village politicians could see each set of rulers both ways, tackling them as adversaries or courting them as patrons, depending on the circumstances.[4]

Thus, although the story of the Roman countryside (and many other countrysides) is still frequently told as the struggle between the monarch and the great aristocratic families, the villagers constituted the greater threat to the noble family through their participation in village communal government. The male heads of household in the villages of the *stato* were "comunisti," either because they were the

[4] On the persistence of such language despite its apparent obsolescence, see Guido Pescosolido, *Terra e nobiltà: I Borghese, Secoli XVIII e XIX* (Rome, 1979), 49–50. Hanns Gross calls the expansion of the Buon Governo in 1704 the "death blow" of the barons' "jurisdictional prerogatives" in their communes. See his *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1990), 161. Gross is repeating a position common in the literature. Mario Tosi argued that this rendered the nobility nothing more than a "corpo sociale, che può definirsi nobiltà di corte." *La società romana dalla feudalità al patriziato (1816–1853)* (Rome, 1968), 127–28. Elio Lodolini, *L'Archivio della S. Congregazione del Buon Governo (1592–1847)* (Rome, 1956), XX–XXII, XXXIV–XXXVI, CL–CLIV; Armando Lodolini, "L'Amministrazione pontificia del 'Buon Governo,'" *Gli Archivi Italiani* 6 (1919): 199–200, 221; on the failure of the Buon Governo to develop a sufficient plan to meet its stated agenda, see *ibid.*, 211, 214, 215, which should be compared with his grudging (and somewhat contradictory) praise for the papal institution on 187 and 221. On the challenge to noble power by the Buon Governo in Monte Libretti, and the Barberini response to it, see Caroline Castiglione, *Patrons and Adversaries: Nobles and Villagers in Italian Politics, 1640–1760* (New York, Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

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village executive officers (the priors) or because they were participants in the village assembly, or *consiglio*. The *consiglio* dealt with many of the most important issues in the local community, including schools, doctors, priests, papal taxes, and disputes with the noble family. At the level of the village, the *consiglio* was the institution with the most consistent presence (after the church, of course). Although theoretically its membership became more restricted in the eighteenth century, it continued to be the center for communal organization and agitation against the noble family, since its members were often the leaders during disputes with the Barberini. Finally, the income of the communal governments financed the villagers' resistance to the Barberini through the courts and through the bureaucracy of the Buon Governo. It would have been impossible, otherwise, to challenge the claims of the noble family.[5]

THE VILLAGERS OF THE *stato* OF MONTE LIBRETTI scarcely appeared capable of challenging either a powerful noble family like the Barberini or the expanding papal bureaucracy. They lived in six small villages, ranging in population from 200 to 800 individuals, one of which, the village of Monte Libretti, was then called the capital of the *stato*. The lands of the *stato* stretched from the valley of the Tiber River to the foothills of the Sabine Mountains. Its people were still referred to as the "vassals" of the noble family in the eighteenth century—they swore oaths of loyalty to the family when a new generation of Barberini took charge of the *stato*; they were subject to the lord's justice; they courted the Barberini as patrons and as mediators of local crises, especially during the seventeenth century. They had, however, as each generation of the Barberini family noticed in turn, a tendency to define their status as vassals in their own terms, or to insist, at a minimum, that the noble family impose on them no more than was outlined in their village *statuti*, or constitutions.

The latter lesson in local politics had to be offered to the Barberini repeatedly during the seventeenth century by the citizens of the *stato*. The first rulers of the territory tried to rule simply by issuing decrees through their officials, typically through their chief judicial magistrate, the *auditore*, or through governors who assisted the *auditore* in publicizing and enforcing Barberini law. In the 1640s, the Barberini had a particularly aggressive official who issued edicts first and asked questions later. He challenged what villagers of the *stato* considered to be established local practices, many of which were described in the village *statuti*. Perini had an authoritative swagger particularly odious to the locals. While the Barberini may have come to regret this bureaucratic attribute, they supported Perini's actions through lawsuits, thereby indicating that his views represented those of the noble family. In the village of Nerola, Perini issued edicts that imposed corporal punishment for offenses previously penalized only by monetary fines. He also challenged the villagers' right to hunt and fish in the lands of Nerola. He tried to swap the measuring cup used at the olive mill to collect dues owed to the Barberini, in effect, an attempt to raise Barberini revenue by surreptitious means.

[5] For a more detailed discussion of seventeenth-century political structures in the Roman countryside, see Caroline Castiglione, "Political Culture in Italian Villages," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2001): 528–30.

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Village participants in the *consiglio* of Nerola rejected Perini's tactics in the 1640s and initiated lawsuits and protests that their children successfully later concluded with the noble family in the 1680s.[6]

Another of Perini's village blunders was resolved in less time, and it also illustrates the way in which the village constitution was central to village politics and to legal support for village claims. Perini insisted that the villagers of the territory were obliged to carry the grain they owed the noble family to the Tiber River, in preparation for its eventual transport to Rome. While the villagers of Nerola and Monte Libretti became the leaders in the protest of this claim, an anonymous letter written from Monte Flavio, the most remote village of the territory, suggests that news of Perini's demands had reached even the periphery of the *stato*. The threatening letter from Monte Flavio makes clear that at least some villagers knew the difference between religious devotion and seigneurial obligations. "The community does not want to be subject to doing any manual labor for the lords whatsoever . . . even if in past years we did so in order to supply with water [the convent of] Madonna delle Grazie of Ponticelli, this was done for charity, and for the love of God." When it came to defending local rights, the distinction between God's kingdom and the Barberini kingdom was well understood.[7]

Perini did successfully intimidate some villagers into hauling the grain they owed to the Tiber in 1645. During harvest time, Perini told Pietro Securantia, the *auditore* of the *stato*, to order the villagers to carry the lord's grain to the Tiber. The *auditore* protested, and Perini, along with other minor officials of the noble family, unanimously asserted that "since the time of the Orsini (the previous owners of the territory) the vassals had carried the grain to the port [on the Tiber] free, and without any payment whatsoever." Securantia offered his version of the events in 1646 (one year after they occurred), by which time the villagers had already lodged their protests with a papal official of the Camera Apostolica, an act that served as a point of first entry for villagers into the system of papal courts. These assertions about the villagers' labor (especially whether it was "free" or "paid" labor) entangled the Barberini and the Orsini in two decades of lawsuits, since the villagers refused to accept that they were obliged to do the labor for free, and, as a result,

[6] Castiglione, "Political Culture in Italian Villages," 533–52.

[7] University of California, Los Angeles, Special Collection 902, Orsini Collection (hereafter, OC), Box 95 [Monte Libretti] Instrum[entum] Vednitionij Status Montis Libretti.: "Vassalli teneantur d. frum[entum] deferre ad flumen Tiberij." Several of the disputes between the villagers and their noble lords traced their origin to the terms of the bill of sale between the Orsini and the Barberini. The phrase asserting that the villagers had to perform the labor appeared in the same sentence that estimated how much the grain from the *stato* was actually worth. For the letter from Monte Flavio, see ABCS 291, fasc. 31.

John Bossy emphasized the disciplinary nature of Catholicism during the early modern period, noting its tendency to "[reduce] Christianity to whatever could be taught and learnt . . . Catechism was well designed to instill obedience and mark out boundaries . . . It was less well adapted to inspiring a sense of the Church as a *comunitas*, a feeling for the sacraments as social institutions, or simply the love of one's neighbor." *Christianity in the West* (New York, 1975), 120. Wolfgang Reinhard summarized the evidence supporting the mutual support of state and church after the Reformation in his "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State—A Reassessment," *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (July 1989): 383–404. William V. Hudon provides some reasons for using the "social disciplining" thesis with caution, "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy—Old Questions, New Insights," *AHR* 101 (June 1996): 783–804. See also John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), esp. his reservations about the social disciplining thesis, 101–17.

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the Barberini found that their territory's net income (used as the basis for the sale price) had been overestimated by the not insignificant cost of paying for the transport of the grain.[8]

How were the villagers able to support their cause? Organized village protest against this labor obligation began in the fall of 1645. In October of that year, the priors of the village of Monte Libretti offered testimony that contradicted the declaration in the bill of sale that the vassals were obliged to carry the grain to the Tiber. The testimony of the three men offered another interpretation of the meaning of such an activity. They testified that, in the times of the Orsini, the villagers carried the grain to the ports on the Tiber, not out of any "obligation" or "duty" (the word they use is *obbligo*) but "out of courtesy for the many favors that we received from those Excellent Lords; indeed, while we were carrying the grain we owed to the port, we were given food, that is bread, wine, and cheese, on the orders of the aforementioned Excellent Orsini Lords." Testimony collected during a *consiglio* meeting in Nerola in October 1645 specified that if the villagers did not receive "lunch," then "[the lords] gave us so much per person for lunch," that is, they paid in cash, rather than kind. The remainder of the village testimony in Nerola also articulates the difference between an obligation and an act performed out of "courtesy" for the "services" rendered by the noble family. Testimony provided in the following spring of 1646 by two of the three priors in Monte Libretti reiterated the villagers' position. They testified before the Barberini lawyer about a number of controversies between the villagers and the noble family, including the "obligation" to carry the grain to the river, which, they emphasized, the "Community or people [of the village] collectively and individually were united in saying [that the villagers] were not now, nor had they ever been, under obligation to carry or to have carried at their expense, the grain . . . belonging to [the noble family]." The priors' testimony of 1646 was less focused on the exchange of courtesies and more specific about excluding the possibilities of villagers being obliged to carry anything, anywhere, especially to the Tiber. Testimony from participants in the village government was consistent in this interpretation.[9]

[8] For Securantia's testimony, see OC, Box 96 [Monte Libretti] "Depositio Pietro Securantia," November 6, 1646. For a picture of the legal trajectory of the case in the papal law courts, see ABCS 251 (chronicles the case as it moved from the court of the Segnatura to the Sacra Rota), 252 (Decisions of the Rota regarding the case), 253 (the manuscript collection of documents and oral testimonies).

[9] OC, Box 96 [Monte Libretti], Fede of October 21, 1645, by the "massari" of Monte Libretti, Raimondo Eugenio, Giocchino Petetti, and Angelo Pasquale di Tiburzio. No testimony from the six villages of Monte Libretti has survived, but a summary from 1647 in the Barberini archive attempts to list all the protests lodged against the Barberini by the villagers after the purchase of the *stato* in 1644. It contains the note, "Tutte le Communità dello Stato hanno fatto dichiarat[io]ne di non esser tenute condurre il grano, e biade spettanti al S Prencipe ad alcun Luogo," a protest that suggests that each village lodged a similar complaint.

Archivio Storico del Comune di Nerola, Serie I, Registro I, Registro dei Consigli di Comunità (hereafter, Consigli di Nerola) [October 15, 1645], 47v. A literal transcription without corrections of grammar or spelling reads as follows: "circa la trasportat.e delli grani che noi non havemo obligo nesuno a favor delli Sri Padroni ma che (e se?) vero che li grani raccolti et altri lavori ancora in terr.o di Nerola p cortesia nra e p molte gratie che giornalm.te ricevamo da essi Ssri e p li suoi (?) Trattam.ti che ci facevamo la portarture dal grannaro di Nerola à Montelibretti, o al porto e loro ci davano la collazione ò con tanto a testa p collazione."

The full testimony of the villagers of Monte Libretti reads as follows: "che essi nela Com[uni]ta ò popolo tanto uniti quanto come singoli no[n] sono nel fiume mai obligati di condurre ne far condurre a spese p[ro]prie grano biade et altra robba spettante all'Eccmi. SS.ri Proni. Di d.a terra o raccolti o

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Testimony in support of the noble family's position proved to be useless in their cause, since it was all collected *after* the villagers had lodged their complaint with papal magistrates in 1645. Judges in a number of courts who heard the case consistently ruled that such testimony did not substantiate Orsini claims about the legitimacy of labor obligations. The Orsini failed to produce any evidence prior to 1646 that could verify their claims, and consequently the original decision of the Camera Apostolica in 1646, in favor of the villagers, was never overturned by the two other papal tribunals who were eventually called upon to revisit the case. Some villagers had, in 1644–1645, been forced to do the labor, but only because they had been bullied with fines and imprisonment. The papal courts determined that a one-year-old extortion of village labor did not validate the noble's claims on that labor.[10]

In anthropological terms (more specifically, using the vocabulary of Marcel Mauss), the lunch in exchange for grain hauling could be described as a ritualized exchange of "courtesies," both of which were obligatory (or neither was obligatory if the other were not). Mauss refers to this as "gift-payment"—we do something for the lords, because they give something specific to us, a repetitive reciprocity of giving and receiving. This distinguishes the hauling from an obligation on the part of the villagers to give their lord "one labor," as specified in the *statuto*, for instance, if he wanted to rebuild the lime kiln or repair the walls in his castle. The villagers' version bears the closest resemblance to the language of the *statuti*, the village constitutions in which dues and services owed to the lord were enumerated. When the Barberini took formal possession of the territory in 1644, the family's representative accepted the *statuti* in the name of the noble family. The villagers made an oath of fealty to the Barberini, promising to pay dues and to render assistance to their lords when necessary. While the formal possession ceremony symbolized the subjugation of the villagers, it also represented noble recognition of their rights, since those, too, were outlined in the *statuto*, and villagers insisted that members of the noble family had to uphold those rights, even if it meant that periodically the villagers had to cart the *statuto* to Rome to remind them of that obligation.[11]

Village testimony about the labor controversy echoed the language of the *statuto* of Nerola, which specifically stated that the villagers received monetary compensation for hauling the grain ("pro quolibet Rubro solidos quinque"). However, village testimony omitted the portion of the *statuto* that allowed the noble family to impose a fine on the villagers who refused to do the hauling, a qualification that

non raccolti nel sud.o terreno di essa Terro in luogo alcuno especialm.e al porto del Tevere." Sworn testimony of Joacchino Petetta and Raimondo Eugenij, priors of Monte Libretti, April 14, 1646, ABCS 245, fasc. 40. Despite the variety in the spelling of their names, these two priors are probably two of the three who gave testimony during the previous fall.

[10] See the final decision of the court of the Sacra Rota, June 12, 1662, in ABCS 252.

[11] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, Ian Cunnison, trans. (New York, 1967); on the variety of forms of gifts, see 27. Mary Douglas wrote a thought-provoking analysis of Mauss that sheds light on the attitudes of the villagers in this controversy. See her foreword, "No Free Gifts," in *The Gift*, W. D. Halls, trans. (New York, 1990), esp. her comment, "Mauss's fertile idea was to present the gift cycle as a theoretical counterpart to the invisible hand" (xiv). On the formal possession ceremony (*possesso*) during the eighteenth century, see ABCS 271, fasc. 27. For a lengthier description of a *possesso*, see Castiglione, "Political Culture in Italian Villages," 532.

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underscores the nature of the exchange as "gift payment." Although few records from the 1640s for the *consiglio* of Monte Libretti survive, it is clear from such records in the village of Nerola that the *statuto* was the crucial touchstone of village politics. Admittedly, very few of the villagers could read the *statuti*, written mostly in Latin, but in Nerola the contents were discussed in the *consiglio*. The *consiglio* thus became the site for adversarial politics, with the *statuto* as the primary text. Readings in it were certainly "selective," but villagers showed they knew what to do with it.[12]

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY *consiglio* RECORDS are occasionally written in a language so rough that its transcription has stunned some scholarly readers. Such orthographic and grammatical failings, combined with the villagers' tendency to focus not so much on getting a text "right" but rather on getting their rights with it, widen the gulf between past village writers and contemporary academic readers. The villagers would, I suspect, be equally mystified by how our subtle abilities to decipher and create texts exists alongside our pathetic advocacy for our own labor in an environment where the same work receives remarkably varied compensation, and where additional labor is frequently demanded and obtained under the euphemism "service," without having such labor correspond to any portion of our paychecks or to a job description. If you are not writing to get your rights, what are you writing for? This is the basic premise of the villagers' adversarial literacy, especially as it reached its full development during the eighteenth century.

European peasants developed the skills of adversarial literacy rather than resort to violence to address their grievances. Although during the eighteenth century they continued to use the *statuto* to defend their rights, they further refined its use, insisting on alternate readings of it and other texts. They applied paradigms, including religious ones, to sources like constitutions, where they were typically not applied. To reinterpret those texts, they employed strategies more common to the oral tradition, in which the context in which texts were created was as important as the literal reading of them. Finally, villagers reached a level of autonomy in the writing of sources, rather than merely reading them. They turned more of their village records, such as the notes of the *consiglio* meeting, into tools to use during their legal skirmishes with the noble family. In the village of Monte Flavio, the shoemaker helped villagers stitch resistance together from the threads of longstanding dissatisfaction with the payments they owed the lord on their poor lands. The alternative readings of old sources and the increasing frequency with which villagers made new ones differentiates the adversarial literacy of the eighteenth-century villagers from the literate practices of their ancestors several generations before.[13]

[12] ABCS 271, fasc. 5, 29v. "Quod Granum pro Vita D[omi]ni portetura Vassallis: Item quod Vassalli teneantur granum D[omi]ni per usu[m] su[a]e Curi[a]e, et hopitij portare, ac etiam Annonam ipsius equis, etiam quando vellet Granu[m] vendere in foro ad pena[m] solidorum decem, et in Curia tenatur dare pro quolibet Rubro portantibus dictum Granum solidos quinque." Of the six villages that are the focus of my research, five of them had a *statuto* in the eighteenth century.

[13] Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York, 1982), 79. Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), uses the terms "insurgent literacy," or "assertive literacy," to describe the skills that made rural militancy possible. He

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Some aspects of adversarial literacy were of course already very old by the seventeenth century, and they continued to be important in the eighteenth century as well. As M. T. Clanchy and other medievalists have suggested, villagers in the late Middle Ages developed what he called "practical literacy," or the reading skills and minimal vocabulary necessary to evaluate the basic content of written documents. When villagers had written sources to support their cause, expanding judicial systems proved to be valuable venues to support rights established in the written record, especially when such rights were documented in their local *statuto*. Political leaders in the *stato* of Monte Libretti showed themselves to be highly skilled at using such a document to defend their rights.[14] What were the possibilities for resistance to seigneurial demands when the written sources, especially the constitution, failed to support the villagers' point of view? Walter Ong observed that the written word was "inherently contumacious," stating in perpetuity the same claims forever, sometimes inspiring its destruction by implicated parties. Steven Justice called this choice "insurgent literacy," or the application of practical literacy skills to the selective destruction of documents during late medieval rebellions. During the relatively peaceful long eighteenth century, villagers spared their adversaries and the "contumacious" documents, attempting instead to advance their cause through litigation, negotiation, interpretation, and source creation, the practices of adversarial literacy.

THE MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RULER OF THE TERRITORY, Giulio Cesare Barberini Colonna di Sciarra, considered most of these developments a real liability to his governing of the *stato* of Monte Libretti. The 1750s were a particularly difficult time for the nobleman, a period in which he "suffered so many troubles," due in part to the "revolution" in the village of Monte Flavio, which was a revolution in reading

summarizes rural literacy as "the ability to sound out, and therefore recognize, one's name and to know the equivalents of perhaps ten or twenty Latin words . . . and recognize references to their lands in court rolls or extents, or to be aware of and articulate about the contents of charters they might hold. And I would suggest that this, not fluency or practice in reading books or writing letters, is the literacy that mattered to the rural communities that rebelled in 1381, the literacy that gave them their sense of familiarity with documentary culture and their determination to make it theirs" (34–35). Among some rebels, these skills extended further, to writing abilities, crucial, if not common achievements that I will also argue here take the eighteenth-century villagers beyond the realm of "practical literacy." I rely here on the theorizing of Justice about the political implications of medieval literacy because early modern studies of literacy tend to focus on ordinary people's reading of literary and religious texts. The intersection of literacy and politics, for instance, receives very brief treatment in R. A. Houston's recent survey of early modern literacy, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, 106–12, 218–25. Writing and rebellion are woven together by the incomparable Peter Blickle, who examines the villagers' resort to scripture during the Reformation in *Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, Thomas Dunlap, trans. (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1992), esp. 45, 86, 188.

[14] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066–1307*, 2d edn. (New York, 1993). Clanchy asserts that "lay literacy grew out of bureaucracy, rather than from any abstract desire for education or literature" (19). "By 1300 even serfs, the more prosperous ones at least, were familiar with documents . . . Clerks did the writing throughout the Middle Ages; most of the reading was done by them, as the custom was to read out loud. By these means laymen of all classes, who remained technically illiterate, could participate in the use of documents and were encouraged to do business with charters" (53). See also his conclusion, "Practical Literacy" (328–34); and the comprehensive anthology, *Literacy: A Critical Sourcebook*, Cushman, *et al.*, eds. On the use of the *statuto* during the conflict over hunting rights in Nerola, see Castiglione, "Political Culture in Italian Villages," 523–52.

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and writing, rather than in violence. Even in the village of Monte Libretti, where the seventeenth-century residents had been described as "enamored" of their lord, relations with the Barberini had become much more strained by the eighteenth century. Increasingly, the villagers were poised for litigation, permanently retaining lawyers in Rome and firing them whenever villagers judged their efforts insufficient to the cause. In the *consiglio*, the villagers rejected outright some Barberini edicts, and when those rejections were met with insistence on the part of Giulio Cesare, the *consiglio* returned with counter-threats—for instance, to send one man per household to the Barberini palace, an intrusion on the aristocratic urban life of the noble family that won the villagers a year off the payment of the disputed dues. In one case, when the villagers did not get the answer they were seeking from the noble family, the representatives of the village were ordered by the *consiglio* to take the issue to one of the bureaucracies of the papal government, one simple example of how the Barberini's potential governing rivals could be used to village advantage.[15]

The *consiglio* of the village became an important site for residents to testify against perceived Barberini encroachments, especially on village use rights. In the village of Monte Libretti, *consiglio* participants bent the *consiglio* record's typically schematic content toward other genres, especially the genre of the *fede*, or sworn testimony written usually by a notary in the presence of two or more witnesses. In April 1753, for instance, Matteo Pellone, who disclosed his age as eighty-six, gave impassioned testimony that the gathering rights in dispute with the Barberini were actually a longstanding right he himself had practiced, along with many other villagers. Matteo's speech reads as though he were offering sworn testimony to a notary in preparation for a legal trial, since he provided his age, a rare declaration in a *consiglio* meeting. In another *consiglio* meeting, such testimony was presented as the "common cry" of the entire assembly, who again offered a degree of detail one would expect in sworn testimony, rather than in the usually schematic notes of the *consiglio* meeting.[16]

In the European legal system, this was the role allotted the villagers: they were charged with the task of remembering, and their testimony carried more weight when it was given by old villagers or, in their absence, by villagers who had heard the "facts" from "ancestors of decrepit age." Since the Middle Ages, villagers had fulfilled such a role in the legal system, although written sources were longstanding competitors to villagers' possibilities for defining customary practice, especially for trimming it of burdens unfavorable to their cause. Without a notary, the *consiglio* record would not carry the same legal legitimacy of sworn testimony, but because the noble's official was present at the *consiglio*, and because the text of the *consiglio* could be copied and forwarded to the noble family and papal officials, it served as notice to those authorities as to the content of the notarized testimony that could

[15] Giulio Cesare reflects on his time of troubles in ABC 993, 68v [April 11, 1750]. The seventeenth-century description is in ABCS 243, fasc. 14, pp. 3–5. Archivio del Comune di Monte Libretti, Registro 6, Libro del Consiglio (hereafter, Consigli di Monte Libretti): on the villagers, their lawyers, and village readiness for litigation, see 16v–17r, 78r–v, 44r–v, 32v; on contradicting the noble family, 67v, 72v; sending one man to the Barberini palace, 24r–29r; on appealing to the Buon Governo, 64r–v.

[16] Consigli di Monte Libretti, 75v, 14r–v.

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be gathered. It announced the content of the official sources that the villagers would make should their adversaries wish to push it into the judicial arena.[17]

Giulio Cesare clearly understood the political importance of the *consiglio* and struggled to control its membership and its meetings. Meetings in which a "common cry" of the villagers produced a lengthy and detailed list of local grievances against the Barberini were considered "tumultuous" by the nobleman. Typically, any *consiglio* that produced a result he did not like was "tumultuous." For the Barberini, an "excessive number of participants" was supposed to lead to "disorder." Villagers who could measure up to the nobleman's ideal *consiglio* participant were rare in the *stato*. He maligned the "crass ignorance" of the *consiglio* of Monte Flavio, which was, however, sufficiently intelligent to defy him for over sixteen years. To counter these problems, he insisted that one of his minor officials (the vice-governor) be in attendance for the village meetings. The meetings were not even supposed to be held without the consent of the governor, although Giulio Cesare's frequent complaints about "irregular" meetings of the *consiglio* suggest this was an ideal rather than a reality in the *stato*. On rare occasions, he attempted to annul its outcomes, although this practice did not always produce the results the nobleman desired. Giulio Cesare grudgingly acknowledged the *consiglio*'s political power when he urged his official in the summer of 1750 personally to carry the nobleman's edict on grazing to each village *consiglio* of the territory: "We don't have a hope that the specific clauses [of the edict] can possibly work with success, without your personal assistance [in the *consiglio*].[18]

In the village of Monte Libretti, Giulio Cesare had clear support in the constitution for the legitimacy of his demands, but he counseled his official to negotiate rather than dictate this right in 1761. During the fall of that year, he began making plans to build a new lime kiln in the village of Monte Libretti. According to Giulio Cesare, the lord and the community had the right to make a lime kiln, and when the lord chose to do so, the inhabitants owed him a certain amount of labor. The community, he believed, should agree to the project, because in the end "the baron has his precedent in the *statuto* to require the rendering of these few works." The nobleman acknowledged, however, that the right to collect wood for the kiln belonged to the community and would have to be respected—his rights, in other words, were entangled in the villagers' rights. The prince also cautiously advised his official in the village that he "was to handle the priors in a friendly way, to induce them with *buona maniera* [tactfully, with good manners] to comply with what the *statuto* prescribed in favor of the baron [Giulio Cesare]. " A Roman "lord," with his

[17] ABCS 247, unnumbered fasc., testimony of Matteo Bassei, *cavallaro* for twenty years in Monte Maggiore, May 1759. On the place of oral testimony in the Middle Ages, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 35, 42.

[18] On the *consiglio* of Monte Flavio, identified by Giulio Cesare as both too large and too ignorant to ever be sufficiently docile, see ABC 993, 158v (bis) [January 30, 1751]; on similar ignorance in Montorio Romano, see 993, 177r [September 26, 1750]; on the tumultuous and later excessively *animoso* of Nerola, 993, 129r (bis) [December 26, 1750], 134v (bis) [January 2, 1751]. The vice-governor of each village was supposed to be in attendance at every *consiglio* meeting, although the general governor of the entire *stato* was only obliged to attend when a serious matter was to be discussed. See ABC 992, 246v–247r [April 13, 1748], 341r [September 28, 1748], 564v [November 20, 1748]. For how Giulio Cesare attempted to guide his edicts to acceptance in the *stato*, see his letters to his governor in Nerola, ABC 993, 110r–v [June 13, 1750], 114v [June 27, 1750].

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hands on clear legal rights, advised his official to move carefully with the locals, nudging them with politeness toward what in principle was his by law but which he could only successfully extract from the villagers with their cooperation and their wood.[19]

Even in the case of a village on strike against paying certain seigneurial dues, Giulio Cesare hesitated to use extreme measures to make the villagers pay up. Beginning with a small and seemingly insignificant observation made by visitors from the Buon Governo in 1744, villagers eventually formulated arguments against the payments of the dues, despite the fact that these dues were clearly described in the *statuto* and that other written records suggested at least some villagers had paid the dues in the recent past. These villagers enraged Giulio Cesare, who could scarcely refer to them without some critical adjective attached: rebellious, capricious, malicious, foolhardy, arrogant, the most querulous people of the *stato*. Yet he counseled the renter of the disputed dues to proceed cautiously, to practice "all sweetness" in his negotiations with the villagers. To another beleaguered renter of one of his other incomes, Giulio Cesare suggested "a more easygoing manner, employing the sweetest tactic the renter could use to get them to do what he wanted." Alas for the Barberini, there were few who could successfully complete Giulio Cesare's charm school, despite the relentless detail of the nobleman's correspondence courses. An intensely frustrated renter tried force against the villagers instead, confiscating their animals in August of 1750, prompting the village into a rebellion in writing the likes of which stood out among the daily skirmishes of the *stato*. The villagers of Monte Flavio pushed the strategies of adversarial literacy to their logical, if defiant conclusions.[20]

In the testimony the villagers pieced together in the last months of 1750, they once again returned to the *statuto*, but they insisted that it had to be analyzed in a way different from its conventional interpretation in the courts, where only a few sentences, relevant to the disputed payments, would be considered. Rather than referring exclusively to the passages of the *statuto* that described the disputed dues, the villagers insisted that it was necessary to read it more comprehensively. Village testimony asserted that there was an implicit hope expressed in the *statuto*'s opening paragraphs that Monte Flavio would become a fertile site for agriculture, especially vineyards, since the payments that the villagers would owe on these developed lands were also specified (although no such vineyards existed at the founding of Monte Flavio in the sixteenth century). According to the testimony

[19] ABC 997, 509v [October 24, 1761], 513r [November 7, 1761]. The official to which Giulio Cesare addressed the advice in this case was the superintendent, the overseer of the Barberini income in the village.

[20] On the observation of the Buon Governo, see ABCS 290, Signatura Justitiae, Pro Communitate . . . Summarium [1750], num. 1. Later in the lawsuit, Giulio Cesare counseled against prosecuting men from Monte Flavio for gathering violations, in light of the ongoing litigation over the disputed seigneurial dues. ABC 994, 337v [March 11, 1752]. For some of Giulio Cesare's preferred words to describe the villagers, on their caprice, see ABC 991, 416v [October 24, 1745]; on their cunning, see 992, 564r [September 20, 1749]; on their foolhardiness, see 992, 566v [September 25, 1749]. He also called them "the most litigious people of the *stato*," in 993, 129r (bis) [December 26, 1750]; "universally incompetent," in 993, 169r [September 12, 1750]; "crassly ignorant," in 993, 158v (bis) [January 30, 1751]; and "the most querulous people of the *stato*," in 994, 30r [February 12, 1754]. On counseling Giulio Cesare's version of sweetness, see 992, 519r [August 9, 1749], and 992, 610v [November 29, 1749].

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provided by two priests, since the lands of the village were rocky and generally poor, villagers made their living by "begging" for land in other villages. Although the *statuto* mentioned that "often the inhabitants would not have enough animals to use all of the pasture lands of the village," the situation in Monte Flavio was clearly quite different—the communal government had to rent nearby pasture lands from the Borghese family to accommodate all the animals owned (or kept) by the villagers. In that regard, too, the Orsini and their successors (the Barberini) failed to fulfill one of the "promises" of the *statuto*.

Since the evidence of a broken contract is clear, neither the villagers nor their ancestors had ever paid the disputed dues, according to the testimony of over twenty villagers offered in the last days of 1750. Most of the rest of the villagers said nothing to contradict this, even when the Barberini aggressively pursued "counter-testimony" from the inhabitants of Monte Flavio. The lawsuit's duration of more than a decade suggests that this view enjoyed wide support in the village, since the village *consiglio* continued to approve the necessary expenditures to sustain the lawsuit, despite the pressure by the Barberini lord against such allocations.[21]

TO THINK POLITICALLY IN THE VILLAGE was to demand a different reading of a document long recognized in the legal system as the primary determinant of legitimate local practice. Such a comprehensive rereading required the villagers to reinterpret the significance of the founding of the village as it was described in that first document. The villagers, the Barberini, and the magistrates returned to the *statuto* because it was supposed to clarify rights and obligations in the rural world. For the Barberini, their lawyers, and eventually the papal magistrates, the *statuto* clearly stated what the noble family deserved as income. For some villagers, however, considering the specific terms of the payment of the disputed dues required a reconsideration of all the issues raised within it—the *statuto* provided evidence that the promises made at the founding of the village had been broken, and that on that basis the villagers and their ancestors had refused to make the payments described in the *statuto*.

An important village writer in this dispute with the Barberini was the shoemaker Felice Antonio Iezzone, who was also the chancellor of the village. While generations of illiterate and semi-literate people relied on notaries for such purposes, in eighteenth-century Monte Flavio, this writing capability extended even to the local shoemaker. Elsewhere in Europe, shoemakers had a history of radicalism and literacy beginning in the late eighteenth century. Iezzone was an

[21] The priests' testimony is in ABCS 290, Signatura Justitiae, Pro Communitate . . . Montis Flavii, Summarium, num. 4 [1751]. The testimony of the rest of the villagers was signed (with a signature or cross) by twenty-three villagers, two of whom qualified it by adding "asserisco non aver pagato mai minuti," as a way (I think) of refraining from comment on what their ancestors did or did not do. ABCS 290, Signatura Justitiae, Pro Communitate . . . Summarium [1751], num. 9 [December 27, 1751]. The Barberini prince frequently griped about the communes' expenditures for lawyers. He claimed, for instance, that the commune of Monte Flavio gave their lawyer an arbitrary raise, that the commune paid lawyers with communal funds who were defending the interests of individuals, or that they were offering pay to lawyers more than they could have earned in any city. ABCS 993, 206r [November 21, 1750], 121v (bis) [December 26, 1750], 127v (bis) [December 26, 1750]. In most cases, the commune continued to spend whatever it wanted.

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early example of one these "intellectual artisans." He evidently navigated a number of difficulties in recording the villagers' testimony, including the problem that the disputed dues, while perhaps unjust, had been paid, at least by some individuals. In wrestling with these issues, the chancellor, the prior, and the willing signatories created what anthropologist Liisa Malkki called "mythico-history," that is, a history written with more focus on "a deeply moral scheme of good and evil" rather than on a strict evaluation of what was true and what was false in the telling. To authenticate Monte Flavio's mythico-history, the ancestors, too, had to have shared their descendants' dilemma over the dues. Fragmentary evidence from the seventeenth century suggests that the villagers' critique of the dues may indeed have been at least a century old. The ancestors are summoned in the testimony to establish that the immorality of the system was old, recognized by generations of villagers, and rightfully resisted by them whenever possible. It seems to me that if some villagers told a lie about whether or not the dues were paid, they might have been telling it in the service of this (in their eyes) greater truth. Those villagers who were squeamish about the breadth of the claims were urged by Iezzone and one of the priors to "Sign it a bit, as [they could]," a move reminiscent of the way individual voters voted in the *consiglio*, agreeing with a proposal but modifying it slightly while casting their vote. The testimony of 1750 was an attempt to negotiate a new history of Monte Flavio in these terms.[22]

Villagers combined this insistence on a more comprehensive reading of the *statuto* with another critique that affirmed some of the most cherished ideals of their society. Marxists might call this effort a sign of their false consciousness, and the importance of village priests in its formulation would make it thereby doubly suspect. This critique of the dues drew on a Catholic ideal (especially prominent in Rome) that the poor in society were to be protected, not persecuted. This concept appears in a village complaint about the collection of the one-sixth of the hemp production from "a few families and miserable widows," whose poverty was exacerbated, in effect, by the "renter [of the dues], arbitrary oppressor of poverty." The testimony offered by two priests generalizes the poverty of widows and the poorest families (the most vulnerable in village society) to the village as a whole. In light of the physical shortcomings of the village lands, the villagers were all poor in the sense that the struggle for their livelihood was a daunting undertaking, especially relative to other villages, where they went searching for land. The priests noted the additional burden imposed by the lack of access to the lord's justice, which villagers could reach only after many hours' travel over sometimes impassable roads. Seigneurial dues, if collected, were to be considered an unjustifiable burden on an already burdened village. Since justice was the business of the noble family, the remoteness of this judge was an indictment of the Barberini, whose members, in addition to extorting money in the form of the *minuti*, were remiss in providing one of the services in the village integral to their lordship. Such a criticism

[22] E. J. Hobsbawm and Joan Wallach Scott, "Political Shoemakers," *Past and Present*, no. 89 (1980): 86–114; Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago, 1995), 52–104, quote 56. For the role of "cultural brokers" in writing history, see Joanne Rappoport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Columbian Andes* (Cambridge, 1990), 21. For a similar work of historical mediation, see Rollison, *Local Origins*, 123–63, esp. 125, where he notes that all revolutionaries are historians by necessity.

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would provide the magistrates reviewing the case with a sense of the broad failure of the Barberini's whole seigneurial enterprise in Monte Flavio.[23]

Was this the gospel preached in Monte Flavio? Or did the priests derive their inspiration from the political culture of the *consiglio*? In the absence of records from village *consiglio* meetings, it is impossible to say whether the priests were at the origin of this particular critique of disputed dues. Giulio Cesare certainly suspected that several priests were among the ringleaders of the rebellion against the Barberini. When the archpriest of Monte Flavio died in the middle of the conflict, Giulio Cesare insisted on naming his successor. He encouraged him to persuade the villagers to end their dispute with the noble family and sent him generous gifts, among them a ceremonial cloth, or *baldacchino*, of white damask, trimmed with gold fringe, for use, as the nobleman explained to one of his officials, "in *my* Parish church." The Barberini's hope that the right priest would lend his support to the noble cause supports the now-common view in the historiography of early modern Europe that hierarchies of various sorts ideally reinforced each other, especially religious and governing hierarchies. In the nobleman's view, if the new parish priest were a loyal ally in the struggle to teach the lord's catechism, he could help in the creation of more disciplined and compliant vassals from the apparently unruly inhabitants of Monte Flavio.[24]

But the villagers of Monte Flavio strayed far from this catechism, and under the "guidance" of the Barberini's handpicked pastor they wandered further than they had ever gone before. It made no difference who the archpriest was. While identifying themselves with the most subjugated members of society, women and poor people, villagers reversed the notion that religious and secular hierarchies reinforced each other. They suggested instead that if God had anything to do with seigneurial dues he would not be on the side of those doing the collecting but rather on the side of those who had to pay. Penny Lernoux summarized this alternative Catholicism simply, but accurately, twenty years ago: "Although frequently in the past Christianity has appeared in ideological guises, it is essentially a critical discipline, a constant call for justice." The villagers made explicit this message, latent in the early modern Catholicism of Rome, and in so doing made a damning critique of the noble family and issued a challenge to the papal magistrates to clarify and prioritize their religious and political allegiances.[25]

[23] The testimony of the six men is in ABCS 290, Signatura Justitiae, Pro Communitate ... Summarium [1750], num. 43 [September 23, 1750], Marco Antonio Corrieri (70); Giovanni Iezzone (59); Carlo Petrucci (86); Domenico Renzi; Pier Angelo Gasbarri (70)." Ong discusses how "loci communes ... could be worked into one's own speech-making or writing"; *Orality and Literacy*, 111. In *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, Scott reflects on this process in his chapter, "False Consciousness or Laying It on Thick?" He hints, without citing much historical evidence, that those individuals who develop the greatest allegiance to an ideology can also become its biggest troublemakers. See esp. 107: "The anger born of a sense of betrayal implies an earlier faith." See also the connections he makes to the civil rights movement in the United States. This needs further exploration in early modern Europe, especially given the symbiotic encounter between the political culture of the villagers and the expanding legal system during the eighteenth century.

[24] Initially, the villagers named their own archpriest, but Giulio Cesare successfully replaced him with a handpicked successor. ABC 992, 536v [August 28, 1749], 544r [September 6, 1749]. He hoped the appropriate successor "could succeed in edifying this people." ABC 992, 568r [September 25, 1749]. On the *baldacchino*, see ABC 995, 88v [April 20, 1754], emphasis mine. On convincing the villagers to end the lawsuit, see 993, 27v–28r [February 28, 1750].

[25] The new priest chosen by the Barbarini seems to have failed in the quest to reform the villagers

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Connecting the Barberini to the persecution of women and the poor in their own territories undercut the noble family's religious paternalism, which was central to the family's image of itself in the eighteenth century. In their letters and their edicts, the Barberini represented themselves as the defenders of their poor vassals, especially widows, who wrote the Barberini prince for his protection or his charity and to whom such charity was usually extended. Clerics in Rome inside the papal government, as well as private elite individuals, devoted considerable effort to public assistance. The charge that the Barberini failed to support the poor in their own territories, made in the "semi-public" forum of the courts, was intended to get the attention of the priest-magistrates, who were steeped in the importance of charity to the practice of Catholicism. Since the villagers had only a very limited possibility for making the law in the *consiglio*, and no possibility for officially interpreting it in the capacity enjoyed by the magistrates, they could only suggest that the conventional reading of the *statuto* be evaluated according to Catholic theology. This was a superficially innocent request, considering they resided in a theocratic state; however, it forced papal magistrates to consider whether they were judges first and priests second or vice versa. Did they enforce man-made law or did they live the gospel? Resistance is often built from this type of wily maneuvering on the part of the powerless, who juxtapose two discourses that contain contrary elements. By making the contradictions plain, marginalized individuals hope to force those who govern to prioritize them, hopefully in their favor, or at a minimum to create a level of discomfort with the contradiction that would facilitate compromise of one sort or another. This level of interpretive cleverness was common in the Old Regime, where the tactics of adversarial literacy were developed instead of violent rebellion as a means of settling conflict.[26]

Villagers assumed that the Barberini and the papal magistrates shared similar commitments because Giulio Cesare worked so often and so diligently to facilitate the papal bureaucrats' desire for information and tax money from the villagers. The papal bureaucracy and the noble family's officialdom worked together in these aims. The Barberini were particularly interested in cajoling villagers into occupying the commune's problematic posts, treasurer, tax collector, and, in some villages, collector of back taxes, an even more heinous job. Typically, the individuals who assumed the posts were chosen by lot from those deemed eligible by the *consiglio*, subject to the approval of the noble family. These jobs were especially difficult in the eighteenth century, when papal taxes rose dramatically and the papal bureaucracy was becoming more insistent about their collection. Financial positions in the

from their querulous ways. ABC 994, 329v [February 17, 1753]; Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People: United States Involvement in the Rise of Fascism, Torture, and Murder and the Persecution of the Catholic Church in Latin America* (New York, 1980), 41. Ong notes the importance of paradoxes and oral culture: "the memorable statements of oral cultures and of residually oral manuscript cultures tended to be of a proverbial sort, presenting not 'facts' but rather reflections, often of a gnomic kind, inviting further reflection by the paradoxes involved." *Orality and Literacy*, 134. Rollison, on the tenacity of this egalitarian dream, has noted, "It is not necessary to take this very seriously for it to survive, and its survival means that sooner or later someone will take it seriously. Respectable people would like to stamp it out, but fear that over-zealous repression will only intensify conviction in it. And so it continues." *Local Origins*, 202.

[26] Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*, 200, 202, 207, 209. On the care of the poor as a means to legitimating political authority, see Rollison, *Local Origins*, 158.

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communal government potentially placed the individual villager's own property in peril, since a failure in those accounts could fall personally on the officeholder. A villager could be stuck with the entire indebtedness of the village if he weren't careful. The Barberini took it upon themselves to address the evasive strategies and recalcitrance of the villagers, trying to force eligible villagers to accept these posts. In early 1741, Salvatore Barbetta resisted being appointed treasurer of the village of Monte Libretti. Giulio Cesare told the governor to "order him absolutely in our name to accept the responsibility of treasurer." Later, Giulio Cesare wrote a letter to the governor's assistant, instructing him to tell Salvatore that taking the office was "an act of obedience" that he was obliged to do. When the resistant Salvatore refused again, the nobleman wrote the governor to "force" him and to push the priors to get involved by impressing on them the harm that would occur if this office was not filled. The Barberini clearly tried to rely on their superior position as lords to get the hesitant Salvatore to comply.[27]

Salvatore relented under Barberini pressure, although it had to be applied many times, and by the nobleman's own admission, such pressure might not be enough to keep Salvatore at his post. Writing in March of 1741, Giulio Cesare discussed the disrespect that one Nicola Venastra had shown the governor, "mistreating him with words," as the nobleman put it. Giulio Cesare cautioned his official that such an act was terrible for the official's "image" in the village and merited immediate "humiliation of this reckless person." The nobleman's governor "represented the Person of the Prince," as the nobleman expressed it a few years later. Hence an insult to the governor was indirectly an insult to the prince. The nobleman's official was compelled to address this affront to his honor. But, in this case, Giulio Cesare added, Nicola was the nephew of Salvatore Barbetta, who had at last agreed to be the treasurer of Monte Libretti, so perhaps the official could "let things go" this time and ignore the threat to his authority in the village.[28]

To encourage an official to accept insult, or to counsel another in using *buona maniera* or good manners, to negotiate rather than dictate his noble rights was to grant to villagers better treatment than their status in the social hierarchy would suggest they deserved. Giulio Cesare, for instance, reminded one of his officials in charge of his financial interests in the *stato* to be careful about how he treated his lowly steward. He counseled him to treat him "with all propriety and *buona Maniera*, [don't] treat him like a farm boy." *Con buona maniera* as a way of handling the villagers suggests treating them with a dignity beyond their station. Allowing oneself to be insulted by a social inferior required the official to go beyond good manners to descend to the level of accepting damage to his honor, thereby lowering

[27] By the 1770s, the villagers in Monte Flavio had resorted to the strategy of appointing the poorest and least qualified person to the job (perhaps even without his knowledge). Presumably, such an individual had the least to lose. See Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio del Buon Governo, Serie II, 2528, Monte Flavio, 1704–1775 [letter of January 30, 1776]; on the case of Salvatore Barbetta, see ABC 990, 455v [January 28, 1741], 458v [February 4, 1741], 468r [February 25, 1741]. The case of Anastasio Stefani is also interesting. He resisted becoming the collector of back taxes because he claimed to have served in that office the previous year. Mysteriously, his was the only name in the hat when it came time to draw from the *bussola* for the office. See ABC 990, 468r [February 25, 1741], 469v–470r [March 4, 1741].

[28] ABC 990, 469r [March 4, 1741]; on the governor representing the person of the prince,.see ABC 992, 226r [March 2, 1748].

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his status beneath those of the villagers he was supposed to "command" in the name of the Barberini lord.[29]

What drove the Barberini to promote this view and to resort to negotiating with the villagers, even when they had clear written precedents in the *statuto* to support their claims upon the villagers? The Barberini had to take villagers into greater account because of their adversarial tactics and because the villagers remained rather ambivalent in their allegiance to papal views of governing, in contrast to the noble family. To compete with the challenge of the expanding papal bureaucracy, the Barberini put their efforts into meticulously monitoring the communal governments, especially (but not exclusively) how well the villages delivered their taxes. But it was an impossible task, squeezing more money out of the villagers, and of little interest to the villagers, who did not judge how good their local government was by how well it could pay papal taxes. Their loyalty to the local was rooted primarily in the commune's ability to deliver more of what villagers wanted (doctors, schoolteachers, and resistance to the noble family, when required). The noble family threw itself into the papacy's impossible task; and, as everyone knows, when an impossible job is divided among more individuals, it helps further the delusion that it can be done. To entice the villagers to join in the hopeless scheme (or to get them to comply with controversial parts of the *statuto*), the Barberini had to accept a view of the villagers that the latter had been proposing since the seventeenth century—that their labor was offered only in exchange for goods or services from the noble family, that noble rights were entangled with rather than greater than village rights, and that to get villagers to do the most unpleasant tasks that were a priority to the Barberini would cost the nobleman or his officialdom something (in the case of the village governor, a loss of his honor).[30]

Ironically, neither the Buon Governo nor the Barberini could achieve the goal of financially solvent tax-paying communities without reading and writing skills like those of the shoemaker-chancellor, Felice Antonio Iezzone. Visitors from the Buon Governo lamented the lack of such skills among the villages of the *stato* of Monte Libretti, including and especially Monte Flavio. Giulio Cesare insisted on the presence of a schoolteacher in the village, someone who would teach its boys "their letters, basic instruction in our Holy Faith, and good manners." But learning one's letters could provide skills to use against the Barberini, and the Barberini and their officials seem to be the people most likely to resort to manners to promote their point of view. Even Roman Catholicism, ostensibly the theological glue of the society, cut to the antagonisms in the social order about as powerfully as it mended them. Giulio Cesare feared priests who favored the former rather than the latter potential of Roman Catholicism, especially priests willing to participate in politics. He maligned the presence of troublemakers, that is, "clerics and grumblers" among the participants in the *consiglio* and the officials of the communes. Evidently, reliable allies in teaching the lord's catechism were everywhere difficult to find. Even in "crassly ignorant" Monte Flavio, Felice Antonio Iezzone had learned more

[29] ABC 990, 442v [January 7, 1741]. I am grateful to John Martin and Antonio Calabria for their suggestions about translating this term.

[30] I discuss the extent to which the Barberini were tightly intertwined with the Buon Governo in the eighteenth century in *Patrons and Adversaries.*

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than the Barberini catechism. As a boy, he bowed his head over the rudiments of learning alongside his brother, Filippo. Later in life, one brother turned to shoemaking and the other to teaching school as a trade. Felice Antonio's writing efforts on the part of the villagers were not at all what Giulio Cesare had in mind when he promoted primary education. Although he admitted to Filippo that he would prefer someone besides his brother to serve Monte Flavio as village chancellor, after three intense years of legal battle with the villagers, the nobleman was willing to accept Felice's place in the village government. Indeed, he wrote of the "loving regard" in which he held the shoemaker-chancellor. Having tried tactics as varied as gifts of white damask *baldacchini*, annulled *consigli*, "offers to purge the souls of the false witnesses" (who testified for Felice), and exhortations to submit to his divinely ordained seigneurial rights, Giulio Cesare turned to the good manners he recommended his officials employ with the villagers. How this last Trojan horse of Giulio Cesare's was seen in the village is not known, but the villagers battled on in the law courts.[31]

Iezzone turned the skills that ruling elites probably helped to provide him to contentious purposes. He put to paper a complaint at least as old as the oldest villager, and gave written form to the grumbling the villagers must have done as they walked home to Monte Flavio from the borrowed lands in the valleys below. He would be surprised, no doubt, to see the testimony of Monte Flavio's disgruntled wanderers come to rest here on the pages of this journal. Michael Ignatieff is right about individuals like Iezzone—they owe us nothing; they wrote for their times, not for ours. It is we, he insists, who "owe . . . them the fidelity to the truth of the lives they had led." Iezzone, however, provides an unintentional lesson, for the literate and the privileged: we accomplish more by facilitating the writing of texts by the powerless who constitute most of the world's people, especially when we also consider the possibilities for meaningful change they offer rather than read them defensively as threats to our rights and privileges, or merely as a side road taking us away from our grander and more murderous ideologies.[32]

THE SHIFTS OUTLINED HERE from the rule by edict attempted by Maffeo Barberini to the negotiated rule of his eighteenth-century successor Giulio Cesare suggest some of the bargaining skills ruling elites had to develop in central Italy. Seventeenth-century villagers had insisted that nobles and their officials restrict their actions to the terms of village constitutions and to the judgments of papal law courts. These served as brakes on noble power, provided there were politically active villagers to insist on them. By the eighteenth century, villagers employed additional tactics in their skirmishes with the noble family. The spread of literate practices among villages facilitated the creation of sources to support the villagers' point of view, especially important when villagers lacked such support in the constitution. Roman Catholicism, which in Giulio Cesare's eyes should have served as a bulwark to his claims, was interpreted at the village level in a very different fashion. Villagers

[31] ABC 995, 196v [September 14, 1754], 997, 69v [May 12, 1759]; the letter to the shoemaker's brother is in ABC 994, 61v [March 25, 1752]; "offers to purge the souls," 994, 52r [March 11, 1752].

[32] Michael Ignatieff, *The Russian Album* (New York, 1988), 16.

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ignored theological justifications for peasant subjugation and emphasized instead charity for the poor and the alleviation of suffering as the basis for the rejection of the payment of some seigneurial dues. Thus two sites, the church and the school, that historians have assumed at least since Michel Foucault to have provided a disciplinary function benefiting the ruling order, appear to have worked in a contradictory direction in the central Italian countryside, providing villagers the tools to question the hierarchy rather than the excuses that legitimated it. The villagers rejected the notion that their subjugation was divinely ordained. Villagers evidently ignored that hegemonic message, using the tactics of adversarial literacy to challenge the exclusive rights of elites in Rome to write the terms of village life or to interpret texts like the constitution in favor of the elites. Giulio Cesare was certainly right to see the potential for trouble in the *stato* once even some of the villagers embraced these views.

Eighteenth-century villagers for the most part avoided the patterns of violent rebellion that characterized the preceding and subsequent centuries. The long eighteenth century was a boom time for what John Szwed called the "communicative economy." Giulio Cesare still spoke the language of damask *baldacchini*, divinely ordained hierarchy, good manners, and the benefits of social harmony gained by censoring the troublemakers and teaching everyone else the lord's catechism. The villagers took issue with some of his messages, using new and old avenues of appeal to the papacy with the support of the collective financial, literate, and legal resources of their village assemblies; they employed Roman Catholicism as a meta-discourse to challenge the discourse of subjugation; they engaged in creative text-making and text interpreting; and they probably made life unbearable for Barberini allies. (As one Barberini supporter explained, he refused to collect the nobleman's disputed dues, "in order to avoid the hatred of his fellow citizens.") Literate practices, appeals to magistrates, and even the implicit messages of Roman Catholicism became potential vehicles for developing adversarial literacy, the basis for a local political culture that could resist the noble family, as well as buy the village time from meeting papal tax demands. Villagers in the central Italian countryside worked without the direct support of papal officials, in contrast to their contemporaries in France, who had some assistance from the royal intendants when they sued their lords. But in both cases, the shifts in the communicative economy are startling, and while they found peaceful expression in the law courts, they also created rising expectations that were frequently thwarted by contumacious texts and constructionist interpretations of them.[33]

The distance between lords and villagers had always been great. In the Roman countryside, well-meaning papal magistrates and tax-hungry bureaucrats generated settings where it could be mapped and explored, settings where the language of the assembly and the language of lordship could collide. This allowed the outlet for political frustrations on both sides, but it took many decades for the nobles to grasp and to accept the discontent of their political adversaries. From a single observation left casually by the agents of the Buon Governo when they came looking for taxes

[33] Szwed, "Ethnography of Literacy," 429, on ABC 992, 476r [June 28, 1749]. The term "meta-discourse" is from James Paul Gee, "Literacy, Discourse, and Linguistics: Introduction and What Is Literacy," in Cushman, *Literacy: A Critical Sourcebook*, 530, 542. Root, *Peasants and King in Burgundy.*

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in 1744, the villagers of Monte Flavio proceeded to create new texts and to rethink old ones in ways that would have facilitated the gradual reform of the seigneurial system of which they were a part. Although the magistrates were not convinced, their repeated willingness to reconsider the case at least acknowledges that the villagers had gotten their attention, if not their support, for the critique of the disputed dues. Later in the century, villagers fatigued of just this kind of judicial dodging would force change by returning to the burning of texts, orchestrating the demise of the seigneurial regime in France in the summer of 1789. The revolutionaries, stuck with the same tax dilemmas that plagued the eighteenth century but combined with the novelty of an improvised political new world at Versailles, had no choice but to grant the villagers what they wanted. Villagers were among the most politically organized people in Europe, and it is perhaps not surprising that they emerged everywhere in Western Europe from the chaos of the French Revolution with this success in their hands. The seigneurial regime would find few defenders, even in central Italy after the Restoration of the pope to his theocratic state in the early nineteenth century. That Roman elites could not defend its return says little about their adherence to the values of the French Revolution but much, I think, about how old the critique of the seigneurial regime already was by the time its French version came to Italy via Napoleon. Its shortcomings had been protested in the remotest corners of the Roman countryside, by the practices of adversarial literacy, which held the potential for reshaping the seemingly unquestionable fixtures that sustained the Old Regime. Villagers like those of Monte Flavio were leading the way in the mid-eighteenth century, but they found no elites yet ready to follow.[34]

[34] See ABCS 294, fasc. 11, for a summary of the decisions of the papal magistrates.

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AHR Forum

Investing the Riches of the Poor: Servant Women and Their Last Wills

GIOVANNA BENADUSI

ONE OF THE MOST COMPLEX ENDEAVORS of early modern European historians is to recognize how the ostensibly powerless produced history. Scholars strive to recover the experiences of ordinary people in texts that these people did not author. They also search for "marginal" voices in the terms and expressions that so often were mediated through the conceptual framework of the dominant social orders. How can historians read legal texts, while taking into account the diversity and incoherence of experience within these documents? How can they discern the many truths these documents contain? Existing scholarship has acknowledged the collaborative quality of past documents. That collaboration extended beyond the legal apparatus to form multiple layers of negotiation involving a variety of contexts, situations, and cultural practices across class and gender. But what cultural means were available to illiterate women and men at the bottom rungs of the social ladder, and how did they use those resources to speak their truths? One answer is that villagers and servants, peasants and working women, articulated a counter-hegemonic language—a language they could bend to their own use. Although this language inevitably conformed to the dominant written forms, it also contained possibilities for critical use and thus was potentially subversive. With this language, the seemingly disempowered revealed their experiences, upheld their identity, and voiced their rights. But their contribution did not end here. They also produced practices of negotiation and mediation leading to new modes of domination and subjugation.

In this essay, I reconsider last wills by seventeenth-century women. What use did women make of legal practices that are otherwise seen as outside women's domain? Did last wills become legal instruments that women used to talk about themselves? If so, what do they reveal about how women organized and gave meaning to their individual lives and the world around them? As I argue, last wills, and the law that informs them, did become a way for women to tell their stories. Through these

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stories, women voiced their aspirations, desires, and choices. Indeed, they shaped their own *ultime volontà* (last will) in ways that scholars have thought women unable to do.[1] The deathbed scene and the dictation of last wills is a familiar one for historians who study testaments. In important ways, however, women's stories depart from those with which historians are most familiar. What we have neglected are the differences in the content and purpose of women's testaments.

This essay focuses in particular on women who worked as domestic servants. Their wills are part of a larger study that centers on legal texts to reveal the connections among gender, class, legal norms, and cultural practices in early modern Italian society. Last wills are, to be sure, the results of negotiation involving the notary and the testator—a negotiation complicated by the context, in which conflicting legal norms, cultural practices, and local circumstances all played significant roles. The collective nature of last wills easily conceals the individual voices of the participants. This is particularly evident in the case of working women's wills. Whereas recent work has broadened discussion on testamentary practices and the nature of wealth, it has not explored or problematized the social patterns of inheritance practices. We have become familiar with the role that upper-class women—especially widows—played in giving form to their own testamentary procedures. The absence of research on the last wills by women of the working classes underscores the need for careful attention to nuances in the texts, for caution in applying assumptions based on wills of wealthier people, and for boldness in interpreting their meaning and historical significance.[2] Most of all, focus on last wills by working-class women demands a reinterpretation of testamentary practices and the law that instructs them. The reading of working women's last wills calls for awareness not just of the gender and familial order regulating testamentarial practices but also of the social order and class constraints affecting the position of testators.

The last wills of three female domestics—Paola, Margherita, and Domenica—emphasize the connection of gender and class to legal norms and cultural practices. The three women lived in Arezzo, in northwest Tuscany, between the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. Their wills are among hundreds of examples of female testators that fill the papers of Tuscan notaries. Provincial women from all social classes drafted at least one will and often two or more during their lifetime. It was not uncommon for servants who defined themselves as such in their wills to devolve their possessions—a small field or house—on surviving sons, daughters, or nieces. Something unusual, however, sets servants like Paola,

[1] The works of Doris Sommer, " 'Not Just a Personal Story': Women's *Testimonios* and the Plural Self," in *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography*, Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 107–30, and Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Durham, N.C., 1998), have influenced my rereading of women's testaments.

[2] References to non-elite women can be found in Gianna Lumia, "Morire a Siena: Devoluzione testamentaria, legami parenteli e vincoli affettivi in età moderna," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 103 (1997): 235, 240; Maria Luisa Lombardo and Mirella Morelli, "Donne e testamenti a Roma nel quattrocento," *Archivi e cultura* 25–26 (1992–93): 23–130; Giovanni Silini, "Famiglia, società e patrimonio a Lovere negli atti dotali e testamentari (secoli XV–XVI)," *Archivio storico bergamasco* 21 (1991): 68–126. See also the interesting essays in *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes*, Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall, eds. (Salt Lake City, 1998).

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Margherita, and Domenica apart from other testators.[3] The three women clearly defined themselves as servants, and in the case of Paola as a *nutrice* (nurse).[4] But they had no wealth to speak of and had very few, if any, kin. They were widows. All three left their masters heirs of their meager possessions and bequeathed their personal belongings to nieces, nephews, and other women. Their wills were recorded in Latin and filled only about half a page of the cartulary of Ser Anton Filippo Ruberti, a notary in Arezzo. For all these reasons, these wills were mute and the voices of these three old women unspoken. What, then, drove them to draft wills—a legal instrument usually intended to transmit wealth, select heirs, and consolidate power?

Wanting to read testaments in their own terms, in the bequests made by the three women I searched for their voices rather than an assumed logic of preservation and distribution of wealth, the dominant theoretical framework of historians interested in last wills. I singled out the heirs and, when possible, the friends in the lives of Paola, Domenica, and Margherita. I sought to understand the kind of wealth they had, where it came from, and what value the three servants gave to it. I wanted to know how they turned their possessions, through their legacies, into powerful cultural resources. Finally, in the written words recorded by their notaries, I set out to discern the laws that regulated the transmission of property and the management of women's dowries in their towns. But what I found in the last wills of women servants was blurred by multiple voices and confused by layers of participation. I began searching the simple and short notarial texts for clues that could tell me about these women's lives and for the important symbols that explained their domestic worlds. As I read the wills of the three servants, I sought to recreate their familial ties and understand the boundaries of their affective relationships. In time, their wills came to life and so did their intentions.

There is no doubt that in their last wills these servants asserted their *volontà* to reveal their social standing. In particular, they entrusted the memory of their domestic experiences to the public depositaries of notarial records. In the process, these women sent powerful messages to an assumed audience and proved their ability to operate within the legal tradition of their town. The last wills of Paola, Margherita, and Domenica exemplify the content of these messages and reveal their imagined audience. Through pious and personal bequests in anticipation of their deaths, the women not only sought personal gratification and the salvation of their souls but also pursued and found the opportunity to step out into the public realm. In the process, I argue, these women redrew a code of honor that altered the

[3] Not all servants defined themselves according to their profession. It is, however, possible to estimate a larger number of servants' wills by detecting certain characteristics that set these wills apart from others. Lack of a last name and origin in a rural village or small provincial town are usually the first two prerequisites. Other bits of information include the actual place where the testament was drafted, the people who witnessed the drafting, and the presence of the homeowner among the witnesses, especially if addressed with a title. In this way, those last wills that are usually discarded because too short and, at first appearance, meaningless can be rescued from anonymity.

[4] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber has noted that the work of domestic servants, nurses, and washers was, for the most part, underestimated since it was connected with the same domestic tasks "naturally" attributed to mothers and wives. She has also emphasized the complexity in understanding the degree to which working women identified themselves for their labor. See "Un salario o l'onore: Come valutare le donne fiorentine del XIV–XV secolo," *Quaderni storici* 1 (1992): 41–49, esp. 47.

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rules of admission into the public that defined domestic spaces in terms of labor and gendered them female. These women rejected the idea that female integrity was "naturally" defined by sexual behavior and civil status and that women's honor depended on the price of a dowry. Instead, in their wills, they emphasized their own professional identity as wage earners, reconfiguring the bounds of public and private space in ways that reflected their particular class and gender position.[5] What follows are the hopes and joys, the exploitation and injustice, of Paola, Margherita, and Domenica as they were told in the written words of their notary and left to memory in their last wills.

AT THE TIME WE MEET THE THREE SERVANTS, they are all widows. Few other facts are certain about their lives. About Paola we know the most.[6] She was the daughter of Giorgio from Castiglion Fibocchi in the outskirts of Arezzo, and had been in the service of Sebastiano Magi, a medical doctor, for most of her life. From the fragmentary evidence recorded in Paola's testament, we know that she was hired as a *nutrice* (nurse or wet nurse) for Vittoria Magi, one of the three daughters of Sebastiano, sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century. But the life story of Paola is inevitably sketchy, as many of the life stories of domestic servants are.[7] We know that she had been married to a man named Matteo, from whom she might have had at least one child, considering that she was hired as a nurse. At one point in her life, as was the case with many other servants, she probably moved from a nearby small town, possibly Castiglion Fibocchi, to the city of Arezzo to work for the Magi family. Maybe she became a widow early in her life and, like many rural widows, left her village and moved to town searching for a job. After all, for women, domestic service was certainly a more prestigious occupation than other jobs, especially working in the textile industries. She might have also decided to enter the service of the Magi family as a nurse soon after the birth of her child. Wet nurses were the highest paid among all servant women, and it was not uncommon for rural mothers, seeking to improve the financial standing of their families, to abandon their own babies and move to the city to nurse the children of wealthy families.[8]

[5] For a discussion on feminist theories of the public and the private, see the essays in Joan Landes, ed., *Feminism, the Public and the Private* (Oxford, 1998), in particular, Landes, "The Public and the Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration," 135–63, and Seyla Benhabib, "Model of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas," 65–99.

[6] Archivio di Stato, Florence (hereafter, ASF), Notarile Moderno (hereafter, NM) 8986, Anton Filippo Ruberti, November 9, 1596, fols. 1v–2v.

[7] On domestic servants, see Raffaella Sarti, *Vita di Casa: Abitare, mangiare, vestire nell'Europa moderna* (Bari, 1999); Dennis Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft: Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400–1600* (Baltimore, 1996); Angelina Arru, *Il servo: Storia di una carriera nel settecento* (Bologna, 1995); Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Women Servants in Florence during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, Barbara A. Hanawalt, ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 56–80. Some of the most important works focusing on other European countries are Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore, 1984); Sara Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Timothy Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, Essex, 2000); and Gayle Brunelle, "Contractual Kin: Servants and Their Mistresses in Sixteenth-Century Nantes," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 4 (1998): 374–94.

[8] In fifteenth-century Florence, wages for a servant woman amounted to 8.5 florins a year. In reality, however, wages were often limited to an average of between 5 and 8 florins. Male servants were

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Whatever the circumstances that led Paola to move to Arezzo, she lived with the Magi family for most of her life. The coming of age of Vittoria and her two sisters, Caterina and Marta, did not signify the end of Paola's presence in the family. At some time, either after the death of her old mistress, the mother of the three Magi girls, or following Vittoria's marriage, Paola moved into the service of Antonio Pacinelli, Vittoria's husband. It is here that Paola lives at the time we encounter her. But in the beginning of November 1596, Paola's health began to deteriorate. Her mind was alert, but her weak, aging body confined her to bed. On the ninth of the same month, with her death imminent, Ser Anton Filippo Ruberti was called to draft Paola's last will. In her testament, Paola named as her beneficiaries the three Magi sisters and selected her master, Antonio Pacinelli, as her heir. Theirs were the only names that Paola mentioned in her testament, no grown children, sisters, brothers, or more distant kin.

The details surrounding the life stories of Margherita, daughter of Domenico and widow of Domenico, from Prato, and Domenica, daughter of Giovanni and widow of Taddeo, are even less certain than in the case of Paola. Indeed, the wills of the two women are so short and terse as to make any assumptions about their lives almost impossible. On February 17, 1612, the same notary, Ser Ruberti, went to hear the last will of Margherita, the aging domestic servant of the "esteemed" priest Benedetto di Ser Giulio Scortecci.[9] A few years later, on April 13, 1615, the widow Domenica, with death imminent, also dictated her last will. Ser Ruberti was called to her deathbed, in the house of her master, the Reverend Francesco Palazzeschi.[10]

I tried to make sense out of Paola, Margherita, and Domenica's testamentary decisions and looked for a logical order behind them. What led Paola to entrust her wealthy master and mistress with her possessions? Unlike Paola, Margherita and Domenica had close kin. A nephew survived Margherita. From Domenica's will, we learn that she had a niece, Jacopa di Battista di Giovanni from Uliveto, daughter of a brother, and she named a friend, who also may have been a domestic servant, Lucia di Biagio. Since local statutory regulations would have taken care of Margherita and Domenica's possessions, why did each draft a last will? Moreover, why did they, like Paola, leave most of their wealth to their masters? Were they urged to do so by their masters and mistresses, or was this their own decision? Was the motivation to draft a testament dictated by piety and religious beliefs, or were there more worldly concerns?

paid an average of 10 florins. See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Female Celibacy and Service in Florence in the Fifteenth Century," in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1985), 176. In Venice, the capitulary of 1595 set the salaries of servant women at 6 ducats a year, while nurses were paid 7 ducats a year. As in Florence, also in Venice male servants fared better. See Dennis Romano, "The Regulation of Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4 (1991): 674. See also Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "Prosperity in the Countryside: The Price That Women Paid," in Cohn, *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, 1996), 162–63; Klapisch-Zuber, "Blood Parents and Milk Parents: Wet Nursing in Florence, 1300–1530," in *Women, Family, and Ritual*, 132–64; Daniela Lombardi and Flores Reggiani, "Da assistita a serva: Circuiti di reclutamento delle serve attraverso le istituzioni assistenziali (Firenze-Milano XVII–XVIII secoli)," in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *La donna nell'economia, secoli XIII–XVIII* (Florence, 1990), 301–19.

[9] ASF, NM 8986, Anton Filippo Ruberti, February 17, 1612, fols. 80r–v.

[10] ASF, NM 8986, Anton Filippo Ruberti, April 13, 1615, fols. 108v–109v.

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DURING THE PAST TWO DECADES, legal and economic perspectives have dominated the reading of last wills as legal texts used for the transmission of property and the selection of heirs in Western Europe.[11] Scholarship has shown that, through testamentary procedures, fathers and husbands divided their fortunes among sons, daughters, and kin and took care of surviving wives, mothers, and daughters.[12] In this way, men controlled and assured an orderly administration and preservation of the family patrimony from generation to generation. Male testators, by concentrating their bequests on sons over daughters, and on older sons over younger ones, defined the boundaries of patrilineage and the order of gender hierarchies. In particular, testamentary procedures came to involve not only the inalienability of patrimony for future generations but also a policy of succession that, by the sixteenth century, favored primogeniture, the male line, and the family name.[13] Research on testamentarial practices and other legal texts has clearly pointed to the legal and economic marginalization of women. The legal tradition in conjunction with familial practices excluded women from property rights and inheritance, while placing the responsibility for the preservation and the distribution of wealth on men.[14] Concentration on issues of property, wealth preservation, and family consolidation inevitably restricted historical attention to those social groups that held property. Moreover, the legal exclusion of women from a significant part of family wealth caused, at least for some time, the omission of research on women's testaments. A fairly recent focus on women has not only introduced women into the discussion of the legal and economic significance and role of testamentarial

[11] Research on testaments began under the influence of the French historians Michel Vovelle and Pierre Chaunu, whose works focused on the religious and pious decisions of testators to understand changes in the religious *mentalité* and sensibility of French people during the early modern period, and more specifically on the eve of the French Revolution; Michel Vovelle, *Mourir autrefois: Attitudes collectives devant la mort aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1979); Pierre Chaunu, *La mort à Paris: XVI^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1978). Italian and American scholars have also studied testaments to understand changing attitudes toward charity, piety, and patronage, in particular during times of plague. See Paolo Preto, *Peste e società a Venezia, 1575* (Vicenza, 1978); Alessandro Pastore, "Testamenti in tempo di peste: La pratica notarile a Bologna nel 1630," *Società e storia* 16 (1982): 263–97; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife* (Baltimore, 1988); and Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore, 1992). A different approach is that of Sandra Cavallo, who has linked legacies in wills and forms of charity to uncover institutional and secular understanding and organization of poverty in early modern Italy. *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and Their Motives in Turin, 1541–1789* (Cambridge, 1995).

[12] Joan Thirsk, "The European Debate on Customs of Inheritance, 1500–1700," in *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200–1800*, Jack Goody, Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, eds. (Cambridge, 1976), 177–91.

[13] This phenomenon has been observed for sixteenth-century Tuscan elites by Richard Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence: A Study of Four Families* (Princeton, N.J., 1968), 171–72; Francis W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1977), 136–40; Judith Brown, *In the Shadow of Florence: Provincial Society in Renaissance Pescia* (Oxford, 1982), 40–41; Cohn, *Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death*, 353 n. 135. For the seventeenth century, see R. B. Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530–1790* (Princeton, 1986); and Giovanna Benadusi, *A Provincial Elite in Early Modern Tuscany: Family and Power in the Creation of the State* (Baltimore, 1996).

[14] Scholars who study medieval and Renaissance Florence have argued forcefully that devolution of property was strongly in favor of the patrilineal lineage. See Isabelle Chabot, "Risorse e diritti patrimoniali," in Angela Groppi, ed., *Il lavoro delle donne* (Rome-Bari, 1996), 47–70; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "Last Wills: Family, Women, and the Black Death in Central Italy," in *Women in the Streets*, 39–56; Thomas Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1991); Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual*. For Siena, see Lumia, "Morire a Siena," 103–285.

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practices but has also expanded the analysis of testaments to embrace a more cultural approach. At the same time, a growing if limited body of research has begun to complement the established scholarship on testaments by raising important questions about the significance of legal norms regulating inheritance as well as the gendered implications and meanings of property.

The broadening of research to include women's testaments has opened a debate over differences in women and men's legacies. There is no doubt that female and male testators exhibited distinctive patterns in their legacies. Women spent more time than their male relatives distributing gifts and dictating itemized lists of their jewels, clothes, household objects, and other personal items. They bestowed their possessions on relatives as well as friends and on sons and brothers as well as daughters, daughters-in-law, and sisters. They rarely forgot to give something to their servants and made donations to charitable and religious institutions, chapels, and hospitals more often than their male kin did. These findings have led in a number of interpretative directions aimed at explaining and understanding the extent of women's independence and the significance of their prerogatives over their possessions in late medieval and early modern societies.[15]

Seeking to contextualize the gap between women's and men's legacies, scholarship has emphasized the degree of women's control over property and their ability to pass it on to their heirs, and has connected both issues to local statutory rules regulating the transmission of property. As Samuel K. Cohn has argued, the rigid rules that determined the devolution of wealth along the male line in many fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italian cities led to fewer testatrices. Where statutory laws regulating those practices did not confine property rights along a strictly patrilineal pattern of descent, the number of women who redacted wills was much larger and their space for maneuverability in selecting their heirs was wider. In line with this interpretation, Cohn has suggested that regional differences, not gender, defined women's ability to control property and select heirs.[16] While not

[15] Sandra Cavallo, "Che cosa trasmettono le donne? Proprietà domestica e confine del 'personale' tra Sei e Settecento," in *Le ricchezze delle donne in età moderna: Diritti patrimoniali e poteri famigliari (XIV–XIX sec.)*, Giulia Calvi and Isabelle Chabot, eds. (Rome, 1998); Renata Ago, Maura Palazzi, and Gianna Pomata, "Premessa," *Quaderni storici* 86 (1994): 293–98; Ago, "Ruoli familiari e statuto giuridico," *Quaderni storici* 1 (1995): 111–33; and "Oltre la dote: I beni femminili," in Groppi, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 164–82; Lumia, "Morire a Siena," 231–72; Julius Kirshner, "Material for a Gilded Cage: Non-Dotal Assets in Florence (1300–1500)," in *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, Richard Saller and David Kertzer, eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1991), 184–207; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Corpo e sepoltura nei testamenti della nobiltà napoletana (XVI–XVIII secolo)," *Quaderni storici* 2 (1982); Stanley Chojnacki, "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice," *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974): 176–203; Linda Guzzetti and Antje Zieman, "Women in the Fourteenth-Century Venetian *Scuole*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 4 (2002): 1151–95, in particular 1171–78.

[16] In cities such as Florence, Arezzo, and Perugia, Cohn argues that the weight placed on the male line in property descent combined with a strong concern over the preservation of the testator's earthly memory and the consequent rejection of mendicant ideals of charity to impose harsher restrains on women's ability to control property. In these cities, women redacted very few wills. When they did, they appropriated and transmitted the normative hierarchies of their families' ethos. Women thus favored the male line and excluded themselves and other female kin from legitimate participation in the success of their families' lineage. For this reason, according to Cohn, in Florence, Arezzo, and Perugia, women drafted last wills with the single purpose of reconfirming husbands the universal heirs of their properties, both dotal and nondotal. Contrary to patterns in these cities, in Pisa, where fathers favored their daughters over distant kinsmen, women not only testated at a much higher rate but also exhibited more freedom in deciding their testamentarial legacies and heirs. The strength of the male line as reflected in the inheritance regulations and conventional cultural practices of some central Italian

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denying the presence of strong male preferences embedded in the law, other scholars have presented a picture in which the legal systems of many late medieval and early Renaissance Italian cities constrained husbands and wives under the same conjugal duties and normative hierarchies concerning inheritance. In work on Florence, Isabelle Chabot has concluded that *neither* men *nor* women had much space for maneuvering around the law. Both were equally influenced by legal practices and cultural prescriptions that regulated the transmission of property.[17] In conjunction with this position, without downplaying the importance of strong legal constraints for both women and men, the studies of Julius Kirshner and Thomas Kuehn for Florence and Stanley Chojnacki for Venice have merged the gap between the law and culture, suggesting a more nuanced reading of legal texts and cultural prescriptions regulating women's position within the family and as legal persona. All three scholars conclude that, notwithstanding the legal subordination that constrained women's ability to inherit and bestow property, upper-class women were able to devise different forms of agency and maneuver around the structures of patriarchy.[18]

By privileging a reading of the application of law in daily life and emphasizing its "ambiguities" and "incoherence," this new scholarship has advanced beyond a static understanding of law as a self-evident frame of reference for historical analysis. Overall, however, women's testaments have continued to be read and evaluated according to upper-class male concerns in matters of inheritance. The

cities, then, influenced and determined women's freedom to express their feelings, desires, and choices through testamentary procedures. Cohn, *Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death*, 195–201; "Last Wills," 53–54.

[17] Chabot acknowledges the inextricable nature of the two most important statutory articles: the one that restricted what women could inherit and the one that limited what they could bestow. Notwithstanding the contextual differences in regulating women's ability to dictate their last wills, she has claimed that lack of property and inheritance rights by women did not exist in proportion to the strength of patrilineal patterns of inheritance. Isabelle Chabot, "La loi du lignage: Notes sur le système successoral florentin (XIV^{e}/XV^{e}–XVII^{e} siècle)," *Clio, histoire, femmes et sociétés* 7 (1998): 51–72. Chabot also disputes that women enjoyed more freedom over their property on the basis that their possessions had limited material value. This argument, as some scholars present it, compares the degree of women's control to the lack of statutory limitations over their properties. See Preto, *Peste e società*, 98–108; L. Deleidi, "Donne milanesi della prima metà del cinquecento: La memoria degli atti notarili," *Società e storia* 64 (1994): 279–314; Giuliana Vitale, "Affettività e patrimonio attraverso i testamenti femminili medievali," in *Donne tra memoria e storia*, Laura Capobianco, ed. (Naples, 1993), 107–31.

[18] While Kirshner sees the space for women's maneuverability within the context of Roman law and Kuehn considers the practice of law, Chojnacki focuses on the day-to-day relationships of wives and husbands within marriage. The three scholars question the idea of "patrilineal imperatives" that inevitably subordinated women. Florentine statutes did not clearly and absolutely take away women's rights concerning inheritance, especially when there was no close male kin. Julius Kirshner, "'Maritus Lucretur Dotem Uxoris Sue Premortue' in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Centuries Florence," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 77 (1991): 111–55; and "Material for a Gilded Cage," 184–207; Thomas Kuehn, "Some Ambiguities of Female Inheritance Ideology in the Renaissance," in *Law, Family and Women*, 238–57; Stanley Chojnacki, in his numerous studies on Venetian women now collected in *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore, 2000). See also Giulia Calvi, "Diritti e legami: Madri, figli, stato in Toscana (XVI–XVIII secolo)," *Quaderni storici* 86 (1994): 487–510. In "Introduction: Family and State, Women and Men," in *Women and Men*, 5, Chojnacki asserts that Venetian patrician women "possessed the resources and determination to act on their own" in part because the rise in the value of dowries during the sixteenth century had given women greater economic and social leverage, but also because both women and men were instrumental in preserving and consolidating family wealth.

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meaning of property and the origin of wealth have been neither questioned nor problematized but have been assumed to carry a universal meaning that can equally pertain to all, regardless of gender and class. In a study of fourteenth-century testaments, for instance, Cohn has certainly broadened discussion to include the ranks of artisans and propertied peasants.[19] The analysis, however, is based on the assumption that wealth is a fixed entity. Yet, in law, wealth is a site for negotiation. As such, it had different meanings for villagers and the Florentine patricians, for elite women and working women. When I first approached the testaments of servant women from a background of universal meaning, they were silent. Looking more closely at the social context in which testaments were produced and trying to understand how testatrices conceived of their wealth made the voices of servant women become louder and clearer.

The conventional interpretative parameters used to understand testaments did not fit easily with the experiences of the servants Paola, Margherita, and Domenica. Indeed, the three servants' wills called for new criteria of interpretation that embrace the fragmentary information of non-elite women's testaments. This shift entailed redrawing the roles and functions of gender and class as they influenced the depiction and the self-representation of women in notarial texts. Most important, it demanded rethinking the nature of women's property in relation to family wealth and to women's prerogatives in devolving their possessions. Recent scholarship has advanced a cultural reading of property and wealth, has made women's wealth central, and has opened up space for those testatrices, like the three servants of this study, who did not conform to conventional patterns. Martha Howell's studies of the Low Countries and Renata Ago's work on seventeenth-century Rome have examined women's social and cultural assumptions about wealth not only as the product of a legal system that controlled inheritance and property distribution but also as the result of a gendered reinterpretation of the economic importance of women's personal property.[20] Women's wealth was not "unimportant" even if, at least in monetary terms, it amounted to less than men's wealth. Notwithstanding significant differences in the abilities given and legal rights afforded women and men, the two historians argue that wealth existed in many forms and carried diverse meanings, not directly linked to its material value but reflective of the myriad ways in which individuals conceived of wealth. The two historians agree that wealth was not a fixed concept but was created and revised through complex and uneven processes. Women, according to Howell, "tended to treat property less as economic capital than as cultural and social capital."[21] The issue, then, is not whether men's property carried more weight and importance than women's property. It is not even what kind and amount of wealth women were allowed to devolve on their heirs. Instead, the crucial question is how people would

[19] Cohn, "Last Wills," 39–56.

[20] Martha Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1550* (Chicago, 1998), 152–67; Renata Ago, "Donne, doni e public relations tra le famiglie dell'aristocrazia romana del XVII secolo," in Cavaciocchi, *La donna nell'economia,* 175–94; and Ago, "Ruoli familiari e statuti giuridici," *Quaderni storici* 88 (1995): 111–33. See also Thomas Kuehn, "Understanding Gender Inequalities in Renaissance Florence: Personhood and Gifts of Maternal Inheritance by Women," *Journal of Women's History* 8 (1996): 65–72.

[21] Howell, *Marriage Exchange*, 153.

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link themselves to others by means of property, as well as the value of the unspoken but acknowledged power of credit and of goods as commodities.[22]

How did Paola, Margherita, and Domenica define property? How did they use their possessions to shape their relations with their masters and mistresses? And what language did they use to "link" themselves to their employers/beneficiaries? Paola's testament was filled with an itemized list of her personal possessions, the names of their recipients, and the explicit tasks they were called on to perform following her death. First, Paola addressed concerns about her spiritual salvation. She wanted to be buried in the church of San Francesco in Arezzo and, more precisely, in the place where all the *Pizzochere* sisters (Beguines) were usually buried. Then she mentioned her beneficiaries and heir. With the legacies she left Caterina and Marta, two of the Magi sisters, Paola sought to reinforce the already strong personal bonds she had created in a lifetime as nurse and domestic servant for the Magi family. Marta, who at the time Paola dictated her last will was the wife of Innocenzo Barbani, received 14 lire. To Caterina Magi, a nun in the monastery of San Benedetto in Arezzo, Paola left 7 lire. Caterina was to receive this sum six months after Paola's death.[23]

With her gifts, Paola presented herself—as many provincial elite women did in their wills—as an active supporter and benefactor of the well-being of the two younger women. In their wills, elite provincial women left legacies that were directed at affecting the lives of other members of the family. In these ways, elite women—just like their husbands—shaped for themselves and their families a public reputation that carried respect and honor. Undoubtedly, as in the last wills of male relatives, many elite women's endeavors were aimed at sustaining the self-aggrandizing and self-perpetuating image of their families and transmitting the normative hierarchies around which provincial elite families sought to reconstitute themselves. They did not sacrifice themselves entirely for these values, however. Indeed, provincial women operated within the paradox of a new familial ideology that constrained them as it privileged them and, in the process, influenced change in the world within and beyond the household. In giving away their possessions, many provincial women used this image and the corresponding language of respectability in different ways. They challenged restrictions and included themselves in the privileges supposedly unavailable to women. They did this by distributing a share of their remaining possessions to other women who often had no connection to their family, such as friends and women in need; other times, they devolved some of their possessions on sisters, sisters-in-law, daughters, and even daughters-in-law. In all cases, however, women always stipulated that the monies they left should go to augment the dowries of their beneficiaries.[24] In this way, elite

[22] Howell, *Marriage Exchange*, 228.

[23] For similar bequests, see Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 204.

[24] In 1660, Antonia Torrigiani from Pescia stipulated that the monies she left her daughters should augment rather than constitute the dowries already given by their fathers; ASF, NM 12524, Giuliano Ceci, fols. 22v–24v. See Giovanna Benadusi, "Equilibri di potere nelle famiglie toscane tra sei e settecento," in Calvi and Chabot, *Le ricchezze delle donne*, 78–92. Howell's study of fifteenth-century Douai, in the Low Countries, highlights the difference between men and women's selection of

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women constructed a collective identity of the family that included both the maternal and the paternal lines.[25] Paola must have known the common practice of testamentarial acts, in line with the dowry pattern of the time, for she left Caterina, the married woman, twice the amount she gave Marta, who had become a nun. Conforming to the same language of elite women, through the personal bequests to Marta and Caterina Paola sought personal gratification but also recognition in anticipation of death. With her legacies, Paola probably wanted to ensure her continued remembrance in the life of the Magi sisters after her death. Indeed, as Dennis Romano writes in his study on Venetian servants and masters, gifts from servants often represented "tokens" of affection and gratitude as well as means "to perpetuate ties with their masters."[26]

But there may have been even more to it, as Paola's behavior toward Vittoria, the third of the Magi sisters and her mistress, demonstrates. As a nurse, Paola enjoyed a higher status than a simple servant. But what kind of relationship did Paola imagine with Vittoria when she had her will drawn up? It was not unusual for a servant to move from the original household that employed her to the new household that her employers' daughters had entered by marriage. In many of the elite women's wills, the legacies mistresses left their female servants took effect only if servants continued their term of service in their daughters' households, following the testator's death.[27] At the same time, it was not unusual for a mother to instruct both daughters and sons to take care of the family's old servants after her death by providing for them either in their homes or by making available a house, food, some land, and even extra money. Scholarship has often explained this behavior as originating from the particular relationships that developed between mistresses and servants or masters and servants. Following employment by professional and commercial urban families, poor women, often young and from rural villages, lost their independence but gained a new position as family members under the maternal and paternal supervision of their employers.[28] This domestic and paternalist view of servant-mistress relations often contrasts with the more pragmatic behavior displayed by both employers and servants, who seemed to have viewed their relationships also in clear financial and labor terms. Mistresses, according to Gayle Brunelle's study of Nantes, did not hesitate to bring their servants before officials whenever the latter breached the stipulated terms of service. Servants, too,

beneficiaries. As was the case in seventeenth-century Siena, women chose other women more often than men did. *Marriage Exchange*, 162–67; and Samuel K. Cohn, "Women and the Counter-Reformation in Siena: Authority and Property in the Family," in *Women in the Streets*, 57–75.

[25] On the aspiration of women to incorporate their legacy into that of their husbands, see in particular Giulia Calvi, "Maddalena Nerli and Cosimo Tornabuoni: A Couple's Narrative of Family History in Early Modern Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 312–39; and also Calvi, *Il contratto morale: Madri e figli nella Toscana moderna* (Bari, 1994); Benadusi, "Equilibri di potere nelle famiglie toscane tra sei e settecento," 78–92; Tommaso Astarita, *The Continuity of Feudal Power: The Caracciolo di Brienza in Spanish Naples* (Cambridge, 1992), 175–201.

[26] Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 204; see also Christine Churches, "Women and Property in Early Modern England: A Case Study," *Social History* 23 (1998): 165–80.

[27] This trend persisted throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see Angelina Arru, "Uomini e donne nel mercato del lavoro servile," in Groppi, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 245–68.

[28] Klapisch-Zuber, "Women Servants in Florence during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," 56–80; Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies*, 137–50; Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 193, 210.

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brought their employers to court for unpaid back wages.[29] Nonetheless, until recently, the dominant interpretation has supported the idea that servants accepted the paternal reading of the relationships with their employers, even if some scholars have acknowledged the existence of an ambiguous area where servants were caught between their position as family members and as wage-earning employees.[30]

Evidence from Paola's testament certainly suggests such an ambiguity in her relationship with Vittoria. Paola did not leave cash to Vittoria. Instead, she gave her all her personal effects, including a bed, a mattress, small household articles, and a number of unidentified personal items, linens, and bedclothes. Some of Paola's belongings might have come from her dowry or some previous inheritance from her father or deceased husband. But it is more likely that a good part of her effects might have been gifts Paola had received from the Magi family, likely from Vittoria's mother or Sebastiano Magi. It was not unusual for mistresses to compensate their long-time servants for their work with legacies, and a common reward to servants was their own bedroom furniture along with the blankets, linens, and the clothes they had received while in service. In addition, mistresses, contrary to masters, rewarded their servants with a variety of different goods. A mistress frequently entrusted her servants, especially if young, with extra money intended for a dowry. Oftentimes, small personal articles were added, such as combs, wooden boxes, and clothes, and in some more rare instances even jewels. In 1662, for example, Doralice Rasi, widow of a noble citizen of Arezzo, left something to all of her servants. But to Leonora di Francesco, Donna Doralice also left one of her own chests full of clothes, in addition to 7 scudi intended to augment her dowry and the usual bed, mattress, linen, food, and wine. Caterina Gramignoli, wife of Antonio Fabeni, went even further and left Santa, her servant, 15 scudi intended to constitute her dowry, along with furniture, household items, clothes, and even "a garnet necklace interspersed with gold buttons [*un vezzo di granati con bottoni d'oro*]."[31] In other cases, mistresses left older servants personal effects, furniture, and frequently a small house with a field as well as a certain amount of grain and wine per year to assure them a decent living until death. With their gifts, mistresses showed their servants affection and appreciation. They were certainly encouraged to give gifts to their servants as charitable activities by the religious fervor and increased concern for the afterlife promoted by the Tridentine reforms.[32] As

[29] Brunelle has recently supported this view with evidence from the disputes that mistresses and servants brought before the municipal council of Nantes during the 1570s; "Contractual Kin," 389. Romano has found several cases in which Venetian masters prosecuted servants but only nine cases in which servants brought charges against their masters. While in most cases, masters brought their servants to court on charges involving the breaking of contracts, servants charged their masters with beating. Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 64–73, 221–22. See also Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies*, 66.

[30] Both Brunelle and Romano have argued that the relationship between servants and masters was often the product of ambiguous dynamics embracing at the same time loyalty and disloyalty, obedience and disobedience. Brunelle, "Contractual Kin"; Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*.

[31] ASF, NM 16509, Bastiano Balsimini, February 6, 1662, fols. 33r–35r, September 15, 1662, 37r–v.

[32] According to Cohn, in Siena during the Counter-Reformation, there was a dramatic increase in women's last wills and in the amount of property they received from their husbands. He attributes this increase to the Tridentine reforms: "The culture of the Counter-Reformation changed the ways in which both men and women imagined the afterlife and lived in the present . . . In the charged atmosphere of seventeenth century spiritual fear, obsession and expectations, men . . . relied much more heavily than during the sixteenth century on the terrestrial intercession of their wives to say prayers and masses . . . [T]he wife had become . . . the spiritual smiths of the household." Cohn,

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Francesco Ricciardi wrote in his last will, he left his servant, Camilla di Bartolomeo, 20 common florins of Arezzo "propter amorem Dei [for the love of God]."[33] In 1650, Maria Forti made two bequeaths of 10 scudi each to Bernardina and Lisabetta. The former was the servant of Maria's sister and the latter the daughter of her brother's servant. Both girls were young, and hence the legacies were intended to serve as dowries.[34] Maria, who was in her second marriage and had no children, might have wanted to present herself as the benefactor of needy younger girls. But there might be another way of looking at these practices. In certain cases, there was specific legislation that regulated the donation of goods to servants. One of these laws passed in 1595 in Venice, for example, establishing that, after six months of service in the case of men and one year in the case of women, servants could keep the clothes they received from their masters "as part of their upkeep or salary."[35] Mistresses' "gifts" to their servants, then, while certainly revealing compassionate feelings of appreciation and generosity, might have also created a bounded space in which the social status of the employer was reinforced and at the same time the social inequality of the relationship between servants and mistresses was reproduced, thus indirectly and symbolically placing mistresses in a dominating position.

Through last wills, masters and mistresses exercised other forms of authority over their servants by imposing conditional clauses over "gifts" they left them. Often, employers specified that legacies to servants were contingent on their uninterrupted service in their family after their death. In 1587, for example, Porzia Vannucci, a widow, left her servant Camilla from Anghiari her upkeep if she continued to serve her heir, but if Camilla left, all she received from her mistress would have been the bed where she slept and a certain amount of wheat.[36] In 1602, Marietta Ottaviani, a widow, left Camilla di Jacopo the sum of 50 scudi if "she was still at her service" when she died.[37] Were masters and mistresses threatening their servants? Was this a way for employers to control their servants and avoid possible breaching of the stipulated terms of service? Conceivably, masters and mistresses, by bending a legal tradition that certainly never intended to bequeath a debt that was owed, attempted to discipline their servants' freedom and limit their rights. Marcel Mauss and others have clearly explained how gifts are inextricably linked to the kind of relationship that ties givers and receivers.[38] But while we know about masters' and mistresses' gifts to their servants, not much has been said on the bequests that servants left their mistresses.[39]

"Women and the Counter-Reformation in Siena," 73–74. See also Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena*. On this issue, Cavallo has suggested a more nuanced reading by placing forms of charity within the specific circumstances which produced them; *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy*.

[33] ASF, NM 4435, Angelo Lauri, fol. 13r.

[34] ASF, NM 10112, Antonio Rosgialli, April 29, 1650, fols. 17r–18v.

[35] Romano, "Regulation of Domestic Service," 674.

[36] ASF, NM 4435, Angelo Lauri, 1587, fol. 32v.

[37] ASF, NM 8986, Anton Filippo Ruberti, September 13, 1602, fols. 25r–29r.

[38] On the gift as social value, see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (London, 1990). Howell has discussed the interconnectedness between the meanings of wealth once it is exchanged and the impact of exchanged wealth in redefining social relations; *Marriage Exchange*, 137–38. See also Ago, "Donne, doni e public relations," 175–94; Kuehn, "Understanding Gender Inequalities in Renaissance Florence," 58–80.

[39] Romano mentions the practice of drafting testaments by servants but focuses mainly on the

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Can more be said, then, of these gifts that mistresses and masters and servants exchanged in their last wills? Paola's legacy to Vittoria certainly revealed the strong affection that tied her to the woman she had once possibly nursed and certainly cared for since infancy. With her legacy, Paola gave her mistress a gift, the same kind of gift that elite women left their servants. We do not know the monetary value of this gift; but, undoubtedly, by giving Vittoria her personal effects, Paola strongly desired to impress the memory of her presence in the life of her mistress. She also might have wanted to express gratitude to Vittoria, for having taken her into her home and provided security during Paola's middle age. Paola's legacy, however, while conveying gratefulness and affection, also allowed her to reposition herself alongside Vittoria, hence bridging the social inequality that was so often reconfirmed in mistresses' legacies to their servants. It can be argued, as Martha Howell has done for the women of Douai, that Paola turned her earned personal goods into commodities with which she redefined her relation with her mistress both in labor and familial terms. In this way, the servant-nurse used her belongings and the legal practice that allowed her to bequeath them to create her own professional and personal links with her mistress. This interpretation is further corroborated by how Paola exercised her prerogative to constitute her possession's legacy by imposing additional clauses on Vittoria's bequest.[40] Vittoria was the only one among the Magi sisters who was required to perform a task in exchange for Paola's gifts. It might not be a coincidence that, while the legacies to Caterina and Marta were free from any conditions, Paola required Vittoria to give two sets of sheets to the convent of the Franciscan friars.

What did Paola want to tell her mistress with this conditional clause and to what end? In many ways, the wills of domestic women conformed to those of other women and men of upper ranks. While most testators dictated conditional clauses that had an impact on future generations, women servants limited any form of control to their immediate heirs and beneficiaries. Not all the women who left wills placed restrictive conditions on their legacies. In seventeenth-century Arezzo, as was the case in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, very few upper-class women placed any form of conditional clauses on their bequests, especially if their wills are compared with those of elite women from Sansepolcro.[41] There, women not only wrote longer wills but also placed on their heirs many restrictions, which ranged from inalienability of property to instructing them on the kind of charities to select. These women even instructed their beneficiaries on how to invest their inheritance, what properties to buy, and what profit they were supposed to secure from these investments. They went so far as to threaten their beneficiaries with complete loss

instructions they left to their masters about funeral expenses. He also writes about cases of servants who left gifts to their masters, which he interprets as tokens of affection and gratitude. *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 182–87, 204.

[40] Women of the Venetian patriciate undoubtedly displayed the same strong sense of entitlement over their possessions, as shown by Chojnacki in *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice*; for Pisa, Cohn has calculated that women redacted wills as often as men, as opposed to a much smaller ratio in both Florence and Arezzo; "Last Wills," 51–55.

[41] My analysis is based on a sample of 140 last wills of elite women of Arezzo. Also, in sixteenth-century Siena, women did not place any limitations on their legacies. See Lumia, "Morire a Siena," 108.

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of their inheritance if they either failed to complete their orders to the "last detail" or mismanaged the inherited properties. Long lists of names of people and institutions were mentioned one after the other, predicting that heir after heir would not fulfill the *volontà* of the testatrix.[42] While contextual distinctions might set apart women's ability to dictate their last wills, elite men, instead, persistently and consistently restrained future generations with the intent to control the actions of their heirs and hence impose and preserve their own "will" from beyond the grave.

In light of this evidence, the case of Paola shows that a combination of class and gender might have shaped women's ability to control property and impose their will on surviving heirs.[43] In her final hours, through her testament and with her legacy, Paola sent a powerful message to Vittoria, addressing the meaning of privilege and the limits of power.[44] Specifically, Paola entered into dialogue with her mistress, the legal system, and cultural practices that actually confused the boundaries of social hierarchies or at least prompted Paola to develop new ways of thinking about herself and her relationship with her mistress. This dialogue, as it took shape in her last will, afforded Paola an outlet for voicing publicly and legally an alternative vision of the social order she inhabited. Indeed, Paola might have used her personal belongings to reverse and potentially subvert the social order that defined master-servant relationships. Through her bequest, Paola gave Vittoria more than just a gift. She exchanged with Vittoria a payment for the service of giving two pairs of sheets to the convent. Paola not only sought some form of control over the future of her possessions but also attempted, in her own way, to direct and hence exercise authority over the actions of her mistress. Notwithstanding the existence of intimate and paternalist relations between servants and their employers, Paola used the testamentary text and her possessions actively to address and fashion a new relationship with her mistress.[45] In her will, while portraying an image of herself as a domestic and affectionate servant, Paola also projected a representation of herself that established both her own professional identity as a working woman and a member of the Magi family.

But what gave women like Paola the strength and self-assurance to reverse or at

[42] To date, I have looked at 130 last wills by elite women from Sansepolcro. See Benadusi, "Equilibri di potere nelle famiglie toscane tra sei e settecento," 78–92. Cohn argues that the Counter-Reformation ideals of new Catholic devotion offered Sienese women increased possibilities to control their possessions by channeling them into charitable legacies. At this time, Sienese women began drafting wills at an unprecedented rate. "Women and the Counter-Reformation in Siena," 57–75.

[43] According to Cohn, this trend was stronger in Arezzo, Florence, and Perugia than in Pisa, Siena, and Assisi. "Last Wills."

[44] Romano has argued that in Venice, toward the end of the sixteenth century, the legislation regulating domestic service indicated a change in masters' perception of servants: "The elite came to perceive servants as arrogant, disobedient, even as evil. They spoke of the 'tyranny' of servants within households." Romano attributes this change to a growing fear among elites of lower classes as well as to changes in elites' self-perception. In particular, servants became a symbol of masters' status and hence of "their own honor and prestige." "Ironically"—Romano concludes—"it was masters who . . . placed themselves at their servants' mercy, for the honor servants could bestow, they could also jeopardize through the displays of disobedience." "Regulation of Domestic Service," 676–77. A similar trend began in Florence toward the end of the fifteenth century, when the status of servant women deteriorated as male servants became more popular. See Klapisch-Zuber, "Female Celibacy and Service in Florence," 176–77.

[45] Howell, *Marriage Exchange*, 132–38.

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least rethink the social order that defined her relationship with her mistress? This question is better answered by continuing our discussion of the heirs selected by Paola and the other two servants, Margherita and Domenica. All three servants designated their masters as heirs of their patrimony and stipulated in detail the tasks the three masters were required to perform in return for their inheritance. Antonio Pacinelli received Paola's entire patrimony of 30 scudi with the stipulation that, four years after her death, Pacinelli would give the 30 scudi to the Franciscan friars.[46] In addition, Antonio Pacinelli was expected to provide the Franciscan friars with charity for the celebration of ten masses for the salvation of Paola's soul immediately following her death and ten other masses for the salvation of the souls of other people of her heir's choosing.[47] In 1612, when Margherita drafted her last will, she pleaded with her master to give her nephew "that amount from her legacy that his conscience believed was best" and to organize an honorable ceremony for her funeral. But the most elaborate ceremony demanded of a master was Domenica's. After leaving some personal effects to her niece Jacopa and entrusting some provisions to her friend Lucia, Domenica dictated to the notary a step-by-step description of the ceremony her master and heir was to organize for her memorial service. First, she requested that her funeral be presided over by twelve priests. Then, in exchange for an unspecified inheritance, Domenica wanted her heir, Reverend Francesco Palazzeschi, to provide the usual charity so that the church of Antria, Domenica's place of birth, could ensure candles for her funeral. Moreover, she asked her master to celebrate a funeral mass for the salvation of her soul. Specifically, she wanted a mass with high ritual in the church outside the town in the reverend's parish. Still, this was not enough for Domenica, who obviously believed that her inheritance to her master was worth even more. So Reverend Palazzeschi was to pay for the celebration of thirty masses at the main altar of the Capuchin Church in Arezzo for four years after her death and was required to give the Capuchin brothers the equivalent of 10 lire in carved candles.

BY NOMINATING THEIR MASTERS as heirs and executors of their last wills, Paola, Margherita, and Domenica conformed to a common pattern among female servants, according to most historical interpretations that see in this behavior the reaffirmation of the paternalist trait of the relationship between masters and servants. But the three examples presented above challenge the traditional notion of inexperienced and helpless servants who relied on their "fatherly" masters to manage their possessions. There are, to be sure, several cases in which servants ask their masters to intercede for them as their testamentary executors after having devolved their belongings on surviving sons, daughters, and grandchildren. Maria Rambuli, a single woman and a servant in the house of the nobleman Cosimo Ricciardi from Arezzo, asked her master to act as her executor. In the name of "good sentiment, honesty, and good will," Maria asked her master to help her three

[46] In Arezzo, 1 scudo was worth 4 lire and 5 soldi.

[47] At this point, I have only found the testament that Antonio Pacinelli drafted on his deathbed. At this time, Vittoria Magi, his wife, was still alive, and so were their three daughters and two sons, all minors. ASF, NM 9407, Giovanmaria Vestitelli, September 24, 1610, fols. 7v–9v.

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heirs—her sister's son and two daughters—divide the field she entrusted them after her death.[48] Giulia di Giovanni by contrast was a widow and the servant of Cosimo di Antonio Pacinelli, Vittoria Magi's father-in-law. In 1589, Giulia, still in full health, drafted a testament in the home of her master. She named her granddaughter Benedetta universal heir of all her possessions. After Benedetta's death, the unspecified inheritance should have gone, in order, to Benedetta's sons, in their absence to her daughters, and finally to a certain Lucia di Santi.[49] The circumstances surrounding Maria and Giulia's testaments are quite different from those of Paola, Margherita, and Domenica. In fact, a number of factors set the testaments of the five servants apart. Neither Giulia nor Maria was nearing death. In addition, it was clear that Maria's inheritance consisted of property she probably received from her family: a field in Funtiano, the village where she was born. Giulia had very close kin: a granddaughter, daughter of Giulia's son. These examples, then, demand particular attention to the exact role masters played in their servants' wills. Were they testamentary executors or heirs? Were there close kin surviving the testator, and what did they inherit? Last and, I think, more important, where did the money that the three servants bestowed on their masters come from? The conventional explanation that justifies servants' motivations in making their masters testamentary executors and heirs on the basis of concepts of loyalty and gratitude needs to be rethought. Loyalty and gratitude by themselves do not fully explain the demands that Paola, Margherita, and Domenica made on their male employers.[50]

As the case of Paola's mistress suggests, the interactions that took place in these last wills reveal a more complex—and certainly a more confused—understanding of social rank, wealth, and the testamentarial process. Addressing the issue of the origin of the three servants' possessions might help clarify this confusion. In addition to the personal belongings that the three servants left to other women, Paola possessed 30 scudi, and Domenica and Margherita an unspecified amount of money. All three servants were widows. Hence their inheritance could have consisted of part of their dowry. According to the inheritance and dowry restitution laws of Arezzo, if the husband died and there were no children, the wife could keep as her inheritance one-sixth of the entire dowry.[51] But if this money constituted her dowry, why did Paola bestow her inheritance on the Franciscan friars, to be paid four years after her death? Why did Margherita rely on the "goodness" of her master rather than on the rule of law, which would have protected her nephew's rights of inheritance? And, finally, why did Domenica leave her niece, daughter of a brother, only her personal belongings? These questions suggest other ways to explain these servants' possessions: the money that comprised each of their inheritances represented all or part of delayed payments of their salaries as servants.[52]

[48] ASF, NM 16509, Bastiano Balsimini, June 14, 1677, fols. 100v–101v.

[49] ASF, NM 6806, Giovan Battista Borghetti, May 29, 1589, fols. 13r–14r.

[50] Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 182–83.

[51] Archivio di Stato, Arezzo, *Liber Statutorum Aretii* (Firenze, 1580), "De Dotis Promissione, ac Restitutione," 137–39.

[52] Others have previously suggested that masters and mistresses bequeathed wages for their servants, but they have not elaborated on the implications of such a practice for structuring their relationships. See Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Peasant Women's Contribution to the Home Economy in

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It was not unusual for masters to fail to compensate fully their servants for a lifetime of work. Such cases have been explained as the products of "long-term sexual and emotional relationships" between masters and female servants, in particular. Romano has also argued that the life of servants often became so enmeshed in the life of the family as to render compensation for their service almost unnecessary. Finally, it was not unusual for masters to lack cash and hence be unable to pay servants' salaries on a regular basis.[53] That masters and mistresses did not pay their servants regularly is apparent in last wills of both masters and servants. Unfortunately, not all servants' wills are as clear and forthright as that of Lisabetta di Agnolo, domestic servant of Paolo Catani, a priest. In her last will, written on her deathbed on April 6, 1638, Lisabetta left her niece Maria, daughter of her brother, 12 scudi of the value of 7 lire each, which her master had yet to give her "from the amount of goods and salary [he] still owed [her] after many years [of service]." Lisabetta must have been quite anxious to have this money handed over to her niece, who was not yet married and possibly needed it for her dowry. First, she urged her master to advise his heirs to carry through on their commitment to pay the debt. Then, Lisabetta asked her master to fulfill his obligations and provide her with a decent burial "of his liking" and the celebration of thirty funeral masses for the salvation of her soul within two months after her death. Finally, Lisabetta freed her master and his family from any debt he still had with her "for all the time she has served [Catani]."[54] Lisabetta's public denunciation of her master's creditor status toward her is quite unusual in a servant's will. But masters and mistresses reconfirm in their wills the all-too-common practice of leaving servants' salaries unpaid.

There were two different sorts of legacies to servants: when the masters, but mostly mistresses, recognized their servants' creditor status, and when instead they remained silent as to the origin of their bequests. In 1662, Doralice Rasi, widow of the nobleman Aleotti, left Leonora, her servant, a substantial number of personal goods as well as 7 scudi for her dowry. Doralice, however, acknowledging her servant's creditor status, emphasized that the legacy to Leonora was *not* intended as payment of the debt her family had incurred to Leonora for her service.[55] In several other cases, masters and mistresses clearly do acknowledge debt payments to their servants. In 1594, the priest Giovanni Buoni left Jacopa, his servant, 25 scudi in addition to her clothes and "other objects" she was already using.[56] The list of masters and mistresses leaving their servants 25, 50, in one case even 100 scudi is fairly long. Giovanni Cagliani and Giulia Catani, among others, did not hesitate to spell out the significance of their legacies to their servants: the 25 and 100 scudi

Late Medieval England," in *Women and Work*, 6; Lumia mentions the case of a servant woman who, in her last will, indicated that her possessions were the fruit of her labor; "Morire a Siena," 235.

[53] According to Romano, servants loaned money to masters when these were short of cash. In other cases, however, servants asked masters to keep their salaries in a safe place. Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 146–47. See also Klapisch-Zuber, "Women Servants in Florence," 71–72. For France, Brunelle reconfirmed the lack of written contracts for domestic servants already noticed by studies on French domestic service; "Contractual Kin," 377.

[54] ASF, NM 10810, Camillo Marsuppini, April 6, 1638, fols. 97r–v.

[55] ASF, NM 16509, Bastiano Balsimini, February 6, 1662, fol. 33v.

[56] ASF, NM 6806, Giovan Battista Borghetti, April 28, 1594, fols. 52r–56r.

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that they respectively left Dianora and Lisabetta, their servants, represented the debt payment for their unpaid "salario et mercede [wage and reward]."[57] Camilla Gavilli instead specified that her servant Leonarda had accrued a credit for her service in her home that amounted "at present to 18 scudi of the value of 7 lire each, and she [the servant] will receive the mentioned scudi right after her [Camilla's] death."[58] Why did they all leave their servants the sum of 25 scudi or its multiple and why only if they were still working for them after their death? The consistency in amount and their recurrence clearly indicates that these legacies constituted the wages that masters might have owed their servants for the duration of a contract that could last between six and ten years.[59] But in law, can one bequeath what one owes? Why would masters and mistresses state the balance due their servants in their last wills and leave their heirs in charge of settling their debts? What assurance did servants have that the heirs would actually pay them? Certainly, Lisabetta di Agnolo, the servant mentioned above, showed some diffidence when she recommended her master urge his heirs to carry through on their commitment to pay their debt.

The second group of testators that made legacies to their servants did not state the origin of the gifts but often specified that the amount of money would have served to pay for the servant's dowry. Without denying true feelings of affection and the display of Christian generosity on the part of mistresses and masters toward their servants, it seems to me that the gifts that they left servants concealed an ambivalent strain. In fifteenth-century Florence, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber argues, masters went so far as to invest themselves with the responsibility of a "true father" and as such looked after the virtue and the best interest of their young servants. For this reason, masters withheld part of the wages earned by these girls, and by the time servant girls were ready for marriage they provided them with a dowry.[60] Legacies of masters to their servants, then, should be read with cautiousness and their paternal generosity with a certain skepticism, especially in those cases when servants were young girls and when the bequest was intended as a dowry. Was this amount of money a gift or money that the master owed the servant? Was the legacy a sign of compassion and generosity on the part of the master, or did it instead help the master retain control over servants, in particular young girls, and fashion an image of himself as benevolent "pater"?[61] Overall, mistresses' and masters' gifts to their servants conveyed more than just affection. Just as feelings of loyalty and gratitude do not fully explain the gifts of servants to their employers, so generosity does not entirely sustain the legacies of masters to servants. Instead, as commodities, these gifts spoke about the relationships between servants and masters in a subtle, complex way and engaged testatrices and testators in a dialogue about the gender and social order that defined relations of domination and subjugation.

[57] ASF, NM 8986, Anton Filippo Ruberti, November 24, 1614, fols. 98r–99r; NM 4437, Angelo Lauri, March 20, 1613, fols. 9r–10r.

[58] ASF, NM 10110, Antonio Rosgialli, November 20, 1614, fols. 38r–41v.

[59] Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 135–38; Brunelle, "Contractual Kin."

[60] Klapisch-Zuber, "Female Celibacy and Service in Florence," 174.

[61] Both Romano and Brunelle argue that mistresses gained control over their servants by withholding the dowries they owed them: Brunelle, "Contractual Kin," 381; Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 136–38.

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In light of this evidence, then, Paola, Margherita, and Domenica's decision to nominate their masters heirs of their "possessions" becomes all the more significant. The legacies forced their masters to acknowledge publicly and legally the unrecognized value of their service, the power of their creditor status, and the honor of their profession as working women. It is possible to argue that these widows selected their masters as their heirs because the bulk of their inheritance consisted of salaries never received and, in effect, involuntarily "loaned" to their masters. Unquestionably, servants' last wills released their masters from indebtedness and from any obligations to their servants. There is no doubt that in their wills servants pleaded with their masters to give some of this money to relatives. What else could these women do? What other power did they have? The opportunity afforded masters, or anyone else, to contest a testament has been clearly explained by Thomas Kuehn in his work on repudiation.[62] Masters could easily repudiate the inheritance left by their servants. As it was not worth much, it was all the easier to do. Thus the most effective way Paola, Margherita, and Domenica had to compel their masters to return what was morally if not legally theirs was to appeal to their masters' and mistresses' religious fervor, especially at the moment when their soul was in balance. In a subtle form of moral persuasion, servants asked their masters and mistresses to interfere on their behalf for the salvation of their souls and fulfill pious and charitable bequests to churches and religious institutions.[63] In this way, the three servants' legacies had the potential of undermining not just their masters' honor but also their opportunity for salvation. The three domestic women thus placed their masters in the uncomfortable position of possibly facing public shame and certainly jeopardizing their own salvation if they did not uphold those wishes.[64] It was through their last wills, with the support of the law and possibly the collaboration of their notary, that such servants gained the strength and self-assurance to require mistresses and masters to perform a service in their names. It is also clear that the three servants were not initiating a tradition on their own but were following in the footsteps of their employers and likewise incorporating their own domestic and working experiences into the legal process. By safeguarding and

[62] Thomas Kuehn, "Law, Death, and Heirs in the Renaissance: Repudiation of Inheritance in Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 3 (1992): 484–516. Angelina Arru has discussed the case of a nineteenth-century Roman servant who took her master's heirs to court on charges that they had not fulfilled her master's legacy to her; "Uomini e donne nel mercato del lavoro servile," 247–51.

[63] Traditionally, research has merged in a single interpretation the pious bequests by testators from upper and lower classes. Since focus has been placed on reading testaments during time of plague and other natural catastrophes, these legacies have been interpreted as part of changes in the religious and pious behavior of testators. Pastore, "Testamenti in tempo di peste," 291–95.

[64] It has been argued that dishonor can only occur between social equals. This view of honor is closely linked to the individual but often also to the family and hence related to issues concerning sexuality, chivalry, and property. See John G. Péristiany, ed., *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (Chicago, 1966); David D. Gilmore, ed., *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (Washington, D.C., 1987); Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago, 1994); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, Calif., 1999); Donald Weinstein, *The Captain's Concubine: Love, Honor, and Violence in Renaissance Tuscany* (Baltimore, 2000). Ariela J. Gross has suggested a different understanding of honor linked to work and labor relationships between masters and servants. In her view, dishonor is deeply linked to social inequality. See *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

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demanding their unpaid wages, even if only symbolically, servants publicly proclaimed their identity as working women.[65]

THROUGH LEGAL MEASURES IN THESE LAST WILLS, servant women challenged and redefined the social order that regulated their relationships with mistresses and masters. In their wills and through their legacies, at least some servant women saw themselves first and foremost as working women—wage earners who negotiated reciprocal obligations with their employers. By asserting control over their "potential" possessions, women like Paola, Domenica, and Margherita thus initiated a dialogue with their employers and with the law. This dialogue afforded them partial success without having to face the long and exhausting legal conflicts that required access to magistrates and court procedures, which most servants could not afford. It is also likely that such servants did not want to enter into any kind of litigation that would have placed them in a direct confrontation over unpaid salaries. On the whole, sentiments of gratitude and benevolent paternalism made such legal disputes unlikely. Moreover, the familiarity with notaries and the domestic character of the testamentarial procedure certainly contributed to making testaments accessible legal instruments to servant women. The servant women of Arezzo worked for lesser elite families, professional and mercantile ranks, many of which numbered notaries among their members. Surely, notaries came into their masters' homes as friends and kin in addition to fulfilling professional tasks.[66]

Foreseeing their deaths, some domestic servants found and pursued the opportunity to step out into the public realm, to talk publicly, to be heard and seen beyond the confines of prescribed social and gender conventions. Testaments afforded servant women the possibility of contesting the limitations and reconstructing the opportunities that at once defined and conditioned their domestic position as well as their professional identity and labor relations with their masters and mistresses. In the hands of women servants such as Paola, Margherita, and Domenica, testaments became the space where they redressed perceived injustice and left to memory their identity as working women. The stories of these three servants challenge the assumption that testaments were deeply intertwined and naturally rooted in the normative hierarchies around which elites sought familial consolidation. They also raise questions concerning the notion that inheritance practices operated solely within the self-preserving values of elite families. Instead, servant women's testaments reveal the existence of a written tradition established by women of the lower classes that portrays them as historical subjects who helped shape the language that defined wealth and that they then used to appropriate notarial practices otherwise seen as outside the domain of working women. The legacies of three servants of Arezzo have shown that, although all testaments shared the common legal objective of recording the transmission and preservation of property and goods, not all were rooted in the same legal and familial logic of

[65] Brunelle emphatically argues that in sixteenth-century Nantes servants "seem to have been inclined to view themselves as autonomous wage earners"; "Contractual Kin," 388.

[66] We do not know the profession of Antonio Pacinelli, but we know that his father, Sir Cosimo Pacinelli, was a notary; ASF, NM 6806, Giovan Battista Borghetti, May 29, 1589, fol. 13r.

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upper-class families, nor was this logic universally accepted as the unavoidable product of testamentary procedures. Instead, the legacies of women servants uncover multiple layers of notarial practices, definitions of heirs and wealth, and interpretations of testaments. In particular, women envisioned testamentary practices as the arena in which they redefined their relationships with their masters and mistresses, through which they altered and gendered the rules of admission into the public space.

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AHR Forum
Rethinking Agency, Recovering Voices

CORNELIA HUGHES DAYTON

HAS IT BECOME FASHIONABLE TO ESCHEW THE WORD AGENCY? Both Caroline Castiglione and Giovanna Benadusi, without using the word, employ techniques from social history and microhistory to uncover agency in two groups that have been cast as among the dispossessed peoples of early modern Europe. And indeed, the authors establish that neither group was dispossessed of cultural tools with which to shape important life outcomes. Villagers near Rome, though largely uneducated, were savvy legal and successful political actors who contested seigneurial rule. Women who had served many years as nurses and maid-companions in elite Tuscan families might through will-writing obligate their masters and mistresses to perpetuate their servants' names and memories through commemorative masses and charitable gifts. What binds these two essays are themes of power relations subverted, literacy appropriated, and (in claims briefly made) "counter-hegemonic" messages deployed.

I suggest the concept of agency as one possible way in which to frame this *Forum* discussion because it is more open ended—it puts us in less of a box—than counter-hegemony. Readers may find that agency rather than counter-hegemony is applicable in the analyses of Castiglione and Benadusi because in neither case did the subordinate subjects challenge the system of rule in systematic or revolutionary ways.[1] But whatever terminology is most informative, clearly both authors wish to focus our attention on two sorts of processes: how power relations were negotiated in specific early modern settings, and how particular documents allow scholars to recover the voices of the less powerful.

Using rare, surviving *consiglio* records from five villages in the *stato* of Monte Libretti for the 1640s–1680s and 1730s–1760s, Castiglione demonstrates that villagers were assertive in interpreting their rights (to hunting, fishing, etc.) as enshrined in the village constitution (*statuto*). They retained urban lawyers to pursue decades-long lawsuits in the papal courts in Rome to protect their

The author is immensely grateful for substantive and bibliographical advice from James S. Amelang, Richard D. Brown, John A. Davis, Jonathan Dewald, Kenneth Gouwens, Sherri Olson, and Susan Porter Benson.

[1] For those who have come to see the term "agency" as too simplistic, vague, or overly sunny, James C. Scott's analytical terms "weapons of the weak" and "hidden transcripts" provide alluring alternatives: *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn., 1985); and *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990). Evidently, this is the tack chosen by Benadusi and Castiglione; the latter cites Scott but omits a fuller discussion of the theoretical underpinnings of her analysis.

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conception of villagers' rights against the lordship. By the 1750s, the ruling family, the Barberini, felt compelled to overlook occasional insults tossed their way and to become adept at bargaining with rather than dictating to villagers. Thus elites were forced to "concede . . . that the villagers were an important political force in the countryside" and indeed could be more of a threat to the lordship than the papal bureaucrats whom historians have often cast as encroaching on the power of ruling noble families. Castiglione coins the phrase "adversarial literacy," defining it as "a political reading and writing."[2] She finds this more useful than Steven Justice's rural, "insurgent" or "assertive" literacy used by English villagers in 1381 to destroy selective documents that failed to advance their rights. And it exceeds Michael Clanchy's term "practical literacy," which involves reading only.[3] In Monte Libretti, a few villagers could read, and a few key figures, like the shoemaker Iezzone, could write. Thus they could generate their own documents, notably collections of testimonies, that threatened a new lawsuit or fueled ongoing litigation. Throughout the period, Castiglione believes that villagers "ignored" "the hegemonic message . . . that their subjugation [to the Barberini] was divinely ordained," and increasingly made creative adaptations in their use of adversarial literacy, notably by insisting on new readings of the *statuto*, including one inflected with the strain of Catholicism that stressed the rich's obligation to protect, not exploit, the poor.[4]

Deploying a more coded script than Castiglione's villagers, Benadusi's early eighteenth-century will-writers managed to put their socially superior employers in an unusual spot. Not a representative sample of servant testators, the three women were widowed, and had probably served as long-time nurses, governesses, and companions to the women of the household. Paola, Margherita, and Domenica were chosen for special scrutiny by Benadusi because they had few kin and atypically named their masters as their heirs and imposed obligations on these Aretine patricians. The author argues that the three women articulated a counter-hegemonic language—a language that echoed in some ways the culture's dominant testamentary practices but that also contained critical and subversive possibilities. The crux of the argument as I see it is that, to take the best-documented case, Paola put her master in the position of undermining his own honor if he repudiated her bequest to him, in essence refusing to repay her wages by obeying her directions for the monies' mostly charitable distribution. In so cannily framing their wills, Paola and her counterparts were, to Benadusi, contesting the constraints of their position

[2] Caroline Castiglione, "Adversarial Literacy: How Peasant Politics Influenced Noble Governing of the Roman Countryside during the Early Modern Period," *AHR* 109 (June 2004): 785.

[3] But Justice's full discussion of insurgent literacy (in chap. 1), besides "revealing the range of purpose that motivated the rebels' destruction of documents," also recognizes that "there were documents that the rebels wanted to see created" and preserved, such as certain ancient charters of liberty. Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 45, 47; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

[4] Castiglione, "Adversarial Literacy," 803. Castiglione offers more detail on the mechanics of village governance in "Political Culture in Italian Villages," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2001): 523–52. In the different political setting of Burgundy, Hilton Root finds that mid-eighteenth-century villagers moved from litigating over specific rights to challenging the foundations of seigneurial authority; his influential article, "Challenging the Seigneurie: Community and Contention on the Eve of the Revolution," *Journal of Modern History* 57 (1985): 652–81, appears in revised form as chap. 5 of *Peasants and King in Burgundy: Agrarian Foundations of French Absolutism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 155–204.

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(living for years without access to their wages), redressing injustice, and making public the dignity and instrumentality of servant women. Further, the women's actions challenge what Benadusi believes is a blinkered scholarly view that early modern Italian testaments speak only to the lineal strategies of elites and that servant wills express the workers' cooptation into the paternalism of elite households. Rather than being reliant on a dowry for a modicum of earthly security, these women, in Benadusi's eyes, converted their wage-earning capacity into posthumous scenarios in which master and mistress became the serving woman's trustees and obedient agents and in which the honest servant entered the public sphere as pious benefactress.

Benadusi's thesis hinges on a supposition—that the testators' wealth consisted of unpaid wages. Both she and Dennis Romano have found multiple instances of Tuscan and Venetian patricians who were unable to or who failed to pay servants until the death of the master or mistress.[5] Clearly, Benadusi's examples dislodge assumptions that servants were "inexperienced and helpless" in managing their own possessions and that servant loyalty and gratitude are the sole explanations for servants choosing masters as executors or heirs. But was Paola, for example, using the liminal moment of her deathbed will-writing to forge a "new relationship with her mistress" and, in so doing, "develop[ing] new ways of thinking about herself"?[6] Some readers will wonder if these three examples of servants' wills, given the absence of documentary evidence on the nature of the particular household relationships, might bespeak an ongoing sort of partnership between servant and employer, generated by a shared religious commitment to charitable works. What Benadusi's informed speculation on the significance of these wills calls for is an imaginative reconstruction of the power relations of the households in question in the years *preceding* the will-writing.[7]

The two *Forum* articles scrutinize different sorts of documents and thereby focus on quite different types of voices. In Castiglione's article, we hear a collective voice

[5] Dennis Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft: Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice, 1400–1600* (Baltimore, 1996), 145–49. Romano finds that sometimes servants requested that masters safeguard their earnings in the family strongbox (147); Benadusi fails to acknowledge that this scenario might apply to Paola, Margherita, or Domenica. For a widespread pattern of delayed payments to workers, see Renata Ago, "Enforcing Agreements: Notaries and Courts in Early Modern Rome," *Continuity and Change* 14 (1999): 193–94.

[6] Giovanna Benadusi, "Investing the Riches of the Poor: Servant Women and Their Last Wills," *AHR* 109 (June 2004): 820, 819. To my mind, Erik R. Seeman provides more persuasive evidence of inversions of authority relations in his examination of deathbed consultations between female parishioners and their Protestant ministers; "'She Died Like Good Old Jacob': Deathbed Scenes and Inversions of Power in New England, 1675–1775," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 104 (1994): 285–314. See also Seeman, "Regarding Indians' Deathbed Scenes: Ethnohistorical and Representational Approaches," *Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 17–47. For a parallel discussion of confessors and Catholic saintly women, see Jodi Bilinkoff, "Confessors, Penitents, and the Construction of Identities in Early Modern Avila," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), 83–100.

[7] Just how unusual these three women were in terms of the servant population is suggested by Monica Chojnacka's analysis of surviving parish censuses from late sixteenth-century Venice, which reveals that only 3 percent of widows were live-in servants and only 0.2 percent of female servants were widowed. "Women, Men, and Residential Patterns in Early Modern Venice," *Journal of Family History* 25 (2000): 15, 19. For a recent exploration of maidservants and the politics of the household, see Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (New York, 2003), 127–84.

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expressing the village's political and legal will, arrived at by consensus among the enfranchised male residents. Little internal factionalism can be discerned; no competing voices emerge in the local records, although some internal political tensions can be inferred. Benadusi, having challenged herself to extract as much meaning as possible from documents that are only a half-page long, works to excavate the voices of the three testators, each tied to particular life histories whose lineaments are but dimly known. In neither case are the recovered voices literal speech acts; rather, they are collaboratively authored and structured by the conventions of writing to function as political strategies.[8] Both pieces give us the chance to explore certain interpretive and methodological issues in the context of recent scholarship on Western Europe and the Americas. Among many possible approaches, I have chosen to advance three rubrics. These will allow us to think about the relationship of written documents to human agency, of power to space, and of political strategies to early modern selves.

AS AN ACT, TESTIFYING epitomizes the interaction of oral and literate practices that scholars insist characterized early modern European culture.[9] Of course, we most often associate testifying with the courtroom. But while neither Castiglione nor Benadusi focuses on courtroom testimony per se, each describes a form of testifying, in that both the villagers of Monte Libretti and the servants in some Aretine households took the deliberate step of turning their oral declarations into written documents that had legal power. The essays raise interesting questions about the range of literate practices familiar to non-elites, the collaborations that produced these documents, the public nature of manuscript writings, and the relationship between violence and writing.

If adversarial literacy turns out to have staying power as a distinctive phrase and useful concept, it will need to be more clearly defined and set in the context of the range of reading and writing practices pursued by non-elite groups. When Peter Burke broached "the uses of literacy" in early modern Italy in a brief 1987 essay, he surveyed the printed forms and written documents that increasingly circulated in the domains of elite families, mercantile business, the church, and the state. Some of his examples involved written documents handed to presumably illiterate peasants and artisans for a specific use (communion tickets, health passes); only a few involved documents generated by non-elites, such as occasional *cartelli*—humorous, pithy political jibes inscribed on placards—or papers and objects inscribed with words (or ABCs) in the form of a triangle or cross, which functioned as protective amulets.[10] Benadusi's and Castiglione's essays can inspire scholars to pursue the potential range of life-course junctures when urban servants or rural

[8] On early modern documents that do reproduce idiomatic speech patterns, see Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (New York, 1987), 79–80. For an astute assessment of how the medieval English court roll can reveal "a village voice" at several levels, if rarely the "vernacular phrasing" of peasants, see Sherri Olson, *A Chronicle of All That Happens: Voices from the Village Court in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1996), 6–27.

[9] John Jeffries Martin, "Religion, Renewal, and Reform in the Sixteenth Century," in John A. Marino, ed., *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796* (New York, 2002), 40.

[10] Burke, *Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 110–31, esp. 124, 126, 127, 122.

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villagers, largely unschooled nonwriters, were the recipients or producers of things-written-down. What texts besides the village constitution were discussed, read aloud, and reinterpreted by Italian villagers? Did the renewed piety and charitable impulses of the era affect female servants' perception of the power of the written word beyond the desire to record bequests in a will? When groups culturally cast *not* as holders of the pen did make use of writing, was it nearly always in an adversarial stance to the ruling orders?[11]

The roles played by the notary and the lawyers in shaping the documents under study need further examination in Castiglione's and Benadusi's analyses. Laurie Nussdorfer has articulated perfectly the task of the scribe in such situations: it was to circulate "the spoken word back to his clients in the form of writing that had a special legal status."[12] Castiglione portrays the shoemaker Iezzone in the village of Monte Flavio as the catalyst and scribe behind key 1750 testimonies gathered for a lawsuit. But if the village retained a lawyer or lawyers in Rome to pursue this decade-long suit, and if key *consiglio* members at times made the trip to Rome, carting the *statuto* and presumably visiting their lawyers, should we not inquire at least speculatively about the extent to which lawyers advised on the best strategies and wording to pursue? Furthermore, did villagers in the *stato*, or in other areas adjacent to Rome, pass at times through each other's villages and exchange information about legal strategies? Did they consult the same cluster of Roman lawyers, thus producing lawyers with expertise that might lead to innovations in strategy? This would not be surprising, given that Hilton Root found that, in prerevolutionary France, "the lawyers who defended peasant communities ... developed new ways of viewing seigneurial rights and acquired the vocabulary necessary to discuss more effectively the grievances of their persistent clients in the countryside."[13]

The wills analyzed by Benadusi survive because they were all written by the same notary, Ser Anton Filippo Ruberti. Although Benadusi makes every effort to recover all available biographical information about her three women will-writers, she does not tell us anything further about Ruberti, the man who circulated among the households in which Paola, Margherita, and Domenica lived.[14] If these wills are to open up a window onto social relations in early eighteenth-century Arezzo, it would be helpful to know who Ruberti was and whether his surviving cartulary (or

[11] For an enlightening application of the "uses of literacy" to a Protestant society where lay levels of reading were very high and where the high/low cultural divide was not acute, see David D. Hall, "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600–1850," in *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book* (Amherst, Mass., 1996), 36–78; and Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York, 1989), 21–70.

[12] Laurie Nussdorfer, "Writing and the Power of Speech: Notaries and Artisans in Baroque Rome," in Diefendorf and Hesse, *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe*, 110.

[13] Root, *Peasants and King in Burgundy*, 157, 183–93. For the case of the Roman countryside, it would be illuminating to know what type of lawyer the villagers sought out (procurators, advocates) and what the lawyers did for their rural clients. In sum, what did it mean to retain a lawyer? For a window onto a rare cache of letters between clients and lawyers, illuminating ways in which the documents that ended up in court were negotiated, see Joanne Bailey, "Voices in Court: Lawyers' or Litigants'?" *Historical Research* 74 (November 2001): 392–408.

[14] For an explanation of the titles accorded to notaries and lawyers, see Lauro Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1968), 29–30.

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copybook) allows one to reconstruct his work and clients.[15] If Benadusi had offered transcriptions of one or more of the three short wills, we would be able to judge if even more can be squeezed out of such taciturn documents.[16] For example, imagining the dialogue between the notary Ruberti and the deathly ill testator, and knowing the exact phrasing of these three wills and others drafted by Ruberti, would help us to guess at the degree to which the notary suggested the wording of each clause or drew from will formularies. Patterns of formulaic language tend to emerge most clearly in the religious preambles to Christian wills, which historians have analyzed to good effect more to discern scribal practices than testators' religious convictions. Since wills under Roman civil law required seven witnesses, one wonders about the possibility of recreating who was in the room (by status, occupation, residence). If wills written in 1710 are to testify to us three centuries later, we need to look closely at all their parts, not just their directions for property transmission.[17]

One feature shared by the servant wills and the villagers' legal claims is that they remained in manuscript.[18] Crossing the threshold into print, of course, was hardly the sole marker distinguishing private from public documents in the early modern period. Most legal and state documents were rendered in handwriting, even though the use of printed forms was on the rise. And in learned circles, letters from far-distant correspondents, poems, and essays often circulated in manuscript.[19] Yet the question arises: to what extent did the instrumental documents discussed by Benadusi and Castiglione, along with their villager and servant authors, enter the public sphere? Because we equate legal fora and the general sphere of politics with "the public," it is reflexive to assign to the public sphere the claims and counterclaims produced by Monte Libretti villagers that wound up in the papal courts of Rome. The situation is less clear with female servants' wills. As notarized documents, they joined the public record, but to what extent did the terms of such

[15] See the analysis of "notaries at work" in Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, Pa., 1998), 28–33, 45–49; and Shona Kelly Wray, "*Speculum et Exemplar*: The Notaries of Bologna during the Black Death," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 81 (2001): 207–24.

[16] Here, I am echoing Steven Justice's assumption "that taciturn records can be squeezed until they talk" (*Writing and Rebellion*, 9). Helpfully, transcripts of wills or will formularies are appended to many of the essays in Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall, eds., *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Salt Lake City, 1998).

[17] For analyses of preamble, examples for England include Margaret Spufford, "The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and Their Influence," *Local Population Studies* 7 (1971): 28–43; and J. D. Alsop, "Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989): 19–27; for Spain, Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge, 1995), 34–43, 62–86; for New Spain, Kellogg and Restall, *Dead Giveaways*, esp. the essays by Sarah Cline and Kevin Terraciano. For Italy, the best analysis for what wills reveal beyond bequests is Wray, "*Speculum et Exemplar*: The Notaries of Bologna," and her forthcoming monograph, *Communities and Crisis: Bologna during the Black Death*.

[18] In 1645, the villagers of Nerola considered getting their *statuto* printed, but it may never have happened (Castiglione, "Political Culture in Italian Villages," 535).

[19] For printed forms, see Burke, *Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 130–31. For the circulation of poems and other literary efforts among a circle of educated, unmarried Quaker women in Philadelphia, see Karin A. Wulf, " 'My Dear Liberty': Quaker Spinsterhood and Female Autonomy in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," in Larry D. Eldredge, ed., *Women and Freedom in Early America* (New York, 1997), 83–108; and Susan M. Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004).

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wills become widely known, and among whom? In 1696, an English clergyman, William Assheton, advised the "plain working people" of his parish to "Remember, your will stands upon record for public perusal and therefore to be idle and extravagant in this last act of your life is to be hissed off the stage and to proclaim your folly to all succeeding ages." Assheton's use of male pronouns in succeeding sentences suggests that he spoke with the male family and household head in mind. It is not clear if, in the context of Kentish villages, the rector believed that women's wills were as significant or as public. In a Tuscan town of several thousand inhabitants, would the terms of a widowed nurse's will circulate much beyond her employer's household? Historian Sarah Cline assumes notaries knew that "many eyes would see an elite individual's will, and few that of a low-born person," so that they probably took more pains with wording when the testator was wealthy or prominent.[20]

Benadusi would like to think that Paola and other servant testators "step[ped] out into the public realm" by writing a will;[21] but since scholars define the early modern Italian public sphere as encompassing print, universities, urban academics, salons, and café society, it is probably wiser to recast the issue. To what extent did Paola use her will to perpetuate a memory of herself among particular communities of the living? Her concept of having a public is signaled not so much by her bequests of personal items to the three Magi girls, now adult, whom she had nursed, but more compellingly in her command (repeated by other testators of high and low rank) that ten masses be performed for her soul and an additional number be performed in her name on behalf of others. As Samuel K. Cohn puts it, with such masses "the memory of the testator did not end with death, but would be carried on in the earthly as well as the spiritual sphere." Benadusi thinks that Paola *et al.* were trumpeting their identities as working women. To confirm this, to ascertain what churchgoers would hear, we need to know what information beyond the benefactress's name was recited at the mass or written down in parish records. Clearly, such a testator was perpetuating her own name beyond death as a charitable and good Catholic: but what other markers of the one-to-be-remembered, such as natal town, parentage, spouse and children, or occupation, were made manifest to worshipers?[22]

The argument in each of these essays rests on a "not X but Y" formula wherein X, the mode of protest or self-assertion avoided, is more violent than the mode of writing chosen. For Castiglione, villagers in the Roman countryside used litigation not violent rebellion to contain the ruling family's demands; for Benadusi, servants used posthumous bequests rather than lawsuits pursued in life to enforce employ-

[20] William Assheton, *A Theological Discourse of Last Wills and Testaments* (London, 1696), quoted in R. C. Richardson, "Wills and Will-Makers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Some Lancashire Evidence," *Local Population Studies* 9 (1972): 38; Sarah Cline, "Fray Alonso de Molina's Model Testament and Antecedents to Indigenous Wills in Spanish America," in Kellogg and Restall, *Dead Giveaways*, 25.

[21] Benadusi, "Investing the Riches of the Poor," 807.

[22] Brendan Dooley, "The Public Sphere and the Organization of Knowledge," in Marino, *Early Modern Italy*, 209–28; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death* (Baltimore, 1992), 206, 243. For the frequency of commemorative masses and indulgences mentioned in a larger sample of servants' wills, see Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 172–83. See Sharon T. Strocchia, "Remembering the Family: Women, Kin, and Commemorative Masses in Renaissance Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 635–54, for a fuller discussion of the various types of commemorative masses and their degrees of publicness.

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ers' obligations. Each of these formulations deserves comment. In the case of servant-master relations, we need to know more about servants' access to lawyers and courts and actual patterns of servant-initiated litigation. Dennis Romano in examining Venetian records from the late sixteenth century found that only three of 416 civil disputes between masters and servants were brought by servants. All of these (and five in the following decade) were brought successfully by female servants suing non-noble employers over charges of beating. If the matter in dispute was wages and provable physical abuse was absent, it appears that in central and northern Italian cities it was either impracticable or not culturally permissible for servants to bring suit. In contrast, as Benadusi notes, in sixteenth-century Nantes, a decade-long run of aldermen's records reveals female servants actively using a temporarily available, more accessible forum to challenge their mistresses over wages and working conditions.[23] Thus Benadusi has highlighted a useful set of questions. What was it about early eighteenth-century Tuscan society and culture that led some long-serving, seemingly loyal, pious nurse-widows to use will-writing as a way to resolve the unpaid wage problem? Do records exist that confirm that urban servants—unlike the villagers of Monte Libretti, armed with their *statuto*—never utilized lawyers and courts? And how did servants who served shorter terms, as younger, single and married women, resolve wage disputes?

In demonstrating that Italian peasants had politics, Castiglione joins the large cluster of scholars who have insisted that violent rebellions are scarcely the only marker of political consciousness on the part of rural dwellers in medieval and early modern Europe. As Jonathan Dewald and Liana Vardi write in their survey of the scholarship on the French countryside, "clearly villagers [from the sixteenth century on] were more familiar with legal remedies to their problems than many historians have supposed. They benefited . . . from the proliferation of impoverished lawyers" and thus could sometimes get legal representation "at bargain prices."[24] Historical geographer John Langton, in creating a flow chart to sum up a volume of state-of-the-field essays on European peasantries, notes that all the authors emphasize the "two-way relationships between" the ruling elites and the lower sorts.[25]

Gadi Algazi's essay on the *Weisung* tradition in late medieval, western German

[23] Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 63, 221–22; Gayle K. Brunelle, "Contractual Kin: Servants and Their Mistresses in Sixteenth-Century Nantes," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2 (1998): 374–94. For an analysis of 261 complaints filed by or on behalf of servants in Maryland, 1652–1797, see Christine Daniels, " 'Liberty to Complaine': Servant Petitions in Maryland, 1652–1797," in Christopher L. Tomlins and Bruce H. Mann, eds., *The Many Legalities of Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), 219–49.

[24] Jonathan Dewald and Liana Vardi, "The Peasantries of France, 1400–1789," in Tom Scott, ed., *The Peasantries of Europe from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1998), 42–43; Dewald, *Pont-St-Pierre, 1398–1789: Lordship, Community, and Capitalism in Early Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 148–52, 258–63. See also the seminal article by R. B. Goheen, "Peasant Politics? Village Community and the Crown in Fifteenth-Century England," *AHR* 96 (February 1991): 42–62, esp. his concluding thoughts on how a Cartesian emphasis on theorizing action, an "intellectualist dogma of the mind," may explain why scholars for so long reflexively believed that "peasants were incapable of political thought" and avoided focusing on the key issue "of agency" (61–62).

[25] John Langton, "Conclusion: The Historical Geography of European Peasantries, 1400–1500," in Scott, *Peasantries of Europe*, 376–78. Even more emphatically, David Gentilcore writes that for early modern Italians "from all walks of life" "negotiation was the order of the day." Gentilcore, "The Ethnography of Everyday Life," in Marino, *Early Modern Italy*, 192.

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villages makes a particularly effective companion piece to Castiglione's work. Because lawyers and litigation were not part of the mix, we can call the dynamic at work here "negotiation rather than rebellion." The *Weisung* was an annual assembly at which the lord arrived in the village and, in ceremonial fashion, posed questions to the sworn representatives ("jurors") of the community. The purpose was to elicit a formal question-and-answer period that allowed the articulation of the lord's and peasants' mutual obligations, claims, rights, and rules of governance, filtered through the semi-fiction that the jurors were citing the villagers' consensual reconstruction of precedent and remembered practice. The ritual ended with a feast, including "testimonial wine," which was believed to bind the drinker "to retain things said and done." The proceedings were written down by the lord's scribe. Although the ritual accorded peasants a certain amount of agency—and avenues of resistance—in "telling the law," Algazi is acutely aware that these were "dialogues between unequals." He points to the differential silences that the structured Q&A produced, given that "the distribution of legitimate speech was controlled quantitatively and qualitatively by the lord." And finally, although the *Weisung* was "an important constraint on the lords' freedom," "for subject peasants . . . [it] was both a resource and a burden, since . . . they were taking part in the legitimation of their own subjection by publicly recognizing their manifold obligations." Algazi finds it no wonder that few German peasants protested when the ritual withered away.[26] While the late medieval *Weisung* bears certain similarities with the negotiations between lord and villagers described by Castiglione for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, what had changed was the option of litigation. Across Europe in the early modern period, not only did more sets of triangulated power relations emerge (village peasants–papal courts–ruling lord, villagers–local priests–landlords), but, as Castiglione shows in both of her articles, recourse to the courts could force lords into negotiated agreements over hunting and fishing rights or into adopting new forms of address and appeal to their social inferiors—peasants who now could afford to give up traditional patterns of deference.[27]

I have focused a considerable part of this essay on the testifying thread because issues of literacy, access to writing, and subalterns' familiarity with legal procedures link the *Forum* articles. We have pursued the extent to which the words chosen by our subjects, once they had decided to sue their lord or write a will, may have been shaped by brokers such as notaries and lawyers and by cultural formulas or scripts. We have stretched our perspective so as to glimpse how villagers' and servants' agency was embedded in collaborative practices. Now we turn to the meaning of

[26] Gadi Algazi, "Lords Ask, Peasants Answer: Making Traditions in Late-Medieval Village Assemblies," in Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith, eds., *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations* (Toronto, 1997), 213, 202, 205, 202, 221.

[27] For the multiplicity of players in a French case and for an argument that outbreaks of violence over gleaning rights often went hand-in-hand with litigious strategies, see Liana Vardi, "Peasants and the Law: A Village Appeals to the French Royal Council, 1768–91," *Social History* 13 (1988): 295–313. Frank McCardle comments that the peasants in one Tuscan village with no communal government utilized a string of collective petitions over the eighteenth century to bid for concessions over debts, land access, and housing conditions, but, due to a number of factors, including their dependence on the landlord for their survival, armed revolt was not an option. *Altopascio: A Study in Tuscan Rural Society, 1587–1784* (New York, 1978), 210–13. Castiglione, "Political Culture in Italian Villages."

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both the settings in which those practices took place and the landscapes through which our historical subjects moved.

WE CAN POSE THE QUESTION for these two micro-historical studies and others: what would we gain by painting the scene in more detail? A cinematographic panning, rendered in prose, of the sickroom in which Paola's will was dictated, or of the village space in which *consiglio* meetings were held, would be worthwhile if the exercise extends our analytical reach. After all, power relations can be revealed not just through the political negotiations expressed in written documents but also by how human bodies occupy and move through the built and natural landscapes.[28] And an attention to spatial dimensions can offer new insights into the ways in which oppressed groups counteracted or limited the power of their oppressors. Witness scholars' recent appreciation that enslaved men and women in the Chesapeake and lower south of the United States commonly displayed, marked, and padlocked their possessions (livestock, crops, money) "to secure acknowledgment of [their de facto property-owning] from their masters and fellow slaves."[29]

Will-writing scenes can sometimes be reconstructed—the players, the interior space, the props—from the testimonies collected when wills were appealed. Such contested cases shed light on the social dynamics of the ritual, including negotiations (attempts to persuade the testator to leave property in a certain way), scripted gestures (the scribe's reading aloud the document and receiving the testator's oral approval), and unscripted moments (the sudden arrival of a disgruntled kinsman). Since wills tended to be contested only when significant wealth was at stake, we would not expect the modest estates of servant women to generate such additional documentation.[30] Instead, Benadusi could use what is known about the architecture of patricians' palaces and elites' houses, and also the housing arrangements of servants, to speculate on where and under what conditions the will-writing scenes of Paola, Margherita, and Domenica took place.[31]

[28] For an eye-opening exploration of "the spatial dimensions of gender and power" in a non-European culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1993), esp. 3–12.

[29] Dylan Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 91–108 (quotation on 91). See also Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, 1998), 108, 111, 113–17. For a deft interpretation of how slaves differed from planters and white, yeoman farmers in their perception of the plantation landscape and its purposeful, visual displays of social hierarchy, see Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* (Boston, 1988), 357–69.

[30] These observations are based on my research on the twenty-eight contested wills appealed in eighteenth-century Massachusetts over the issue of the testator's sanity, "Legal Rituals of the Deathbed: Testing the Sanity of Colonial New England Gentlemen," paper presented to the University of Chicago Legal History seminar, November 1997. For England, see Lloyd Bonfield, "Probate Litigation in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury: A Preliminary Report," in C. W. Brooks and Michael Lobban, eds., *Communities and Courts in Britain* (London, 1997), 133–54; and Bonfield, *Dying, Devising and Dispute: Probate Litigation in Seventeenth-Century England* (forthcoming).

[31] Wray reports that late medieval Bolognese wills contained a final clause giving the location of the will-signing, including the specific room or spot in the testator's house or the parish church ("Notaries of Bologna," 212–15). For the architecture and furnishings of patrician palaces and townhouses, see Elizabeth S. Cohen and Thomas V. Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy* (Westport, Conn., 2001), 159–61; and Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore,

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If space speaks to power relations,[32] then the conditions and choreography of *consiglio* meetings in the *stato* of Monte Libretti are worth our efforts of imaginative reconstruction. Banned from the church interior by the tenets of reform, were villagers forced to hold general meetings of the *consiglio* in cramped, inadequate interiors? Or did the meetings tend to occur largely out-of-doors, perhaps on or around the church porch, as was often the case in France?[33] We know that a representative of the lord was typically present, introducing the elements of scrutiny-from-above and continuous negotiation. Lamentably, it appears that the surviving *consiglio* records do not contain the sort of internal clues that would allow us to map who faced whom, which players spoke from a location of honor (whether elevated or seated), who entered late and left early.[34] But imagining the scene does push us to consider an important issue left out of Castiglione's discussion, and that is gender. In the Roman countryside, as elsewhere in rural Europe, the gathered audience at village meetings swelled when crises or issues of particularly serious import were discussed, such that women, youths, children, non-taxpayers and others not formally belonging to the *consiglio* were present. As Algazi puts it, how effective were the rules excluding women from formal participation and voting? In what ways did women of various status levels (wives of notables, mothers of poachers, widowed household heads) and other disenfranchised residents exert indirect influence on community politics, memory, and identity, as they were negotiated through the *consiglio*'s actions? Equally important—and difficult to apprehend—is the question of how the sense of manliness of male household heads was wrapped up in their inclusion in *consiglio* meetings.[35]

Another approach to visualizing political gestures as they relate to space is to follow the documents as they traveled through the Italian landscape. What containers (boxes, pouches, scrolls) were used to move precious documents such as a village *statuto* or a last testament from one location to another? Who had the trust of these after the document was finalized or revised? How many copies were made?

1993), 212–43. For servants' quarters, see Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800*, Allan Cameron, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 2002), 143. Romano notes that, in Renaissance Venice, married servants often did not live in the master's household; live-in servants were typically housed in "mezzanines and garrets, the small floors tucked between and above the main floors of palaces"; and some wealthy employers provided higher-status servants such as nurses with small houses or apartments (*Housecraft and Statecraft*, 93–95). Raffaella Sarti, using a 1796 census of 10 percent of Bolognese parishes, found that only 4 percent of female servants were not co-resident with their masters. Sarti, "The True Servant: Self-Definition of Male Domestics in an Italian City (Bologna, 17th–19th Centuries)," C. Boscolo, trans., available on the web at http://www.uniurb.it/scipol/drs_true_servant.pdf.

[32] Laurie Nussdorfer, "The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome," *Memoirs of the American Academy of Rome* 42 (1997): 162, quoting Burke, *Historical Anthropology*, quoting E. T. Hall, hardly represents the only time this phrase has been deployed.

[33] For France, see Dewald and Vardi, "Peasantries of France," 37. At least in the 1640s, in Nerola, the *consiglio* met in general meetings about six times a year (with perhaps thirty or so male household heads recorded as attending), and as a council of twelve on two or three occasions (Castiglione, "Political Culture in Italian Villages," 528–29).

[34] Compare Algazi on the German *Weisung* records ("Lords Ask, Peasants Answer") and Olson, *Chronicle of All That Happens*, 17.

[35] Algazi, "Lords Ask, Peasants Answer," 201. For a helpful discussion of village assemblies in France (from which female heads of household were excluded) and the debates over who should speak for the community, see Hilton Root, "Village Assemblies and the General Will," in *Peasants and King in Burgundy*, 66–104.

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Was The Will in the notary's, the servant's, or the master's control? Asking such questions brings into sharp relief the dearth of material culture studies for non-elites.[36]

Finally, we ought to try to map the movement of bodies within and out of the villages and towns in Castiglione's and Benadusi's studies. Both pieces raise the issue of the impact of travel and migration on their subjects. In the *stato* of Monte Libretti, did villagers circulate among the six villages, thus communicating political ideas? Did members of the various villages know about the lawsuits, the constitutions, of neighboring villages? Castiglione implies that the villages shared a political culture, given their similar responses to the Barberini claims, but she omits to inquire if "adversarial literacy" included deliberate inter-town communication. An actual map would help: Were the villages strung out on the road to Rome?[37]

In suggesting that, as servants, Paola, Margherita, and Domenica entered the public sphere only upon their deaths by fashioning their wills in certain ways, Benadusi fails to broach these women's movements through public and private space during their lives. In their natal villages, non-domestic spaces—the streets, roads, fields, church—would have been familiar aspects of their daily and weekly rhythms.[38] Once their lives transferred to Arezzo, they would become aware that public spaces such as the streets and *piazzas* were inhospitable to their mistresses as elite women, and redolent of potential physical and moral danger to themselves. Yet it is likely that Paola and her counterparts did witness public life from the balconies or loggias of their employers' houses, run errands and visit with other servants and working women in the neighborhood, and accompany their mistresses frequently to the parish church and perhaps to convents that were often the focus of elite women's devotion.[39] And, as Elizabeth and Thomas Cohen and Laurie

[36] Goldthwaite pointed out in 1993 that few scholars had yet to address how the great palaces and townhouses of the less elite "functioned as homes" or what "the material conditions of the household" were (*Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 237–38). Beginning to fill the void are Sarti, *Europe at Home*; and Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800*, Brian Pearce, trans. (New York, 2000). Castiglione illuminates villagers' concern over establishing secure storage for their *statuto* in "Political Culture in Italian Villages," 532, 535. Duccio Balestracci refers to "Florentine peasants who kept their papers locked carefully in drawers"; Balestracci, *The Renaissance in the Fields: Family Memoirs of a Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Peasant* (University Park, Pa., 1999), 3; Sandra Cavallo finds an urban woman, mistrustful of her husband, giving a box containing treasured deeds into the safekeeping of the Compagnia di San Paolo, an organization of pious lay women; *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and Their Motives in Turin, 1541–1789* (New York, 1995), 178–79.

[37] Data on intermarriage would suggest how much villagers communicated and circulated. For a close examination, using diaries of lay readers, of when and what news arrived in the rural villages of New England, see Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* (New York, 1989).

[38] Cohen and Cohen, *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy*, 158. Benadusi assumes that Aretine servants originated in the surrounding countryside. For an unexpected finding that 74 percent of female servants were of urban not rural origin, according to census data from certain Bolognese parishes in 1796, see Sarti, "True Servant," 13.

[39] Dennis Romano, "Gender and the Urban Geography of Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Social History* 23 (1989): 340, 342–45; Robert C. Davis, "The Geography of Gender in the Renaissance," in Judith C. Brown and Davis, eds., *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1998), esp. 20–25, 33–37. An emblematic image is Paolo Veronese's fresco of Giustiniana Barbaro as a sumptuously dressed woman on a villa balustrade with her "faithful nurse," an older woman rendered "with crude, haggard features and leathery skin"; see a reproduction of the fresco, plus commentary, in Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, frontispiece, 32.

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Nussdorfer remind us, maids were key intermediaries in clandestine love affairs. In sum, scholars who have assessed the gendering of space in central and northern Italian cities conclude that non-elite women were present in the streets, markets, and neighborhoods, even if they are omitted from pictorial representations and travelers' accounts.[40] Knowing this, we can pose the question, how does the circulation and publication of Paola's name as the benefactress of twenty masses after her death compare to her circulation in life as a young, middle-aged, and possibly elderly working woman with an established neighborhood identity?

Evoking Paola's perambulations and village *consiglio* members' conspiring town-to-town can serve to remind us that, often, when historians discuss the agency of the less powerful, they use metaphors of space. We speak of ordinary people shaping history; subalterns maneuvering in, through, and around; and cultures or legal regimes possessing openings or apertures for voices of the less powerful to walk through so as to be heard. To maintain simultaneously in our viewfinders the self-possession of those not in power and the often-brutal exercise of power by elites, we may find it preferable to think not so much in terms of agency but rather of cartographies of power relations: *where* were the bargaining places, the theaters for power's display, the spaces of liminality, the communicative networks that could lead to literacy, litigation, or rebellion?[41]

THE *Forum* ARTICLES PROVIDE MODEST TEST CASES for the proposition made by Natalie Zemon Davis in 1989 that, for early modern Europeans, "the greatest obstacle to self-definition was not embeddedness but powerlessness and poverty." The first part of this formulation has now been seconded by many others, who agree that, while social embeddedness (in kin, work, neighborhood, parish) structured early modern modes of self-reflection, that very embeddedness often stimulated self-narration.[42] Indeed, scholars who reflect on concepts of self and identity among non-elites converge on this notion of embeddedness as marking off early modern patterns of thought from nineteenth and twentieth-century cultural frames for self-discovery and self-expression. As Ronald Weissman puts it, "an awareness of self, a propensity to reflect on one's identity, a tendency to shape and consciously project one's public image were clearly important facets of the Renaissance urban psyche." Educated urbanites—for whom survive diaries, letters, and accounts of extensive credit-debt relations—lived "within a dense social network where roles and relations overlap[ped]" and where personal "options were constrained by an on-going network of obligations that outlived any specific transaction." Florentines,

[40] E. S. Cohen and T. V. Cohen, "Camilla the Go-Between: The Politics of Gender in a Roman Household," *Continuity and Change* 4 (1989): 53–77; Nussdorfer, "Politics of Space," 164, 162–63; Davis, "Geography of Gender," 20–22; Romano, "Gender and Urban Geography," 347–48. In Venice, female servants were frequently sent to visit the city's churches on given days to gather indulgences for their masters and mistresses; this weekly schedule "provided an opportunity for poor women to move about the city" and socialize (Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft*, 173).

[41] I take my inspiration here from Christophe Charle, "Contemporary French Social History, Crisis or Hidden Renewal?" *Journal of Social History* 37 (2003): 63.

[42] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France," in Thomas C. Heller, *et al.*, eds., *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 55–59, 63.

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he finds, spent "substantial time . . . discussing the nature of obligations to others," for example, "how to honor commitments, how to win friends, and how to expand kinship ties." In sum, a sense of self was not antithetical to "strong social bonds" but "nurtured" by them. John Martin notes that Renaissance philosophical and religious authors urged their readers to see "the internal self as agent or subject, as director of one's words and deeds." The Renaissance self that emerges from the texts of Luther, Calvin, Ockham, and Montaigne "was something greater than the sum of one's social roles": "a complex individual, who was self-conscious about the degree to which the inner self . . . directed the outer, public self in its daily interactions."[43]

But what of the youths, men, and women of the vast, laboring order, who rarely had a library or writing space of their own? James Amelang demonstrates that the impulse to write a first-person narrative of some sort was not restricted to best-selling authors such as Rousseau or to Puritan clergymen. He identifies and analyzes over 200 surviving autobiographical writings, penned between about 1550 and 1800 and hailing from across Western Europe and its New World colonies; they take the form of diaries, spiritual journals, family chronicles or *ricordanze*, and memoirs.[44] Amelang finds that their themes and preoccupations—family, public events—do not differ dramatically from first-person accounts written by well-educated elites in the early modern era. Embedded as these accounts were in the social bonds of family and community, and focused as they typically were "on externalities" rather than interior states, the writings do betray a concern with expressing individuality and preserving a place in memory for oneself and one's family. In essence, Jacob Burkhardt wasn't all wrong. Amelang argues that "I write therefore I am" could be and "was a proud claim from the subaltern classes" prior to the Romantic era, when tastes in autobiographical writing shifted to revelations of the inner, psychological self.[45]

By the early eighteenth century, the number of models for self-narration had radically increased. Potential models for one's own act of authorship might include, besides oral story-telling, the increasing numbers of biographies, saints' lives,

[43] Ronald F. E. Weissman, "The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations, Individualism, and Identity in Renaissance Florence," in Susan Zimmerman and Weissman, eds., *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (Newark, Del., 1989), 278–79; John Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe," *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1330, 1340. Charles Taylor makes the important point that using an article with self (as in "the self," "a self") was not a pattern of speech before the nineteenth century. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 113.

[44] James S. Amelang's book, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), can be seen as an extended exploration of the issues raised in Davis's brief, influential essay. See the valuable Checklist, which provides a capsule biography and information on the location and various editions of the original manuscript, plus its discussion in secondary literature (*Flight of Icarus*, 253–350). Mechal Sobel analyzes what survives of the "thousands of individuals" of European and African origin in the New World, often "of the middling sort or poor, . . . who were enjoined or volunteered to write narratives of their lives." "The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Aliens," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, eds. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), 167. And see Sobel, *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Era* (Chapel Hill, 2000).

[45] Amelang, *Flight of Icarus*, 115–50, 246, 123, 135, 119. For a different summary of the concept of the person in the early modern period, see David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (New York, 1984), 30–36.

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picaresque novels, and urban chronicles that circulated in print or in manuscript.[46] Neither Castiglione's nor Benadusi's study focuses on genres that closely resemble autobiography, but they raise the issue of what forms of self-narration, written and oral, were familiar to urban servants and rural villagers in early modern Italy.

Surveys of popular first-person writings such as Amelang's remind us that relocation and travel could be a spur to writing one's life. What, then, of the Aretine servants who, having spent their young childhoods in villages outside the urban center, lived their adult lives out in this center of learning? Given the high literacy rates that characterized northern and central Italian cities relative to much of Europe and given schooling opportunities in Arezzo, is it a foregone conclusion that high-status nurse-governesses such as Paola were entirely illiterate?[47] Paola may indeed have thought of her testament as the most important opportunity to record her life and her aspirations. Yet there could have been other occasions in Paola's life when she made public part of her life story; perhaps she was one of those migrant workers who on visiting her natal village was asked to tell about where she had been.[48] However, to write down her life, from the perspective of the late life-stage of domestic service during widowhood, was not an option taken up by Paola's fellow workers. Uncovering almost no autobiographical writings by European servants, Amelang asks, was silence "the price of professional discretion?"[49] If testaments are the largest body of first-person writings that servants dared leave behind, then we can ask if there is a corporate self—reflecting country folk transplanted to cities, kin ties disrupted, employers' demands negotiated—discernible in this testamentary corpus. We can hope to learn much more about urban workers' cultures and milieus from the ongoing research into wills by Benadusi and by Shona Kelly Wray.

In villages of Monte Libretti and their ilk across early modern Europe, the corporate village self might be invoked as a rebuke by seigneurs. Algazi points to late medieval uses of the term "self" as it was paired with "forgetting" to describe junctures when peasants rebelled or when they met in assemblies "outside the reach of lordship" to plan resistance. Thus peasant villagers were said to "forget themselves" in defying their obligations to the lords, obligations that had been recounted and reinscribed through rituals like the *Weisung*. As Algazi points out, the self here referred to agricultural workers' socially ascribed self, and self-forgetting denoted collective, structured, social action.[50] To get behind the corporate self expressed in village *consiglio* records, our further inquiries might pursue a wider set of records that could tell us about the various selves in village ranks, especially those like shoemaker Iezzone who developed reading and writing skills. As Duccio Balestracci reminds us, "the mentality of peasants who lived next to the city surely was different from the mentality of those who had to travel a full day to

[46] Amelang, *Flight of Icarus*, 129–41.

[47] For literacy rates, see Gentilcore, "Ethnography of Everyday Life," 191; Burke, *Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, 112. For a caution against assuming that most servants were illiterate, and an extended discussion of English servants who became poets and playwrights, see Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1996), chap. 12.

[48] Amelang, *Flight of Icarus*, 135.

[49] Amelang, *Flight of Icarus*, 361.

[50] Algazi, "Lords Ask, Peasants Answer," 218–19.

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reach its gates." Were Iezzone and his counterparts in the villages of the Roman countryside like Benedetto del Massarizia, the villager who lived near Siena—often in and out of the city, actively trading and seeking out notaries? Our analyses of political expression and the uses of literacy need to take into account the many different types of countryside communities.[51]

In looking for self-expression, we ought to take care not to assume that expressions of self by subalterns were always subversive or inevitably represented a desire for autonomy. All exercises in literacy by "the weak" were not wielded as weapons, even though access to the pen or to scribes provided opportunities for new forms of opposition to the powerful.[52] Thomas Kuehn offers a similar caveat in his discussion of women's strategies for the transmission of property in Renaissance Florence. Gender is not "a matter solely of opposition," he writes. We need to ask "how it was that both women and men managed to sustain . . . patriarchy?" and, also, how were men "constrained by the structures of patriarchy?" The *longue durée* of differential bequest patterns in men's and women's wills in Western European culture is an excellent example of the issues raised by Kuehn. As the carriers and transmitters of landed property and the bulk of wealth, men were obliged in writing their wills to articulate strategies of lineal preservation. Women, writing wills in the margins of that patriarchal system, can appear as if freed from it. But, as Kuehn demonstrates, Florentine women as legal persons, as agents, often chose to take actions to support consolidation of wealth in the male lineage, thus articulating shared interests with their husbands. The lesson to Kuehn is that personhood in the early modern era cannot be equated with "individual freedom and self-determination" and that "agency is social and frequently ambiguous."[53]

I RAISED THE ISSUE OF AGENCY at the outset because it seemed to me to be the unspoken but dominant back-story of the *Forum* articles. Both authors assume a healthy skepticism at the notion of an omnipotent ruling class in early modern Italy and seize on particular sources to elucidate the bargaining places in which the voices of subalterns can be heard. Is agency the right word for the maneuverings of wily peasants and canny servants? There may be very good reasons for eschewing the term. In a recent reappraisal of the concept's deployment in studies of North American slavery, Walter Johnson suggests that we may want to lay aside this "master trope of the New Social History" even while continuing to make good on our passionate commitment to writing the history of the less powerful. Johnson urges us to be cognizant that the word, "saturated [as it is] with the categories of nineteenth-century liberalism," smuggles in "the jargon of self-determination and choice" and makes it difficult to consider the extent of choicelessness, the nature of the constraints, faced by those who live outside of modern, liberal conventions and

[51] Balestracci, *Renaissance in the Fields*, 3, 23–24.

[52] For an alternate implication, see Edward Muir's introduction to *Renaissance in the Fields*, xiv.

[53] Thomas Kuehn, "Understanding Gender Inequality in Renaissance Florence: Personhood and Gifts of Maternal Inheritance by Women," *Journal of Women's History* 8 (Summer 1996): 58–80, esp. 59, 61.

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structures of power.[54] In answering the call to explore how subalterns negotiated, we need to be explicit about the theories of power relations that inform our analyses, and we ought to seek to juxtapose the micro-historical gaze with a broader, comparative lens that moves us toward a creative synthesis of what we know about power and class relations.[55]

[54] Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37 (2003): 114–15. The Fall 2003 issue is devoted to a reconsideration of the field of social history.

[55] For bracing and cautionary remarks on the micro-historical methodology, see Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Peter Burke, ed. (University Park, Pa., 1991), in addition to his monograph, *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (1985; Chicago, 1988).

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Counterfactuals have long been one of the most contentious methods of historical analysis. They are at once both commonplace and counter-intuitive. **Martin Bunzl**, *a philosopher by training, offers a thoughtful defense of their legitimacy and of their importance as ways to understand the past. He insists that counterfactual reasoning can be used effectively if counterfactual claims are developed in a rational manner subject to the general standards of causal reasoning. Bunzl buttresses his argument with a number of examples drawn from the work of historians. In doing so, he raises some fundamental questions about the methods we choose to study the past. Bunzl challenges those historians who object to the use of counterfactuals in historical analysis to debate the question.*

And so do we. This Forum *is the seventh installment of a format in which we solicit comments from readers rather than commission responses to be published along with the essay. We will host a moderated electronic discussion between Bunzl and those who wish to comment on his essay. The discussion will take place September 1–15, 2004, on the* AHR *web site at http://www.historycooperative.org. Participants can send questions or comments of up to 700 words. Guidelines will be posted on the discussion sign-in page. Our primary goals for the discussion are to make the exchanges as open and useful as possible and to ensure that they comply with the established standards of the* AHR. *After the discussion has concluded, the exchanges will become a permanent part of the electronic version of this* Forum Essay. *Questions about the process can be sent to the American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401, or to our e-mail address: ahr@indiana.edu.*

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Forum Essay

Counterfactual History: A User's Guide

MARTIN BUNZL

IS THERE A RESPECTABLE BASIS for counterfactual reasoning in matters of history? Or is such reasoning what E. H. Carr dubbed a mere "parlor game"? Historians approach counterfactual reasoning with enormous unease, and they do so with good reason. The rhetoric of historical methodology makes evidence central in a foundational conception of the discipline, and (direct) evidence is just what you can't have for claims that are by definition contrary to fact. Yet counterfactual history lives on, both in the implicit claims of any explanation or causal claim as well as explicitly in a burgeoning recent literature.[1] That literature is the focus for what follows here. My argument is quite simple: counterfactual reasoning comes in two varieties—good and bad. The bad reasoning is bad because it has no grounding; it is merely an act of imagination, and unconstrained imagination at that. The good reasoning is good because it can be grounded. My aim is to detail the varieties of such groundings that are available to the historian.

In what follows, I argue that counterfactuals are not as easy to avoid in the practice of history as one might think. Historians who defend the use of counterfactuals have usually done so by appeal to the role of imagination. I take issue with this and defend the use of counterfactuals by appeal to considerations of three bases: laws, rationality, and causal analysis. I defend these as means of grounding counterfactual reasoning based on indirect evidence. I then try to extend the account to cover other opportunities for defensible counterfactual reasoning by arguing that we should demand no greater standard of evidence here than we do in other areas of historical judgment where informal methods reign. The argument closes by posing a philosophical worry about a regress but offers an answer based on the absence of wholesale determinism.

This essay benefited greatly from my attendance at a conference on counterfactual history held at Princeton University ("What If? Counterfactualism and Early American History," March 20–21, 2001), organized in honor of John Murrin. I thank all the participants for putting up with me. For Murrin on counterfactuals, see especially "The French Indian War, the American Revolution, and the Counterfactual Hypothesis: Reflections on Lawrence Henry Gipson and John Shy," *Reviews in American History* 1 (1973): 307–18. An earlier version of this essay benefited from the discussion at a colloquium at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Thanks are due to Gabi Motskin for his comments. Many thanks to John Gillis, Mike Merrill, Sue Cobble, and Deborah Hertz for helpful guidance and to the editor and referees of the *AHR*.

[1] See below throughout, as well as Robert Cowley, ed., *What If? 2: Eminent Historians Imagine What Might Have Been; Essays* (New York, 2001).

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WHEN SIMON SCHAMA WRITES: "If only the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand's driver had met a well-meaning man in the Sarajevo street in June 1914" and ends up asserting (tongue in cheek): "no First World War, no Hitler, no Stalin, no nuclear weapons, no Sarajevo crisis (1990s)," there is a reason he does so in the magazine *Talk* and not in a scholarly publication.[2] This is nothing more than an entertainment. But Robert Fogel is right when he claims that "[e]very historian who has set out to deal with the causes of the Civil War . . . has implicitly or explicitly presumed what would have happened to slavery if some events had unfolded in a way that was different from the actual course."[3]

Fogel's aperçu is that there is an incestuous connection between causal claims and counterfactual claims. If that is right, and historians make causal claims, then counterfactual claims come along for the ride, like it or not. Of course, not every historian will allow that causation does or ought to play a role in history, and not every philosopher will allow that counterfactuals are as closely allied with causal notions as the above formulation implies. But these reservations notwithstanding, you can get to the same conclusion without relying on causation. Historical narrative of the most innocent-seeming sort is replete with locutions that carry lurking counterfactual commitments:

> A myth became established in later years that Napoleon missed the moment of French destiny when he failed to respond to the British approach of 21 February. In truth there was no British approach . . . Apart from this, the time had long passed . . . when England and France could by themselves impose their will on central Europe. Even with Russia, it would have been a speculative affair.[4] . . .
>
> We have seen what a problem the demobilization of the Swedish army in Germany and its withdrawal from the country had constituted at the conference table. But it is doubtful whether the restitutions and restorations stipulated by the Peace of Westphalia could have been realized, particularly in southern Germany, if the Swedish troops had not been in the country.[5] . . .
>
> A review of the results of the battle of Zorndorf leaves no doubt that Frederick would have acted more to his own advantage if on the fateful [day of] August 25 he had contented himself with carrying off the Russian heavy baggage, instead of aiming at the higher goal of crushing the hostile forces.[6]

Still, even if it is true that counterfactual claims may be unavoidable, someone may object that this is quite different from them being an appropriate *subject* of historical inquiry themselves. If historiography were brimming with examples of studies in which counterfactual claims were the subject of interest, one could wave to community standards and practice to answer this reservation. But the fact is that, while perhaps there is a counterfactual supposition in a claim of Thucydides or a counterfactual aside to be found in Edward Gibbon quoted in essays on counterfactual history, what is usually quoted is far from what is needed to make the case

[2] Simon Schama, "And What If . . . ," *Talk* (December 1999): 152.

[3] Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York, 1989), 413.

[4] A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918* (London, 1971), 149.

[5] Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany, 1840–1945* (1959–69; rpt. edn., New York, 1971), 14.

[6] Lord Acton, *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, 1969), 287–88.

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that counterfactual claims are as old as history, at least qua the subject matter.[7] Where that is the interest, we have to look to more recent work, and without an explicit tradition of asking such questions to rely on, it is fair game to ask, "What is going on here?"

PART OF WHAT IS OFTEN GOING ON HERE is, if not a parlor game, an enterprise without serious historiographical aspirations. Instead, what is offered are speculations that are to be judged by their creativity operating under the constraints of professional expertise.

"What if, in the summer of 1941, Hitler had chosen to make his major attack . . . into Syria and Lebanon?"[8] Then (skipping the intervening conditionals), had he "used the Balkan victories of the spring of 1941 to align his forces for an Anatolian and Levantine victory, leading to wide conquests in Arabia and securing decisive positions on Russia's southern flank, it is difficult to see how a variant of Barbarossa, conceived as a pincer movement rather than a blunt frontal assault, would not have succeeded."[9]

John Keegan's imaginings about battles that never were are likely to be more interesting than mine because Keegan is steeped in battle. There is ample reason to think that Keegan's imaginings are not just more imaginative than mine but also more plausible to boot. Indeed, the editor of the volume in which Keegan's piece appears speaks of criteria of selection that include plausibility.[10] But other than authorial pedigree, just what makes for such plausibility? In "straight" history, we have what is a straightforward answer, even if it is unfashionable in some quarters—truth. And even if we may not have ready access to the truth, we can usually grab some of its (archival) leavings. In this sense, two things are missing if we want to talk about the plausibility of counterfactual claims. Counterfactuals are contrary to fact, so ipso facto they are not true (in the actual world), and, ipso facto, they leave no evidence. But there is an unnecessary distinction here: if counterfactuals left evidence, we could choose between competing counterfactuals and settle which were plausible and which were not on that evidence. Truth would not need to enter the picture. Indeed, that is what many would say is just the right way to think of straight history—spare us the talk of truth, just give us the evidence.[11]

Niall Ferguson poses the problem of counterfactuals this way: "how are we to distinguish between probable unrealized alternatives from improbable ones? . . .

[7] As in, for example, Niall Ferguson, "Introduction: Virtual History: Toward a 'Chaotic' Theory of the Past," in Ferguson, ed., *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals* (London, 1998), 8; and Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "Insights from Game Theory," in Philip E. Tetlock and Aaron Belkin, eds., *Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspectives* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 211–29, see 213–14.

[8] John Keegan, "How Hitler Could Have Won the War: The Drive for the Middle East, 1941," in Robert Cowley, ed., *What If? The World's Foremost Military Historians Imagine What Might Have Been; Essays* (New York, 1999), 297.

[9] Keegan, "How Hitler Could Have Won the War," 305.

[10] Robert Cowley, "Introduction," in Cowley, *What If?* xiii.

[11] Although, in the currently favored semantics for possible worlds, counterfactuals are true or false in the following sense: to say A counterfactually implies B in our world is to say that the closest possible non-A worlds are non-B worlds.

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We should consider plausible or probable only those alternatives which we can show on the basis of contemporary evidence that contemporaries actually considered."[12] If this were right (and I'll say why I don't think it is later), it would still only solve half of our problem. Think of a counterfactual as a conditional statement of the form "If . . . , then," with the antecedent known to be false but taken as true. (That is, "If Al Gore had been declared the winner in Florida, then . . .") Ferguson treats the problem of the plausibility of counterfactuals as one of identifying the conditions under which we should take these antecedents as probable. But suppose we do that. We are still left with the question of whether the consequent of the counterfactual conditional may be plausibly thought to follow from that antecedent. So, consider: "If Gore had been declared the winner of the Florida election, then the United States would not have invaded Afghanistan." The plausibility of the overall counterfactual may be thought of as a function of the plausibility of the antecedent *and* the plausibility that the consequent follows from it.

Now when philosophers think about counterfactuals, being impractical by disposition, we tend to give short shrift to what worries Ferguson. We worry about on what basis one might plausibly claim that the consequent does follow from the antecedent, however implausible the antecedent may be. Let's start worrying there and circle back to where Ferguson starts from (along with most historians).[13] So, for now, our concern can be applied equally well to the speculative antecedent of the counterfactual: "If Adolf Hitler had invaded England in 1940, he would have used tow planes to release gliders carrying parachute troops five miles east of Dover at an altitude of 3,000 feet,"[14] as it can to the more sober: "If Jackson had not vetoed the re-charter of the Second Bank of the United States in 1832, the inflation crisis of the 1830's would not have taken place,"[15] even though the second has an antecedent that is more plausible than the first. Indeed, we can even apply it to counterfactuals with certifiably wacky antecedents, like: "If the partisans of Vilna had had a nuclear device at their disposal, they would have prevailed."

WHEN IT COMES TO EXAMINING THE CONSEQUENT of a historical counterfactual, like most historians Ferguson implicitly embraces the view that what is involved is always and only an act of imagination. The difference between plausible and implausible counterfactuals might be thought to be a function of the degree to which we are able to discipline our imagination, and there is a case to be made that one of the effects of being a good (and specialized) historian is that one's imagination is just so disciplined. But even if we do that, can such imaginings be anything more than an aid to the historian in the context of discovery, doing no more than functioning in the *construction* of claims that must themselves still be

[12] Ferguson, "Introduction," 86 (italics omitted).

[13] Note to philosophers: our interest here is epistemic, not semantic, qua these counterfactual claims.

[14] Derived from Kenneth Macksey, *Invasion: The German Invasion of England, July 1940* (London, 1980), 120.

[15] See Peter Temin, *The Jacksonian Economy* (New York, 1969). He argues the contrary view. I am grateful to Mike Merrill for this reference.

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settled by evidence?[16] If not, we are back to the question of evidence again when it comes to counterfactuals. But perhaps plausible counterfactuals bear certain evidential markings that we can learn to read.

Philip Tetlock and Aaron Belkin certainly seem to think they do, and they offer six criteria of good counterfactuals.[17] One of the problems of counterfactual reasoning in an even partially deterministic world is that one change begets another. Considering what would have happened but for the occurrence of an event leaves us with a choice that ranges between keeping everything the same or changing all the interconnected events that led to that event. Where we come down on this choice will have repercussions on whether the consequent of the counterfactual follows from the antecedent. All other things being equal, if the partisans of Vilna had had a nuclear device at their disposal, they surely would have prevailed. But changing the past to make the antecedent plausible quickly deprives us of our sense of certainty. After all, they surely would not have had such a device available to them unless others did too, and we are off to the races. In this sense, a counterfactual inference is only as good as the assumptions that one makes about the background conditions (what philosophers call "co-tenability"). But, given the same background conditions, why should we favor one counterfactual inference over another? Demanding consistency with established theoretical and statistical generalizations seems like an eminently plausible condition of adequacy, but notice that this is so only assuming that those generalizations have a property that philosophers call "projectability." Compare the generalization that all the coins in my pocket are dimes with the generalization that all objects fall to earth accelerating at thirty-two feet per second per second. Both are true generalizations, but the first is accidental. The second is derived from a (Newtonian) law. The first does not carry the implication that the nickel on my desk would have been a dime were it in my pocket. Rather, if it were in my pocket, the generalization would simply be false. But notice that the second generalization does carry the implication that if the nickel had fallen off my desk, it would have fallen to earth accelerating at thirty-two feet per second per second. In this sense, the first generalization is not projectable beyond its founding instances, while the second is, and it is so beyond what has been both to what will be and what would have been. That is to say, generalizations that will support predictions will also support counterfactuals.

[16] This reflects the way in which counterfactual claims in history based on imagination might well be thought of as a subset of thought experiments. In "The Logic of Thought Experiments," *Synthese* 106 (1996): 227–40, I argued that (at least many) thought experiments are unreliable. But I argued that this notion of unreliability has to be understood relative to the goal of thought experiments as knowledge-producing. However, thought experiments play a varied role, and knowledge production is a goal only under quite limited circumstances.

[17] Philip Tetlock and Aaron Belkin, "Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspectives," in Tetlock and Belkin, *Counterfactual Thought Experiments*, 16–31. Here I have collapsed some of Tetlock and Belkin's six criteria. Moreover, I have treated their condition of theoretical or statistical consistency as a virtue only to the extent that they are "projectable." One condition of theirs I have not included is that the antecedent of good counterfactuals should require changing as few historical facts as possible. I'll take this up in the discussion of the virtues of antecedents later.

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BUT EVEN IF ALL OF THIS IS GREAT NEWS for counterfactuals in physics, how does that help historians who lack laws of nature? Still, just because historians don't explain events by reliance on laws of history, it does not follow that some explanations don't draw on laws of specific disciplines. Trivially, as we act, we act as physical agents, and are hence subject to physical laws. Whatever else its causes or effects, this much is true: the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand involved a shot that was "governed" by the generalizations of physics. That that is so is so trivial that we don't bother to mention it. But we do in some cases, as in the account of the collapse of the first Tacoma Narrows Bridge as provided by Albert Gunns.[18] (Here and in subsequent examples, the reader should be aware that I make no claim to *any* historical knowledge about the cases cited beyond the references given!)

The first Tacoma Narrows bridge collapsed on November 7, 1940, only four months after construction was completed—blown down by winds of forty-two miles per hour. The deck of the suspension bridge rippled and gyrated wildly. At 11 a.m., sections of the center span fell away, the cables slackened under the lowered weight of the bridge, and the main towers "snapped shoreward."[19] This dramatic ending to the bridge's short life may have been more dramatic than its previous behavior, but the bridge itself was never stable. Engineers had noted movement during construction, but inspectors declared the bridge safe. Safe, despite ongoing undulating movement even after the roadway was opened. "Even on relatively calm days motorists often experienced the unsettling sensation of seeing the car ahead momentarily disappear from view in a trough caused by the rippling of the deck."[20] Numerous investigations were held after the bridge's demise, and there was consensus that the problem was a matter of design. That said, just what it was about the design that was wrong had two variants: the narrowness of the bridge and the solidity of the side plates.

Planning for a Tacoma bridge began in the 1920s, but it was not until the 1930s that attempts were made to raise funds—initially about 3.5 million dollars. Federal participation was denied in part on the grounds that the construction cost estimates were too low. By the time funding was approved in 1938, federal participation came in at 50 percent of the total budget, which ended up at $6.4 million. But even that budget created a substantial incentive for cost savings in design wherever possible, given the scope of the project. The main cost-saving feature of the final design was a two-lane deck, which was narrower and lighter than the decks of the George Washington and Golden Gate bridges, planned by the same company. As Gunns puts it, "*had the roadbed been more than two lanes wide, as was the case with other long suspension bridges, normal design practice would have resulted in a deck that was heavier and more rigid and therefore less susceptible to aerodynamic effects.*"[21] Those effects were compounded by the side plates, which were solid rather than open, thereby creating much greater wind turbulence and subjecting the bridge to much

[18] Albert Gunns, "The First Tacoma Narrows Bridge," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72 (1981): 162–69. See also Structural Research Laboratory University of Washington, "Aerodynamic Stability of Suspension Bridges with Special Reference to the Tacoma Narrows Bridge," *University of Washington, Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin*, no. 116, pt. 1 (Seattle, 1949).

[19] Gunns, "First Tacoma Narrows Bridge," 163–64.

[20] Gunns, "First Tacoma Narrows Bridge," 163.

[21] Gunns, "First Tacoma Narrows Bridge," 165 (italics mine).

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greater torsion forces. Indeed, when the bridge was reconstructed, it was four lanes wide with open sides, and it has never undulated.

Notice what does the work for us in this case. The plausibility of the counterfactual is carried by the plausibility of the laws of mechanics from which it is derivable. (Strictly speaking, the consequent is derivable from the conjunction of the laws and an antecedent.) Those laws gain their plausibility from their factual instantiations. In that sense, while the counterfactual has no direct evidence, it is connected indirectly to evidence via the laws on which it depends. Notice also that no act of imagination is involved here. It is not that we have to rely on laws to constrain or limit our imagination. Imagination per se never enters into the picture in the first place. Instead, it is the law that "connects" the consequent of the counterfactual to the antecedent.

Laws, even those of disciplines outside history, that get made use of in history may be few and far between, but perhaps not as few as one might think in the areas of population, epidemiological, and economic history. If we want to lean on these laws, we can decide if it is true that if rural migration had been lower, the growth of cities would have been largely unaffected,[22] or if seventeenth-century containment policies had been instituted earlier in Northern Europe, they would have been successful in foreshortening the course of the Plague.[23] And, most famously, how American growth would have been different if the railroads had not been invented, even if you could not do so specifically by way of the claim that growth from the East Coast would have been directed more to the South than the West.[24]

But where the reach of laws ends, can we rely on anything other than imagination if we want to reason counterfactually?

In August of 1944, the U.S. army established a beachhead at Avranches. General Omar Bradley's forces were arrayed to the west of German forces commanded by Field Marshal Günther von Kluge. By O. G. Haywood, Jr.'s account, Kluge was faced with a strategic choice of withdrawing to the east with the aim of establishing a superior defensive position or attacking to the west with the aim of cutting off U.S. forces and establishing his western flank at the sea.[25] Bradley's Third Army (under Patton) was heading south and east, while his First Army was holding Kluge's forces to their west. Bradley faced a decision about what to do with his uncommitted forces—four divisions. He could use them eastward as an adjunct to the Third Army to attack the German forces, or he could use them as an adjunct to the First Army to defend the gap. Finally, he could reserve the decision about how to commit them between these two alternatives for one day.

Kluge decided to withdraw, and Bradley decided to reserve his decision for one day.

[22] E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (New York, 1969).

[23] Geoffrey Hawthorn, *Plausible Worlds: Possibility and Understanding in History and the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, 1991).

[24] Robert William Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964).

[25] O. G. Haywood, Jr., "Military Decision and Game Theory," *Journal of the Operations Research Society of America* 2 (1954): 365–85.

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Both of these decisions can be understood in game theoretic terms as the rational course of action to take.[26] Be that as it may, in fact, Hitler ordered Kluge to attack and attempt to drive to the sea. The Allied forces withstood the attack during the first day without reinforcement, and the four divisions being held in reserve were committed to drive east on the second day. By the time the German forces began to withdraw, they were nearly surrounded. Bradley's choice and the rationality of it did not depend on Kluge's choices. His choice was rational even in the light of Hitler's overriding decision because it did not depend on a judgment of Kluge's intentions. In fact, Bradley's decisionmaking was based on a general U.S. military doctrine to "select the one [course of action] which offered the greatest promise of success in view of the enemy's opposing capabilities."[27] That said, as Haywood asserts counterfactually, "*had Bradley acted on an estimate of the enemy intentions, he would have placed the gap in jeopardy*"[28] (given Hitler's decision to override Kluge). That is to say, if Bradley had judged that Kluge would withdraw and based on that assessment had sent his uncommitted forces east on the first day, when in fact Kluge tried to move to the sea under Hitler's orders, the First Army would have stood alone without reinforcements available.

Here, there are no laws of nature. But considerations of rationality stand in for them. What makes their application reasonable is the reasonableness of the constraints that are assumed to govern how the historical actors see their choices. At the crudest level, in war, the actors aim to win. But we also employ this kind of reasoning every day in attributing motives and predicting the actions of others, because we assume them rational. Positing a person's wants and beliefs, we can make inferences about how he or she would have acted based on the assumption that agents will choose the best way (by their lights) to achieve their wants based on their beliefs. The problem in extending such an account in history beyond the battlefield has to do with the confidence with which we can specify what historical actors wanted and believed. But that is not to say that such cases do not exist.

[26] At least by the lights of a "maximin" strategy in which each party chooses the best of the worst positions available. Following Haywood ("Military Decision," 375–77), assume Bradley orders his preferences as: gap holds, possibly Germans encircled (1), strong pressure on German withdrawal (2), moderate pressure on German withdrawal (3), weak pressure on German withdrawal (4), gap hold (5), gap cut (6); while for Kluge the preference ordering is reversed. The decision matrix can then be represented as follows:

	Kluge's choices:	
	attack gap	withdraw
Bradley's choices:		
reinforce gap	5	4
move reserves eastward	6	2**
hold reserves for day	1	3*

(for Bradley, 1 > 2 . . .; for Kluge, 6 > 5 . . .)

As Haywood points out, Bradley's maximin (*) does not coincide with Kluge's (**)—which creates a differential advantage to a player willing to assume a less conservative strategy that depends on "betting" on the other players' intentions. This forms the formal basis for the counterfactual discussed in the text that follows.

[27] Haywood, "Military Decision," 375.

[28] Haywood, "Military Decision," 377 (italics mine).

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LATE MEDIEVAL GENOESE COMMUNAL STRUCTURE was organized around clans that had no supra-organizational form that provided for regulation. Be that as it may, Avner Greif argues, the clans were able to marshal both economic and military resources on behalf of the community in cooperation with each other when it suited their individual interests.[29] At the same time, those very resources could pit clan against clan when, again, self-interest so dictated. Self-interest certainly did dictate cooperation for Genoa when it came to economic growth, since growth depended on overseas possessions that could not be acquired by clans acting on their own. Such possessions were acquired by a complex quid pro quo in which the Genoese provided naval and military protection to overseas entities in exchange for a variety of economic and commercial concessions. (From 1098 to 1110, such arrangements existed between the Genoese and the Crusader states. But in 1170, when Saladin evicted the Crusaders from Egypt, instead of being evicted with them, he negotiated new concessions with the Genoese.)

During the period 1099–1162, not only was there external cooperation but also internal peace. Political order was maintained in Genoa without inter-clan struggles for supremacy. In the absence of a higher political order, how should we understand the basis of this peace? "[W]hat were the factors fostering or diminishing each clan's motivation to maintain political order in advancing Genoa's economy rather than using military force against the other clans to gain political supremacy over the city?"[30] Demonstrating the existence of such a self-enforcing mechanism in a time of cooperation and peace is a tricky business. It is not as if one can point to instances where conflict actually broke out or even threatened to break out and then mechanisms were put into play to stop or avert that conflict. That there was a self-enforcing mechanism can only be established to the extent that the situation instantiates the features of a well-established theory—*a theory that then allows us to specify how that self-enforcing system would have behaved had things been other than they were*. So the claim that a self-enforcing system obtains under such circumstances is not just to make a claim about how that system did behave but also how it would have behaved.

Avner Greif's way of demonstrating that such a system obtained in Genoa is to show that to assume otherwise would render the actions of the Genoese as not rational. How does all of this theory play out in Genoese history? The period 1099–1162 was one of relative tranquility for Genoa and one of clan cooperation. But it was also a period in which the city acquired few possessions, even though it had a "command of the sea" (Benjamin of Tudela quoted by Greif[31]). Instead, it used that dominance to "make predatory raids . . . and bring back the spoils."[32] Greif argues that what made the less profitable raids the rational choice over acquisition of foreign possessions is only apparent if one takes into account the unstated costs of a self-enforcing system.

On the model he proposes, when clans cooperate in mounting military ventures

[29] Avner Greif, "Self-Enforcing Political Systems and Economic Growth: Late Medieval Genoa," in Robert Bates, Avner Greif, Margaret Levi, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry Weingast, eds., *Analytic Narratives* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 23–63.

[30] Greif, "Self-Enforcing Political Systems," 29.

[31] Greif, "Self-Enforcing Political Systems," 37.

[32] Greif, "Self-Enforcing Political Systems," 37.

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to gain possessions, they incur costs that must be offset against their mutual gains. If a clan mounts a challenge against another, then there is a gain to be had from not having to share the net benefit of the possessions, but there are also the increased costs of mounting a military campaign against the other clan. The core assumption of self-interest suggests that there will be no inter-clan rivalry when and only when those increased costs are the same as or more than the increased share in the net benefits. For Genoa to grow, it had to raid and acquire possessions. Clans were not strong enough to do this on their own. Hence the need for cooperation in organizing military ventures. Once a possession had been acquired, each clan had a choice of whether to attack other clans in an attempt to expropriate all of the ongoing flow of resources from that possession. In that sense, the cost of acquiring a possession for a clan included not only the cost of its share of the military requirements for the raid but also the ongoing costs of deterring other clans from expropriating the resources of the resulting acquisitions. For the purposes of argument, assume clans first raided the most lucrative prospective possessions and proceeded in further acquisitions following the same principle. Then at some point, the cost of acquisition would be equal to or greater than the benefit of an acquisition.

As such, a self-enforcing system ought to be expressed in the following empirical way: If possessions are ordered from most beneficial to least, the point at which it makes no economic sense to acquire new possessions will be reached earlier than it would have been without such a system in place. The reason is that the marginal cost must be less than the benefit of the new acquisitions, and a system that includes deterrence has higher costs than one without it. For the same reason, the model also predicts something else. A raid may result in the acquisition of spoils directly or in the acquisition of a possession that will yield ongoing benefits. Even though the latter may be worth more than the former in the long run, raids, unlike acquisitions of possessions, require no outlay for ongoing deterrence. As such, as the marginal benefits of acquiring new possessions approach true costs (including deterrence), the model predicts that raids ought to dominate. Quod erat demonstrandum.

IF THE ABOVE ARGUMENT IS CORRECT, we can lean on more than laws in talking about counterfactuals: where considerations of rationality are in play, they will serve just as well. But even then, we do not have much of a range within which to make such assertions when it comes to historical practice. Considerations of rationality, much as laws, don't make enough of a showing. Still, if we attend to the argument so far, we can see how to extend it. The reason we can rely on a law or considerations of rationality to ground a counterfactual is because counterfactuals are implicitly implied by laws and considerations of rationality. The mere assertion of a law carries all sorts of counterfactual implications. All we are doing is singling out one of interest. But with that in mind, remember Fogel's assertion about causation and the Civil War: that "[e]very historian who has set out to deal with the causes of the Civil War . . . has implicitly or explicitly presumed what would have happened to

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slavery if some events had unfolded in a way that was different from the actual course."[33] He can say that because, implicit in every causal assertion, there is a set of counterfactual implications. So, if we can choose to make the counterfactuals implicit in laws and rationality the object of our interests, why not here, too? If we do that, our reach will be considerably extended to the extent that we can rely on our causal judgments. This last point is important. On the model I am offering here, the problem of the basis for deeming counterfactual judgments to be reliable is a function of the reliability of our claims on which we base the counterfactual judgments. If we base a counterfactual judgment on a causal claim, then the question is, how reliable is that causal claim? Whatever the answer to that may be, the purposes to which we put our causal judgments are irrelevant. That is to say, most of the time in history, we make causal judgments and we have a community standard for when we take those judgments to be reliable. Here, all we do is put those judgments to a different purpose than those usually pursued by historians. That being so, the acceptability of counterfactual claims in history based on causal considerations should be no different than the acceptability of causal claims themselves in history.

The counterfactual claim that "If Jackson had not vetoed the re-charter of the Second Bank of the United States in 1832, the inflation crisis of the 1830's would not have taken place"[34] stands or falls straightforwardly from the causal claim that his veto did cause the inflation crisis of the 1830s—niceties aside (like preemption[35]).

But wait! How do we ground such causal judgments? Of course, we are in trouble if we do so in circular fashion by appealing to just the counterfactual that interests us. That is, we can't make our basis for the claim that Jackson's veto caused the inflation crisis of the 1830s our counterfactual judgment that, if he had not vetoed the re-charter of the Second Bank, the inflation crisis of the 1830s would not have taken place. But then, even if we avoid such circularity, how *do* we make such causal judgments? In history at least, the overwhelming answer is that we do so informally. Indeed, the same is true when it comes to considerations of rationality as well. But then to the extent that the community standard of the discipline allows for causal claims and considerations about rationality to be arrived at informally, we should expect no more about counterfactual claims based on those very considerations. In this sense, we have much more to go on than Geoffrey Hawthorn thinks when he defends counterfactual reasoning in history based on (only) considerations of practical reasoning.[36] Instead, historians draw on a wide array of what philosophers call "folk theories," beyond just physics and economics, that are no different than what we do in our everyday life in constructing inferences about the world.

There is a temptation here to look for poor relatives of the tools available to the

[33] Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract*, 413.

[34] Following Temin, *Jacksonian Economy*.

[35] That is, x's causing y prevented z from doing so, and z would have done so if x had not. So it does not follow straightforwardly that, but for x, y would not have happened even though x caused y. Although the details are messy, there is a way to save the counterfactual implications by finegraining the situation to render the outcome by z to be different from the outcome from x.

[36] Hawthorn, *Plausible Worlds*.

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laboratory scientist, rather like what might be called Mill's Methods on the Cheap. Under the fully controlled[37] circumstances of a laboratory, we make causal inferences when we note that two outcomes are the same but share only one common antecedent (the Method of Agreement) or that two outcomes are different and differ in only one antecedent (the Method of Difference). Lacking a laboratory, the next best thing for historians to resort to is comparative history, and while those comparisons are far too messy to allow for just one difference, under some circumstances they can yield a basis for causal claims.[38]

Still, what is of much greater importance is the need to pay attention to the variety of subtle bases for grounding counterfactual reasoning in historical accounts that may be hidden by its lack of formalism. There is little doubt that the damming of New England rivers caused the collapse of migrating fish stocks in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as industrialization took place. *But would the fish stocks have survived without industrialization?* Daniel Vickers argues not, on the basis of a study of the fishing culture of New England from the seventeenth century on.[39] His argument does not depend on any assumptions about the technology of fishing beyond what was already in hand. Instead, the argument depends on a cultural claim about the preindustrial New England economy: "Men in particular felt morally bound in the heart of their being, as fathers charged by God and the state 'to provide Competent and convenient food and raiment for theire Children' and to assemble the property their offspring would require one day 'to be for themselves,' to extract more from their surrounding environment than that environment could in the long run sustain."[40] I can't do justice here to the narrativist structure of Vickers' account, which draws on diary entries of the period. But to the extent that history explains by narrative, his account is extended into counterfactual space as a projection of his factual narrative.[41] Why have confidence in such a projection? In large part, I suspect, because his topic is Braudelian in its dimensions in the way it taps into some of the most stable cultural or economic parameters of the period.

There are two features of Vickers' counterfactual that are worth noting in passing: its subject is how things would have been the same, not different, had the antecedent not taken place. And although the counterfactual involves agents, it makes no demands as to how they viewed the alternative in question. Both underscore the potential range of interesting counterfactual questions that we can ask. If the rivers of New England had not been dammed, the fish would still have gone extinct. So far, so good. But how plausible is the antecedent of this counterfactual consideration in the first place? How plausible is it to think that if things had not gone the way they did, the rivers would not have been dammed?

[37] Speaking with the vulgar from the point of view of a philosophical skeptic.

[38] Primarily based on our ability to discount most of the differences between the cases as irrelevant based on our general knowledge derived from other cases.

[39] Daniel Vickers, "Those Dammed Shad: Would the River Fisheries of New England Have Survived in the Absence of Industrialization?" *William and Mary Quarterly*, forthcoming October 2004.

[40] Vickers, "Those Dammed Shad," ms. p. 25, cited with permission. Internal quotations from Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, in New England*, 12 vols. (Boston, 1855–61; rpt. edn., New York, 1968), vol. 11: *Laws, 1633–92*, 111.

[41] The philosophical locus classicus is Arthur C. Danto, *Narration and Knowledge* (New York, 1985), orig. pub. as *Analytical Philosophy of History*.

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Notice how this reformulation of the question wears its colors on its sleeve: it is itself a counterfactual. The seeming distinction between the historian's interest in the plausibility of the antecedent of a counterfactual and the philosopher's attention to the plausibility of the assertion that the consequent of the counterfactual follows from that antecedent is really specious—the first is just a special case of the second.

BUT WHY ISN'T THERE an infinite regress here? If the plausibility of the antecedent of a counterfactual is itself settled by a counterfactual, what about the plausibility of that counterfactual, and so on? First, we should notice that, in fact, not all historically interesting counterfactuals need to be plausible. If our primary interest is in understanding what difference an event made, whether or not its occurrence is plausible doesn't really matter. (When slavery would have ended in the United States absent the Civil War is an interesting question independent from the equally interesting question of how likely it is that the war might not have taken place.) In this sense, it is a confusion to think that counterfactuals are incompatible with determinism.[42] Indeed, some of the most interesting historical questions have to do with probing the stability of an outcome under a range of variations from the way things were. Here, our interest is not in how outcomes would have been different with changes in their antecedents but, rather, what changes in antecedents would have been compatible with the same outcome.[43] But, that said, where we do care about plausibility, the regress looms large, especially if we assume determinism. So it is not surprising that historians focus on counterfactuals involving alternative choices that fall within "the horizon of possibility"[44] of historical actors, since these are the most obvious cases that (one hopes) dodge such a regress. But they are far from unique in this respect. Nowhere is this more true than when it comes to matters of just plain luck. As Ernest May puts it in his account of Germany's victory over France in 1940, "Even with their failures in executive judgment, French and British leaders might have been able to halt or at least check the German offensive had it not been for the extraordinary, almost incredible good luck on the German side and bad luck on theirs."[45]

I HAVE ARGUED THAT counterfactual reasoning plays an unavoidable implicit role in history. Where it plays such a role, historians always have the option of making it the object of their interest. In doing so, I have argued, indirect evidence, not

[42] Contra, for example, Ferguson, "Introduction."

[43] So that "by exploring what conditions would have been needed for alternative outcomes to materialize, history . . . thereby suggests how freedom of action is foreclosed or seized. It allows for the assignment of responsibility by revealing the scope for choice." Charles Maier, "Wargames: 1914–1919," in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (Cambridge, 1988), 249–79, quoted at 251. For a formal treatment of the idea, see Yemima Ben-Menahem, "Historical Contingency," *Ratio* 10 (1997): 99–107. For an example, see William D. Rubinstein, *The Myth of Rescue* (London, 1997), subtitled "Why the Democracies Could Not Have Saved More Jews from the Nazis."

[44] The phrase comes from the late Tim Mason (in conversation with the author).

[45] Ernest R. May, *Strange Victory: Hitler's Conquest of France* (New York, 2000), 459.

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imagination, should be the basis for evaluating such counterfactual claims—even if that indirect evidence is based on the kind of informal considerations that form the basis for other kinds of judgments in historical scholarship. All such judgments confront the interconnectedness of our reasoning. Any one such judgment forces us to rely on others. To echo Willard Quine's use of Otto Neurath's metaphor, we are like sailors who must rebuild our ship at sea.[46] I have argued that counterfactual judgments are only possible when we do just that. But the same is true of all other judgments made in the writing of history.

[46] Willard V. Quine, *Word and Object* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), ii.

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

JOSEPH MALI. *Mythistory: The Making of a Modern Historiography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 354. $40.00.

Joseph Mali's book is one that historians will ignore at their own risk. Although some may be tempted to dismiss it because of a title that sounds contradictory, and a subject (the use of myth in historiography) that is irrelevant at best (if history is assumed to be a science) or potentially disastrous (if Nazi Germany is recalled), they should resist. Mali has written a complex and highly suggestive work that not only constructs an "alternate historiography" to the one usually recognized but also provides interesting possibilities for a new "modern" practice of history and addresses difficult questions about the use of history in politics that remain relevant today.

The heart of the book is Mali's recovery and reinterpretation of those historians who recognized the value of myth for history. Historiography, in Mali's hands, is not the story of progress away from myth to science but rather of an initial move toward a more positivist view by Herodotus, Livy, and Niccolò Machiavelli, followed by a return to myth with Giambattista Vico and Jules Michelet. This revival culminated in the synthesis of myth and history in the work of mythistorians like Jacob Burckhardt, Aby Warburg, Ernst Kantorowicz, and Walter Benjamin. In closely argued intellectual biographies of these four historians, Mali expands upon a definition of mythistory outlined in the first chapter.

According to Mali, mythistory is the equivalent of aesthetic Modernism, which "consists in the recognition of myth as the primal 'order' in human life and history" (p. 11). Modernists achieved this recognition by abandoning progressive notions of history that assumed what was earlier in time was primitive and irrational in favor of a "mythical method" (p. 12) that viewed myths from all ages as equivalent, understandable, and useful. Mythistorians use this Modernist method for critically interpreting myths. As the collective beliefs of a group of people, myths provide historians an entry into the world views, self-images, fears, and hopes of all members of a society, commoners as well as elites. For a deterministic mythistorian like Benjamin, myths also reveal the material conditions that inspired their creation. Moreover, through an awareness of the continuity of ancient myths in modern practices, myths help contemporaries better understand themselves. In fact, according to Vico and Burckhardt, myths enable historians to approach "truth" and achieve "a primary degree of certainty" (p. 124) better than other historical facts simply because they are the product of human minds.

Despite all these advantages, most mythistorians, as Mali points out, are keenly aware of the abuses of myth and history for political purposes. Unfortunately, neither they, nor Mali, adequately explain why these abuses occur. Mali describes potentially or actually dangerous thinkers like Machiavelli, Friedrich Nietzsche, and the National Socialists as "neoromantics" whose "submission" (p. 227) to myth inspired them to create mythological history, rather than mythistory, or as "'aesthetic'" imperialists who "'seize the myth for themselves'" (p. 276) and reactivate it for their own political ends. But it is unclear how these figures differ from a mythistorian like Benjamin who wished to revive a myth of an egalitarian and democratic Eden to inspire left-wing political action. In the end, Mali concludes that all that needs be done to avoid the negative use of myths is to understand them, because "if myths are recognized they are neutralized" (p. 252), and for historians not to "fight against mythical tradition but ... fight over it" (p. 281) to ensure the triumph of humanistic myths. A discussion of the relationship between the historical thinking and fascist ideas of Modernists like William Butler Yeats, Ezra Pound, and Wyndam Lewis might have helped add clarity here, because it was not the types of myth they favored but their abandonment of teleological history that spared them from full engagement with National Socialism. Nevertheless, Mali's call to recognize myths certainly is better than not taking them seriously, as did many historians in Nazi Germany.

Mali's proposal that contemporary "historians ... should illuminate, not ... eliminate myths" (p. 8) also should be taken seriously. As Mali suggests, a new mythistory may help overcome postmodernist questioning of the possibility of historical truth, as well as support the work of the "new cultural historians" he admires. It also could direct historians of nationalism

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toward a more complex interpretation of "tradition" than merely as the "invention" of elites to control the masses. Finally, mythistory may be able to answer a key question of postcolonial history: can the subaltern speak? They certainly can if their myths are considered as seriously by historians as by the people who made them.

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ANNABEL PATTERSON. *Nobody's Perfect: A New Whig Interpretation of History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 288. $27.50.

Annabel Patterson utilizes sources and methods associated with history, art history, and literature to advance an argument of large proportions, namely, that the whig interpretation of history, sharply criticized by Herbert Butterfield in 1931, is valid after all. By "whig interpretation" she has in mind both the general notion that history is progressive, a story of liberty in an almost Crocean sense, and also a specific view of British political history in which Whigs worked deliberately for the realization of certain ideals. These ideals are usually associated with what others—especially Caroline Robbins, never cited here—would call the Commonwealthman (or "real" or "honest" Whig) tradition. To develop this argument, Patterson examines a series of mostly prominent figures from the later eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries, who, she contends, form a cohort of true believers despite wide variability in spheres of activity. They also share substantial literary knowledge and proclivities. The fact that their advocacy for what Patterson calls "liberal" principles sometimes diminished temporarily or evaporated altogether did not impede the long-term realization of their ideological ambitions; hence the book's title. Patterson rejects Namierist insistence on interest over ideas and also regularly dissents from specific interpretations in recent scholarship across several disciplines as she considers her featured figures.

Among these is John Almon, bookseller and publisher of the *Political Register*. Familiar to more scholars than Patterson seems to know, he championed John Wilkes's cause and the right to publish parliamentary debates, sought changes in the law on libel, and used prints with sophisticated literary allusions to raise the political consciousness of his readers. Patterson juxtaposes what she considers the Burke "problem" (for her, his political apostasy, developing between 1775 and the mid-1780s) with the nearly simultaneous movement toward republicanism by his friend, the painter and animal rights supporter James Barry. Her reading of Edmund Burke's speech on conciliation with the colonies emphasizes his use of John Milton, who appears frequently in this book as one touchstone for Whig believers. Likewise, the editor of and (some) subscribers to a new edition of Andrew Marvell, she contends, connected seventeenth-century principles with Whig concerns in 1776. The barrister John Erskine, eloquent defender of Whig heroes against libel and other charges, and proponent of broader latitude for jury verdicts, is revealed as a backslider in his prosecution of Tom Paine's publisher, and then as a recovered Whig in his late utopian fiction. The author argues that Joshua Reynolds's portraiture was intended to support Whig ideological values, so that his practice as a painter displays a true politics almost orthogonal to what has been inferred from the aesthetic theory of the *Discourses on Art* (as well as from his political practice as president of the Royal Academy, which goes undiscussed). Likewise, William Wordsworth's decades of work on *The Prelude* are explained in part by his 1790s republicanism, which, says Patterson, did not disappear completely despite his growing enthusiasm for Burke. Standard interpretations of Wordsworth's and Reynolds's development into conservatives are criticized. Patterson's claims in these several case studies are sometimes debatable, but often she shrewdly illustrates the connectivity of literature, art, and politics in the era.

The book's thesis is weakened by a series of unresolved conceptual problems, one of which concerns labels. Patterson acknowledges the fact that the term "Whig" was claimed by diverse groups in the eighteenth century, and she applies the rubric to anyone prepared to use the name (p. 3). She certainly means by it something more than "anti-ministerial" and generally appears to have in mind "democratic" principles (e.g. p. 200), despite talking about "Whigs" rather than "radicals." Her identification of "whig" with "liberal" (pp. 17–18) does not resolve these difficulties, for the latter term (with its nineteenth-century political provenance) never receives clear definition. The absence from the book of one crucial element of the Commonwealthman tradition, religious freedom and dissent, and Patterson's statement that a set of "whig" political views might be held at any time including the present (p. 3), suggest strongly that "liberal" bears a current meaning. The word "reactionary" appears often and is especially unhelpful when applied to David Hume's interpretation of history.

Troublesome as well is the author's handling of Butterfield, whose analysis is fundamental to her argument. She represents him as having borrowed Lewis Namier's "anti-ideational" views (p. 13) and as having abjured in 1944 his earlier attack on the whig interpretation of history. In fact, Butterfield contended against Namier, his bitter opponent, that human beings are "the carriers of ideas as well as the repositories of vested interests" (*George III and the Historians* [1959], p. 209). His nuanced view of the benefits and dangers of the whig interpretation (as late as 1969) is obscured by Patterson's omission of a key dependent clause from a long quotation, where Butterfield says that studying the past with reference to the present may be "unobjectionable if its implications are carefully considered" (*Whig Interpretation of History* [1931], p. 11).

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The book contains an unusually large number of textual errors. In the introduction several endnotes are out of order, punctuation marks are missing, and quotations from Hume and John Brewer contain mistaken transcriptions or unacknowledged omissions. Inaccuracies in referencing or interpreting Burke's correspondence appear in chapter three, and the title of his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* always appears as *Causes*.

Such faults might diminish one's confidence in Patterson's real insights into the relationship of literature and art to political history, which represent the book's principal contribution. Its main argument, that political progress rests with Whigs and "whig" principles, leaves the reader wondering what the author would make of Tory reformers post-1800.

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LOUISE BLAKENEY WILLIAMS. *Modernism and the Ideology of History: Literature, Politics, and the Past*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 265. $55.00.

That many pioneers of the Modernist revolution were antimodern is not news. The reactionary proclivities of William Butler Yeats, Ezra Pound, D. H. Lawrence, and T. S. Eliot have been subject to critical scrunity for decades. In itself, Louise Blakeney Williams's uncovering of a Modernist anti-progress, cyclical "ideology of history" would not seem to add much to our understanding of this aspect of Modernism. If the present is worse than the past and change for the better is necessary, a cyclical theory of history is the only option left. In fact, however, Williams's useful contribution is to show that the cyclical historical views of the five authors she discusses—Yeats, Ford Madox Ford, Pound, T. E. Hulme, and Lawrence—were to an important extent derived from their interpretation of the history of aesthetics and significantly influenced their own aesthetic theories and (to a rather lesser extent) their literary practice.

The five Modernists inevitably came into conflict with modernity and the whig interpretation of history because of their conceptions of art and beauty and their medievalist nostalgia. Great art with its representations of harmony was the product of organic communities governed by cultivated aristocratic elites who respected and supported artistic creativity. Modern society, ruled by a middle-class ethos of selfish materialism and the merely quantitative norms of ignorant mass democracy, was the destruction of both social and aesthetic harmony. The only hope for the future lay in the possibility of a return to the political and aesthetic principles of earlier ages in Europe and the non-European world, particularly Asia, about whose aesthetic ideas they learned from critics and artists such as Laurence Binyon, Roger Fry, and Wilhelm Worringer. The non-naturalistic forms favored in Asian art were not the result of technical inability to represent reality but were purposive geometric abstractions in which, as Hulme said, "the changing . . . [is] translated into something fixed and necessary . . . distinct from the messiness, the confusion, and the accidental details of existing things" (p. 124). Eventually the Modernists developed the idea that history was a "sinusoidal" (rather than "cycloid") alternation between two opposing principles of chaos and harmony. Hulmes's Imagist doctrine of poetry, the poetic practice of Pound's early *Cantos*, Yeats's *Four Plays for Dancers* are all examples of Modernist theories and works manifesting the aesthetic techniques of the harmonious phase of the cycle of history: nonlinearity and the superposition or simultaneity of images from different time periods. Lawrence's novel *The Rainbow* has a cyclical structure that reflects the historical beliefs of the Modernists (p. 183).

There are, however, some conceptual problems, and at least one serious disciplinary-methodological difficulty, with Williams's analysis. Cyclical theory is sometimes made to do too much work in the explanation of Modernist aesthetics. The method of simultaneity, the timeless "super-position" of like images from different periods, does not necessarily require cyclicality; as Williams herself notes, Pound's application of it "evoked emotions and mirrored the permanence of a more fundamental reality" (p. 164), which suggests a suspension of temporality altogether. In fact the tension between eternity and time itself, her own account implies, was a central (and fruitful) complication of Modernist aesthetics sometimes leading, as in the case of Yeats, to extraordinarily tangled meaphysics.

More serious, perhaps, is an odd naïveté about ideas like cyclicality that occludes a better understanding of their ideological function. Williams asks whether the Modernists' cyclical theories were the "objective truth" that they were "intelligent, or lucky, enough to discover" or "the products of the imagination of creative thinkers with ulterior motives" (p. 206) and argues that even if the latter, they should not be ignored. This is a rather unsophisticated characterization of ideology; nor should it be necessary by now to defend the historical significance of myths. Williams rightly notes, although only in passing, that the Modernists venerated the aristocratic past because then "artists were respected, listened to, and took their rightful place among the ruling aristocratic elite" (p. 89), and that they believed that the vital art they championed would help remedy the public image of artists as "effeminate eunuchs" who did not deserve the respect of politicians and business leaders (p. 158). Turn-of-the-century artists in fact felt both marginalized and emasculated by the reigning ideal of utilitarian productivity. Donald Kuspit has argued that the first abstract painters created an enigmatic aesthetic language of timelessness, uniqueness, and omnipotence to describe their art in defense of their indispensability (and, as I have suggested, their masculine creativity) in the modern bourgeois-industrial world. Cyclical theories of history were, among other things,

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ideological moves in the Modernist promotion of art and artists against their perceived devaluation by modernity.

The book also raises a fundamental methodological issue for the enterprise of intellectual history as such. Williams fairly enough insists that her work is indeed intellectual history rather than literary criticism, but the proof of her argument about the impact of cyclical theory on Modernist practice unavoidably lies in the literary texts. Unfortunately, she does not engage with Modernist poetry, novels, and drama in a sustained and detailed way, although she does much better with its programmatic statements. Yeats and even Pound as poets, and (despite the few pages on *The Rainbow*) Lawrence as a novelist, are largely absent from her book. Much of what she does say about literary texts relies heavily on secondary works of literary criticism. One does not have to be a literary critic to be dissatisfied with the thinness of her readings. The interdisciplinary demands of intellectual history are daunting, but they have to be met head on. Nevertheless, Williams's suggestive analysis offers an enlightening new perspective on one strand of Modernism that would reward further study.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JOHN A. LYNN. *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2003. Pp. xxv, 398. $27.50.

John A. Lynn raises serious questions about the standard explanation of warfare and offers a significant alternative concept of how people wage war. Lynn then proposes a common denominator that can be applied to battles in any historical period without falling into the trap of simplistic explanations. Americans, for example, are fascinated by technology. Many in the military are convinced that wars may be won with precision-guided munitions delivered from high altitude. Victory, therefore, would be virtually casualty free, at least for the attackers. Modern armor and supporting artillery, coupled with advanced communications, promise swift decisive victory, especially against demoralized enemies equipped with outmoded hardware. Modern ships, many of them nuclear powered, can sweep the seas clear of enemy vessels, particularly when an enemy has no navy.

Among military historians, a major school of thought posits the existence of a Western way of war with roots dating back to classical antiquity. The democratic citizen soldier of ancient Greece established a military tradition unmatched even today by other styles of war.

Finally, there is the question of the universal soldier. Many believe that fighting men and women are, despite time and circumstance, fundamentally the same. Thus the Greek *hoplite* and the twenty-first century rifleman are more alike than different.

Each of these views is seriously challenged in Lynn's remarkable and thought-provoking study. His book is not an examination of the policies and strategies of wars. Rather, it examines the cultural influences that led and lead people to fight the way they did and still do. Using a wide range of examples from classical Greece to the current war against terrorism, Lynn focuses on the cultural values and assumptions of particular societies and explains how these values and assumptions dictate how people fight and how battle in turn influences culture. Warfare, according to Lynn, is an aspect of culture, and culture rather than technology is a driving force that determines the nature of battle. Culture, according to the author, is crucial in explaining the differences among various styles of combat.

Lynn also draws a number of important conclusions about several common theories of warfare. For example, the idea of a Western way of warfare fails to explain the centuries of development between classical Greece and modern battle. Roman and medieval combat had little if anything to do with the Greek style of warfare. In another example, the racial component of the Pacific theater in World War II does not in fact explain the employment of atomic weapons against Japan. The bombs were dropped in an effort to convince the Japanese government that further resistance was futile, thereby avoiding the high casualties that an invasion of Japan's home islands would have produced. Finally, Lynn cautions that the struggle against contemporary terrorism must be waged with patience and self-restraint so as not to sacrifice the very freedoms that citizens of the United States seek to defend.

Lynn's choice of examples might be open to question. Why concentrate on ancient Greece instead of republican Rome? Why focus on World War II in the Pacific in preference to warfare on the Eastern Front? In a sense, however, such questions are irrelevant. Lynn drawns on a wide range of examples that span both time and cultures. His overriding point is the influence of culture on combat, and he has demonstrated that his approach can be applied to virtually any society. The answer will not be a single theory that explains everything but an explanation of differences.

STEVEN ROSS
Naval War College

JOHN F. RICHARDS. *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World.* (The California World History Library, number 1.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 682. $75.00.

This is a major work of world and environmental history that experts and nonexperts will be consulting and quoting for years to come. Any library of size or scholarly pretension will have it on its shelves. The book does not cover the entire world—no book could—but it does analyze what happened in a number

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of areas around the globe where changes in human densities and intensities triggered radical environmental changes from approximately 1500 to 1800.

John F. Richards begins with a general discussion of what happened in that period, including thirty pages on climatic changes such as the little ice age and briefer fluxions. Then he launches into informed and mature inquiries that take us around the world to Taiwan, China, Japan, Britain, Russia, South Africa, the West Indies, Mexico, Brazil, North America, and Siberia. He finishes offshore with considerations of "The World Hunt" for cod, whales, and walrus in the North Atlantic and adjacent waters. The book is nothing if not ambitious.

Richards pulls the rug out from under trendy "experts," who, incited to analysis by present-day pollutions of air and water and steep declines in biodiversity, blame all on the industrial revolution in Europe and North America, quoting William Blake about "Satanic mills" again and again. The world has suffered from humanity's sharp elbows for many thousands of years, and the acceleration of current dangers date not from James Watt but from at least as far back as Christopher Columbus.

Richards also undermines the oft-repeated clichés of those who would blame all that is worthy of blame on Europeans. Their imperialistic depredations were certainly more widespread and often more destructive than those of others, but they were not unique. If you doubt that, go back a few centuries and ask the indigenes of Bengal about the Mughals and the original Taiwanese about the Chinese. The Ainus would have much to tell you about Japanese aggression in the years in which they supposedly abjured expansion and contented themselves with homey matters.

Richards tells us that chief among the factors that drove and empowered the imperialists of whatever faith or ideology were population pressure, technology, and advances in complexity and capabilities of institutions. The number of humans almost doubled between 1500 and 1800, and many people traveled via improved ships—sail and steam—to lands where population densities were relatively lower or where superiority in weaponry enabled them to take over as members of new elites. National and economic institutions supported and defended the migrants and provided markets for products of the freshly conquered lands. Without metropolitan markets for gold, furs, codfish, sugar, and so on, the new settlements would have withered.

The effect on the conquered indigenes was often near obliteration, as imported diseases swept away multitudes, the newcomers took their lands, and inherited dogmas proved inapplicable. We are only beginning to take the measure of what imperialism cost those who were imperialized—and what it did to local ecosystems.

The immigrants often radically altered local ecosystems simply by settling as farmers, but more often by exploiting their newly acquired lands for products to sell abroad to pay for imports from their homelands. They stripped North America and Siberia of mammals for their furs. A hundred years before Euro-Americans nearly extinguished the North American buffalo, they killed (or, to be accurate, persuaded Native Americans to kill) millions of deer for their hides. Offshore, where there was no indigenous resistance or worry about ruining potential farmland, they slaughtered whales and walrus in immense and irreplaceable numbers.

Richards fully recognizes the environmental depredations of the early modern period, but he does not sermonize. Sometimes, he recognizes that what an environmentalist might call destruction might with equal validity simply be called change. For one example, the burning of forests and their replacement by savanna is not in and of itself sinful: it is just different. For another example, the replacement of thousands and thousands of native Mexican farms by hundreds of haciendas may have actually slowed, or even halted, environmental decline. But the author ends with a grim exposition on the title of his book. From 1500 to 1800 the frontier seemed unending. Now it has ended. There are no continents nor even islands left to go to.

A reviewer of even such an excellent book as this must be granted a few criticisms. Smallpox is the one disease that we can be sure was not that of the 1616 epidemic in New England. There were a few Europeans on the scene, and they would have easily identified smallpox. And early harquebuses were infamously inaccurate. As a Colonel Hanger wrote in 1814 of a better weapon, "I do maintain and will prove whenever called upon that no man was ever killed at 200 yards by a common musket by the person who aimed at him."

ALFRED W. CROSBY
University of Texas

BERTRAND VAN RUYMBEKE and RANDY J. SPARKS, editors. *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*. (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 335. $39.95.

In our era of global migration and identity politics, when entire academic journals are devoted to the theme of diaspora, Huguenot history is particularly interesting to think about. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes sparked one of early modern Europe's largest migrations for reasons of conscience and introduced the word refugee into the English language. For several generations, Huguenots formed a discernable minority group in lands from Prussia to Britain and from South Africa to South Carolina. Then their distinctiveness waned. The late nineteenth century saw new organizational efforts to revive group awareness, as Huguenot historical and genealogical societies were founded in nearly every country where they had settled. But today only a fraction of those descended from Huguenot ancestry claim the honor, and the identity is largely devoid of social and political significance. One contemporary American descendant of Huguenots,

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the sportswriter Frank Deford, has called the group "a forgotten tribe."

Historians have not forgotten it. Both the three-hundredth anniversary of the revocation in 1985 and the four-hundredth anniversary of the Edict of Nantes in 1998 generated a spate of books and conferences devoted to different aspects of the Huguenot experience in France and the diaspora. This is one such volume, the fruit of a 1997 symposium held at the College of Charleston. Its distinctive features lie in its mixture of studies devoted to the Huguenots inside and outside France, its unusually broad chronological and geographical reach, and its novel, if limited, efforts to explore the themes of Huguenot memory and identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After an alert introduction by coeditor Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, the volume starts with a sampler of some of the best American work now being done on the Huguenots within France: on the legal resolution of Catholic-Protestant disputes by the special courts created under the terms of the Edict of Nantes (Diane Margolf), on the work of French Reformed consistories in pacifying quarrels (Raymond Mentzer), and on Catholic-Protestant boundary marking and rituals of death (Keith Luria). The great majority of chapters, eleven in all, then look at Huguenot churches and communities outside the hexagon both prior to and after 1685, in Emden, England, the Netherlands, North America, the Caribbean, and the Cape Colony. Two of these deal with the Protestant component of early European settlement in France's overseas colonies, which turns out to be surprisingly important in the case of the French West Indies. Protestants controlled between a quarter and a third of all sugar production on French islands before 1685; unfortunately, the precise meaning of these figures is obscured by the decision of the authors of the relevant essay to lump planters of Dutch origin into the Huguenot category alongside Protestant Frenchmen.

Several essays in this portion of the book deserve special mention. In a lovely miniature, Carolyn Lougee Chapell utilizes the private correspondence of a single dispersed refugee family to lay bare the continuing relationships among its members for several generations after 1685, even though some lived in Saxony and others in Ireland. Willem Frijhoff provides a long, rich overview of the Huguenot presence in the Netherlands from Dutch independence to the present, which all those interested in either this branch of refuge or Dutch society more broadly will want to consult. Charles Littleton explores assimilation and the meaning of membership in the French Church among descendants of French Protestants in London 1600–1640, showing that in this era the refugee church represented more an alternative model of church organization and discipline to the Church of England than a symbol of ethnic difference. R. C. Nash lays bare the quite considerable importance of Huguenot merchants within South Carolina's Atlantic trade from 1680 to 1775, while demonstrating at the same time that the success of later generations of Huguenot traders cannot be ascribed to their having privileged ties to a larger trading diaspora of fellow ethnic group members.

The approach taken in virtually all of these essays privileges the sociological and political over the cultural. The origin and number of Huguenot refugees to the various points of refuge studied, their reception within these places, the economic roles they carved out, and the speed and character of their subsequent assimilation occupy center stage. How the refugees thought about their situation, and what memories they preserved of their experiences in and flight from France, receive less attention. Bernard Cottret's closing essay is thus all the more welcome, for, although based on just a few documents, it tackles directly the twin subjects of Protestant identity within France and Huguenot identity outside it since the era of the French Revolution, offering a series of suggestive observations that invite further exploration of these topics.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, Huguenot identity has lost the significance it once had. No donors fund chairs in Huguenot studies. The essays in this volume nonetheless remind us how long lasting and far reaching the initial dispersion of Huguenots from France was, and how important the Huguenots were for generations in early modern Europe and its overseas colonies. The essays also reveal that even after the refugees intermarried with natives of the territories in which they settled and ceased speaking French, as they quickly did in most areas, they could preserve both kin connections across the diaspora and a distinctive sense of their place in the world that might resurface and take on renewed political salience at various moments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is to be hoped that future studies of French Protestantism inside and outside France explore further these latter-day changes in Huguenot memory and identity. It is to be hoped, too, that the growing legion of historians of other peoples, places, and times interested in diasporas, history, and identity do not have so short a historical memory of their own that they fail to take advantage of the insights about these topics that comparisons with the Huguenot experience might offer.

PHILIP BENEDICT
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PETER KOLCHIN. *A Sphinx on the American Land: The Nineteenth-Century South in Comparative Perspective*. (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 124. $22.95.

This brief but thoughtful book, based on Peter Kolchin's Fleming Lectures, argues for a more explicitly comparative approach to the historical riddle that is the nineteenth-century American South. Southern history is by nature comparative, Kolchin notes; it

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assumes a North. Yet most southern historians do not think of themselves as practicing comparative history. Kolchin's well-known studies of southern slavery and Russian serfdom are exceptions but need not be, and he suggests how.

The book has three chapters. In each, the author considers a broad range of topics and historical literature through the lens of comparative history. The first chapter looks at the question of southern distinctiveness. Any effort to define the South means measuring it against some place else, what Kolchin calls the *un*-South, usually the North but not really because the North exists in many southern histories less as a real place than as a mirror of the South. If, for example, the southern economy was essentially capitalist then it was like the North, and if not, then it was unlike the North. But just how capitalist was the North? The answer is typically assumed: more than the South. A consciously comparative approach would give us some needed precision.

Southern identity is an elusive subject for researchers. It, too, is typically measured against the un-South. Indeed, regional identity is often taken to be uniquely southern, just as being southern means having a uniquely regional identity. There might never be much agreement on the meaning of being southern, but the relationship between regional and national identity may be fruitfully explored, and the circular argument broken, through thoughtful comparison with other regions—the West, for example. Kolchin points to some enlightening scholarship on the borders of South and West.

Chapter Two, "Many Souths," explores the regional and temporal variations within the South and the ways the region might be compared with itself. The third and final chapter, "Other Souths," covers comparative history proper. Among the more intriguing subjects discussed in these chapters are the failure of Confederate nationalism and the significance of emancipation. The South existed before the Civil War largely as a shadow of an imagined un-South; however, once the shooting started the new Confederate nation needed to be something more substantive. But what South was The South? Upper South, lower South, east, west, slaveowning, nonslaveowning, male, female, white, black? Once separated from the struggle with the North over the meaning of the Union, more than one of these divides needed bridging if the Confederacy was to stand on its own. Just as "South" implied, then as now, something unstated, unexamined, and often unintended about the North, so it implied an internal unity that did not exist. To say that most southerners supported the Confederacy is to ignore the slaves who obviously opposed it, a clear majority in two states and who, in combination with Unionists and many white women, probably constituted majorities elsewhere. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Confederacy ever had the support of a majority of southerners, unless by southern one means white men. All too often, Kolchin observes, this is what historians mean, although recent studies of the many Souths make the assumption untenable.

The question of whether the Confederacy collapsed of internal weaknesses or fought long and hard to the bitter end is yet another implied comparative question, as is the depth of Confederate nationalism. If it turns out that compared to other separatist movements the South had a strong sense of nationalism, then the cause of its defeat is to be found elsewhere, to the north, perhaps. In any case, the most violent conflict in U.S. history was, compared to other wars, a moderate affair in terms of casualty rate. Emancipation, Kolchin points out, although often represented as hollow, was in fact quick and utterly transforming compared to other emancipations, such as the long, drawn-out, and partial emancipation of Russia's serfs.

Kolchin's discussion generally sticks to the big issues of slavery, war, and emancipation, noting but glossing over the implications of a comparative approach for studies of family life, politics, gender, and urbanization. No mention is made of Edward L. Ayers's "Valley of the Shadow" project, which compares the Civil War experiences of two Shenandoah Valley communities, one in Pennsylvania, the other in Virginia, and would seem to be just the sort of history Kolchin calls for. Still, this book is full of keen observations and insights of interest to all historians, not just those who attend to southern history. Robert Fogel once observed how often historians make implicit quantitative assertions that might be more explicit and thus more precise and thoughtful. Kolchin, likewise, urges historians to be more thoughtful about the implicit comparisons they make all the time. His point, like Fogel's, is a good one, and ought to be well heeded.

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS
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ALAN BRAY. *The Friend*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. 380. $40.00.

To a modern observer, friends of whatever sex who kiss, share a bed or even a grave, and write loving letters full of embraces are to be explained by reference to the intimacy of sex. It is only in that post-coital moment that most of us seem able to give ourselves fully to another. Alan Bray has created an archeology of a type of friendship, of intense intimacy, that lasted almost a millennium, but that was largely lost in the creation of modernity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was an intimacy between men, full of kisses and physical love, that was nevertheless essentially nonsexual.

The evolution of the modern family and of kinship networks and their Frankenstein monster, the possessive and affective individual, lies at the heart of all Western social history metanarratives. In a British context, the works of Lawrence Stone, Alan Macfarlane, and Peter Laslett have, from very different perspectives, depicted the family unit marching in

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lockstep toward a particular modernity created sometime between 1660 and 1840. It was a modernity refracted through sexual identity and the creation of heterosexuality and homosexuality, through the literary imagination and the creation of the novel, and through a new civil society, underpinning a powerful nation state. But most importantly, it was a modernity found in the personal relationship between a husband and a wife, a mother and her child, a child and his or her parent.

Bray's book and subject provide a powerful new component to this story that both radically shifts our understanding of premodernity and points the way toward a more humane and useable postmodernity. By creating a new history of same-sex friendship and charting the impact of same-sex relationships on politics and sexuality, religion and domesticity, Bray exposes a facet of Judeo-Christian history rarely examined over the last millennium. His starting point is the tradition of sworn brotherhood. Bray traces this phenomenon to the early medieval church and equates it precisely with marriage, using a range of funeral monuments to sworn brothers as the basis for his discussion. In many respects his argument is one from silence, but he convincingly demonstrates the existence of this liturgical form, even if it is impossible to demonstrate its commonality. Having created this formal and ritualized context for male friendship, Bray uses the precise details of everyday practices among men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to demonstrate the role of physical intimacy in generating friendships and alliances. The shared bed and meal, the kiss, and the embrace are each located within a complex symbolic world in which all men were actors. In the process, he gives us new access to the world of the bodily gestures, smells, and tastes that bound men together in this most physical of worlds.

What Bray has discovered is what appears to be a world in which intimacy and emotional affect are as likely to be located among and between adult male friends as they are to be found between men and women, parents and children. In the process, he delivers a powerful corrective to narratives of modernity that depict medieval and early modern people as in some way less feeling than their modern counterparts. Having described this world, Bray then charts its decline and transformation under the influence of a modern emphasis on sexual and family identities, the rise of heterosexuality, and the obverse face of this new minted coin, homosexuality. By exploring the lives of Ann Lister (the author of the earliest and most intimate lesbian diary) and John Henry Cardinal Newman (that luminary of resurgent British Catholicism), Bray explores how this tradition of friendship survived in the perhaps unlikely environments of Lister's Yorkshire gentry circle and the Catholic intellectual circles of late nineteenth-century Britain.

Bray died just as this book was going to press, but for over twenty years he was a major contributor to the creation of a coherent Western narrative of sexuality and affect. His *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982) described the creation of a new form of sexual identity in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and helped to delineate a major strand of what most historians have come to see as a coherent modern period. This deeply personal book adds an important component to the narrative Bray helped create in the 1970s and 1980s. It tells a story that provides an alternative to the frequently false intimacy found in sex, a story that will speak powerfully to a new generation for whom the mechanics of sex (both heterosexual and homosexual) holds few mysteries, but for whom friendship is an uncharted territory.

TIM HITCHCOCK
University of Hertfordshire

ROBERT ALDRICH. *Colonialism and Homosexuality*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xii, 436. Cloth $80.00, paper $24.95.

"[A] thorough investigation of the connections between homosexuality and imperialism from the late 1800s," the back cover of this book says. I am not sure I agree. It is more accurate to say that Robert Aldrich writes about homosexuality where it overlaps with colonial circumstances in any way. European settlers, native populations, stray observers, authors, district officials, prostitutes, lingo, catamite parlors are all discussed. Homosexuality in literature is side by side with mateship among Australia's convict population, maharajahs, Polynesians, and André Gide's depiction of Algiers. It is all good.

It is true that Aldrich did not have to search very hard for his material. Lord Kitchener, for instance, was homosexual. Sir Richard Burton was at least bisexual. Georges Clemenceau eulogized Marshall Lyautey with respect: "an admirable, courageous man, who has always had balls between his legs—even when they weren't his own." T. E. Lawrence wrote a fantasy of his own caning and rape and arranged to have his companion and servant, Dahoum, sculpted as classical alabaster nude. Sir Robert Baden-Powell, who founded the Boy Scouts, liked looking at photographs of naked boys, whereas "female nudity disgusted him." Men had sex with each other in the Foreign Legion(s), the *Bataillons d'Afrique*, the prisons of New South Wales, the gazebo behind the big house. Melanesian boys serviced European men noncomittally, amused that their masters wanted to be diddled. Some personages are treated both as literary voices and as private persons. E. M. Forster is cited for *A Passage to India* but also in his correspondence. "I promised myself," he wrote to his lover, Mohammed, "that on my return I would get you to penetrate me behind, however much it hurt" (p. 318). Paul Bowles and Jean Genet were stirred to creativity by North African men. Cecil Rhodes had very close male companions. District officers fell into scandal; the murderer Reginald Poole managed to have his execution commuted by reason of insanity at the time of his broken-hearted murder of

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his lover. Some notables declared their own legacies, like Edmund Backhouse in a magnificent tour guide, *Décadence Mandchoue*, of the demimonde of Peking; there one could buy "cinnamon leaves" (analingus) and "turn the bun" (guess). This is a book to be read in bits, here and there: too much at one go is exhausting.

Roger Casement helped expose the "red rubber" scandals in the Congo and was hanged after an abortive career as an Irish nationalist. He had also, it later emerged, been an avid devotee of haphazard, anonymous sex. No one has plausibly connected the two sides of Casement's life, and perhaps there is no connection, but Aldrich does not try. Similarly, Lyautey's opinions on various matters are pedestrian in their middle-brow French patriotism, and it is no easier to explain Cecil Rhodes knowing that he may have harbored a passion for the male form. The encyclopedic nature of this study is not matched by a consistent analytic strategy.

Much of the book ends up scanning like speculation, psychohistory in its breathless mode, and sheer guesswork. At the same time, Aldrich ignores some patterns that might have helped him create a more coherent thesis. For example, while it is possible that Henry Morton Stanley had a sexual relationship with his manservant, it is certain (and one has to look beyond Aldrich for this) that Stanley proposed everlasting love to a seventeen-year-old virgin, Alice, and promptly left her on a three-year voyage, naming the boat on which he set sail the "Lady Alice."

What sort of thesis would take account of the immense readership for Stanley and Livingstone and other European explorers, of the pervasive machismo of the colonial world, the scout, the settler, and the officer, and the fact that homosexuals apparently found it congenial to live abroad? Perhaps none could. The minimal theme that emerges is that gay men could express themselves more in the colonies, and Ronald Hyam's *Empire and Sexuality* made the same point in 1990. When called upon to draw bigger conclusions, Aldrich feels uncertain. Still, this is an entertaining book, filled with information, and one can be grateful for it as it is. Where else can one learn that the Theosophist, Charles Leadbetter, advocated massage for Indian men if it led "to a psychic propulsion toward 'logos' "? Or that the Papua New Guinea general post office at Port Moresby in the 1950s was a rendez-vous for chickenhawks? If Aldrich falls short in finding a specific logic—even a queer logic?—in modern colonialism's connections to homosexuality, his book is at the least a fascinating tour through the particulars, and it rewards the reader as such.

PAUL LANDAU
University of Maryland

ROY PORTER and DAVID WRIGHT, editors. *The Confinement of the Insane: International Perspectives, 1800–1965*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 371. $70.00.

Since his death in March 2002, the number of published volumes either written or edited by Roy Porter has been truly remarkable, evidence of the formidable energies that went with him into retirement. The present collection, jointly produced with David Wright, has a claim to be the most ambitious of them all, tackling as it does, in fourteen lucid and detailed essays, international perspectives on confinement during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from as far afield as the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Mexico in the Americas, Britain, Ireland, France, Switzerland, and Germany in Europe, Nigeria, South Africa, India, and Australia in the old British colonial empire, and Japan in the Far East.

The story is, in some ways, a predictable one, and its interpretation follows familiar lines, some of them Foucauldian, some more whiggish in nature. One common feature is the persistence of British influences, as in Victoria, Australia, where not only the system but the buildings themselves were "modelled on the British Victorian asylum" (p. 310). But local differences were also important. Japan, as Akihito Suzuki describes, was a "latecomer" to asylums (p. 194). In earlier centuries, more domestic provision was arranged, such as setting the lunatic "in *sashiko*, or a makeshift cage set up next to their own house," while "furious ones were further handcuffed or chained in their cages" (p. 197). Robben Island, in South Africa, a country that made very little provision for the insane, became important for holding the "most dangerous insane" (p. 20) during its first thirty years, a role subsequently blurred by definitions of both insanity and criminality (as well, of course, as issues of color and racism). Similar issues were prominent in the early years of the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum and State Hospital, one of the oldest in the United States. Peter McCandless asks a series of blunt questions: "How psychiatrically distinct was the south? . . . How did issues of slavery and race influence the care and treatment of the insane? To what extent . . . did the region's economic problems after the Civil War affect the insane?" (pp. 174–75).

Insanity has always elicited hard questions, both of the societies in which it has manifested itself and of the historians and sociologists who have attempted to account for its different manifestations and receptions. But psychiatric records, too, have a habit of cutting through history. In common with many books in the field, this collection throws up intriguing, and often touching, snatches of individual experiences, as valuable and telling as the figures and their interpretations. An Irish soldier in India, in 1877, "claimed that he was a general and alleged that the government had stolen his pay and spent it on oranges" (p. 279). He converted to Islam, but his confinement produced a public outcry, "as it was felt that he was being considered insane for converting to Islam, while conversions to Christianity were not similarly viewed" (p. 279). Jong Ah Sing, an inmate of Yarra Bend Lunatic Asylum, in Victoria, Australia, around 1869, kept a diary of his arrest, trial,

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and removal to the asylum: "Police . . . tear my body clothes take my money go, police take my money go . . . police tear my clothes 1 China good coat 1 china cotton thick coat 2 wool warm shirt 1 moleskin breeches undress my pair top boots Police keep batton stick step my shoulder 2 time" (p. 145). In Paris in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, families bringing members for "voluntary" confinement cited harrowing reasons, including a patient who had "tried to burn his sister's eyes out with a red-hot iron" and a deaf mute "who had stayed in her room for fifteen months" and was brought to Sainte-Anne "by her seventy-two-year-old father because she had become violent and 'her screams disturb the neighbours'" (p. 91).

The flow of Porter volumes, inevitably, will dry up. His style and wit will be sorely missed, but as an influence on and encourager of fellow researchers, his work will clearly be sustained for the foreseeable future.

ALLAN INGRAM
University of Northumbria

DENIS JUDD and KEITH SURRIDGE. *The Boer War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xvi, 352. $29.95.

The South African War of 1899–1902, popularly known as the Boer War, holds striking parallels with the contemporary world. In this conflict between the British Empire and the Afrikaner republics, the world's foremost imperial colossus waged war for questionable purposes against an army that it dwarfed in size and capacity, endured an unanticipated insurgency after the engagement had apparently been "won," and earned harsh criticism for its actions in the court of world public opinion. Denis Judd and Keith Surridge offer the latest assessment of this much studied event, presenting a "new history of the Boer War" that revisits "the great residual mass of mythology attaching to the war" (p. xv) and provides a substantial reexamination of the fighting itself.

The early chapters examine the "descent to war" in the late nineteenth century. During this era, individuals such as the self-avowed "race patriot" Alfred Milner spearheaded a deliberately provocative foreign policy toward the mineral-rich Transvaal Republic. Britain's goal—to reassert imperial supremacy in a region believed to be an essential strategic and economic asset—was rationalized as an effort to defend the rights of the Transvaal's *uitlanders* (foreign migrants). Transvaal's President Paul Kruger, fearful that Britain wished to destroy his republic's independence, issued an ultimatum and went to war against the British Empire on October 11, 1899. The half million imperial troops who fought in the Boer War included the regular British army, forces from Britain's self-governing colonies, and an auxiliary militia of medieval origins. The majority of regular British troops were products of late Victorian urban overcrowding and mass poverty. "[O]ne glaring feature of the war," according to Judd and Surridge, "would be the height difference between the officers and their men" (p. 60). Their Afrikaner counterparts, who numbered no more than 60,000, included young boys and old men. With the assistance of a substantial arsenal that included 37,000 German Mauser rifles, however, the Boers scored stunning victories early on. On January 24, 1900, for example, Afrikaner sharpshooters tore British forces to pieces at Spion Kop, the most dramatic and humiliating engagement of the war.

Following these early Boer victories, which had badly shaken Britain's sense of imperial destiny, the tide of battle turned with the relief of Kimberly, Ladysmith, and especially, Mafeking. Colonel R.S.S. Baden-Powell, defender of Mafeking and founder of the Boy Scouts, "became a legend cherished throughout the Empire and beyond. Autocratic, imaginative, firm-minded, humorous and, on occasion, ruthless, B-P came to symbolise 'British pluck' at a time when British power looked fallible if not ludicrously inadequate" (p. 152). In light of such startling reversals, Lord Roberts, Britain's commanding general, retired to London as a conquering hero and was rewarded with an earldom as well as a £100,000 bonus. These celebrations were premature, however, as the war entered a guerilla phase that was to last another one and a half years. In response, the British adopted a scorched-earth strategy, burning farms, destroying crops, and killing livestock. Inhabitants were taken to concentration camps. In these locations, the "overcrowding, insanitary conditions, an insufficiently balanced diet, and inadequate planning caused a tragic loss of life" (p. 194). Altogether, 26,000 Afrikaners, primarily women and children, died in the camps, provoking an outcry in Britain and lasting bitterness in South Africa. In the protracted negotiations that culminated in the Peace of Vereeniging in May 1902, the painful memory of so many civilian deaths swayed some British negotiators toward conciliation and compromise regardless of the price.

Overall, Judd and Surridge succeed in combining sophisticated analysis with a lively narrative, making it a "must read" for Boer War aficionados. In addition to its commanding presentation of the combatants and the battles themselves, the book contains highly informative chapters on the pro-Boers and press coverage of the conflict. The author's treatment of the war's effects on black South Africans, however, is disappointing. Most problematic is the book's analysis of the peace treaty. Judd and Surridge focus on the issues of amnesty and the financing of Boer reconstruction, underscoring the popular notion that the Boer War was a "white man's war." One of the most important features of the Peace of Vereeninging, glossed over by the authors, was Britain's acceptance of a clause that "stipulated that the black franchise would be discussed only when the former republics received a 'representative constitution'" (p. 291). Britain's concession to white settler interests, in effect, consigned South Africa's black majority to a century of injustice, overcome

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only recently by monumental struggle and extraordinary sacrifice.

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RONALD HYAM and PETER HENSHAW. *The Lion and the Springbok: Britain and South Africa since the Boer War.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 379. $60.00.

We are currently witnessing a striking resurgence of interest in several aspects of commonwealth-imperial history and the dynamics of Britain's relations with South Africa is one of these. New work on the concepts of gender, loyalism, and reconstruction may be conceived as part of a wider project to rethink the relationship between Britain and what was arguably its most complex and controversial dominion.Set against this wider historiographical framework, publication of this book could not be more timely.

Written by Ronald Hyam, who has made a major scholarly contribution to the field of British policy toward South Africa, and Peter Henshaw, who has published seminal essays on the external dimensions of southern African history, the study raises expectations that are not disappointed. Meticulously researched, beautifully written, and forcefully argued, it will rapidly establish itself as indispensable reading on the topic. Not only does it robustly restate many of the positions taken up by its authors in previous publications, it is a powerful work of synthesis that provides a running commentary on a burgeoning body of literature on Anglo-South African relations.

In a book that charts a century of the interplay between Britain and South Africa, the authors sensibly take the decision not to try to compress their findings into a single conclusion (although in the preface they do note, ruefully, that notwithstanding Nelson Mandela's re-embrace of Britain post-1994, their story tends more toward tragedy than triumph). For the purposes of this review, therefore, it would seem to make sense to focus on the methodology they adopt. This is set out with commendable clarity in the book's first chapter. Hyam and Henshaw rightly defend the primacy of the archival record, and candidly acknowledge the limitations of the mainstay of their sources (government archives). Certainly, further work in the political papers of prominent English-speaking South African politicians (C. P. Crewe, E. Garrett, B. K. Long; T. Smartt, to name but a few) would have helped to present a more rounded picture of the "British" in South Africa, who were not nearly as homogenous a community as Hyam and Henshaw sometimes seem to suggest. For example, the discussion of the Transvaal British during the 1890s shows little sense of the shift between the first *Uitlander* reform movement (which was *not* lobbying for British annexation) and the second (which obviously was). Similarly, the political purchase of Jan Smuts's white South Africanism was much greater in the 1920s than it was in the 1930s (hence the assessment here is too downbeat). Finally, in the postwar period, references to the "Torch commando" as primarily a defender of the British connection (there was more to it than that) and to Natal separatism simply as a vehicle for preserving local ascendancy (here links to Britain did actually matter, at least psychologically) do not ring true; neither does the characterization of British South Africans as introverted, arrogant, or exclusive—they were sometimes depicted this way, but by particular people and for particular purposes. That said, this book is definitely not a narrowly high political or diplomatic history. Reference to wider public attitudes and to the media is made throughout, and the last two chapters, especially, move firmly into the cultural sphere; the case studies of the 1947 Royal Tour and the Lions Rugby Tour of 1955 are very good indeed.

One final criticism: in parts of this book, the historiographical references, although necessary, are overly detailed, even self-indulgent, and make it slightly less accessible to the nonspecialist. Ultimately, however, this is to quibble with what is a substantial and stimulating piece of work. Perhaps its greatest virtue is the way it melds a strong sense of chronology with a sharply analytical framework. In terms of military ties, it is particularly interesting on the enduring significance of the Simon's Town naval base, and on the importance of defensive cooperation and anticommunism during the Cold War. In terms of the economy, due account is taken of the value of South Africa to Britain as an export market, of British South African consumer tastes, and of the consequences of Britain's 1961 application to join the European Common Market. And in terms of diplomacy, interesting insights are offered into the fate of the High Commission territories, and, more generally, into the role of the high commissioners in interpreting the South African situation to officials and ministers back home. The impact of decolonization on perceptions of the Anglo-South African relationship is handled skilfully, as is the reaction to apartheid in Britain (although the analysis of the anti-apartheid movement really required sources beyond the press and Parliament). There is much to be said, therefore, for the fruits of Hyam and Henshaw's collaboration. Indeed, their book is perhaps unusual in that it does what it says on the dust jacket, and more.

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SUZANNE MIERS. *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem.* Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira. 2003. Pp. xx, 505. Cloth $90.00, paper $35.95.

Building on her distinguished record of publications, Suzanne Miers carefully traces the development of the international antislavery movement during the last century. She assiduously chronicles the campaigns of the London-based Anti-Slavery Society (now AntiSla-

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very International) within changing systems of international power. Miers carries the story from the British-dominated nineteenth-century network of bilateral and international treaties through the international conventions and mechanisms of the League of Nations and the United Nations (UN).

This book scrupulously details successive attempts to define, refine, and extend the legal constraints on slavery. It also chronicles the unweary and inglorious attempts to limit the mechanisms designed to expose, constrain, and eradicate that institution and other forms of bondage. One of the major contributions of Miers's study is to show the degree to which antislavery was a weapon for the furtherance of national ambitions. Often, in both the League of Nations and the UN, that meant doing as little as politically possible. In such a complex situation, ironies and paradoxes abound. One may glimpse the British Foreign Office in the mid-1930s, consoling itself for the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in terms of its antislavery potential: it might be a "Godsend" in heralding the abolition of slavery. The secretary of the British Anti-Slavery Society also eagerly welcomed an "effective" Italian administration. Fifteen years later, the lessons of Ethiopia stimulated the British Foreign Office to renew abolitionist pressure on its allied oil-rich Arab kingdoms. Their weakened moral position as slaveholding societies enhanced their negative propaganda value to the USSR.

This book incidentally reveals the extent to which antislavery was dominated by the legacy of nineteenth-century Western, and especially British, preeminence. In the first half of the twentieth century, British antislavery concerns and Britain's global power set the parameters for the campaigns against the slave trade and slavery. Miers's primary sources for the first half of the century are overwhelmingly the Anti-Slavery Society papers and British official correspondence. Her documentation of the League of Nations' activities reinforces that impression. The League's surveys of world slavery were overwhelmingly dependent on reports on slavery within the British orbit of influence. The British government even worried that such asymmetrical reportage might leave the impression that world slavery was an exclusively British imperial problem.

Viewed through British lenses, antislavery could be vaguely global in its ambitions, but it was much narrower in its geographical focus. One of the governing assumptions of European perspectives in general was the division of the world between civilized/advanced/developed zones of free labor and backward/indigenous/underdeveloped areas of servile relations and coerced labor. This bifocal frame of reference limited the vision of the Anti-Slavery Society as much as it did that of Europe's foreign ministries. It affected the functional division of labor within the League of Nations and the UN. The robust, Western-oriented International Labor Organization stood in stark contrast to the more ephemeral committees charged with investigating conditions in "backward" societies.

Miers's narrative is itself influenced by this dual organizational and conceptual frame of reference. Her chapter on the 1940s is one of the briefest in the book. It is entirely devoted to developments in slavery and the slave trade along the Ethiopian-Arabian axis. One would hardly be aware of the contemporary eruption of millions of slave laborers on the European continent. That information is confined to a single passing phrase in the next chapter on the postwar world. The still broader archipelago of coerced labor that spread across the length of the Eurasian landmass during the second third of the twentieth century also receives only a tangential mention. By contrast, the transformation of the frame of reference wrought by the Cold War and decolonization is abundantly discussed. The rapid extension of "slavery" discourse to a plethora of "slave-like" forms of domination, and the political conflation of chattel slavery with colonialism, racism, and apartheid by non-Western states, became a late twentieth-century counterpoint to two centuries of European condescension. The constant rhetorical battles among the West, the Communist bloc, and the postcolonial regimes first delayed and then constrained the UN's committees on slavery for decades.

Although chattel slavery has clearly shriveled to the vanishing point as a politically sanctioned institution, Miers ends her study on a somber note. She argues that there are currently unprecedented and increasing numbers of people in various forms of servitude. The book's penultimate chapter, on "contemporary forms of slavery," correspondingly highlights two parallel developments. There has been a metaphorical explosion of antislavery rhetoric, incorporating new (or rather newly designated) forms of slavery. This development has been accompanied by a burgeoning of nongovernmental organizations and media mobilizations calling attention to millions of victims. Meanwhile, the old Anti-Slavery Society, now groping for a new name and a renewed function, no longer catalyzes this new wave of organizations and mobilizations. One might, however, draw solace from the principal cause of the society's historical eclipse. Even by the most expanded of contemporary standards, the proportion of "slaves" to nonslaves hardly approaches the situation of humanity when Adam Smith reminded his students that slavery was still widely practiced in broad expanses of Asia, all of Africa, and the greatest part of America.

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ALEKSANDR ETKIND. *Tolkovanie puteshestvii: Rossiia i Amerika v travelogakh i intertekstakh* [Interpretation of Voyages: Russia and America in Travelogues and Intertexts]. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. 2003. Pp. 483.

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Since 1992, Russian and American historians have used many new sources to explore Russian history. Another innovation in the study of Russia has been the increased presence of Russian scholars in the United States. Aleksandr Etkind's book is the fruit of this experience and, if translated, would be of great interest to specialists in American as well as Russian history.

Etkind is noted for his *Eros of the Impossible: A History of Psychoanalysis in Russia* (1993; English translation 1997) and *The Russian Flagellant: Sects, Literature and Revolution* (1998), as yet untranslated. The premise of the new book is ingenuously simple: namely, that leading Russian and American thinkers referenced each other in forming their sense of self and identity. Etkind is concerned not only with Russia and America but also with the idea of democracy. He follows an eclectic rather than a prescribed outline of intellectual or political history. Thus he shows us Alexander Pushkin reading Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville conversing with the Russian philosopher Petr Chaadaev, and James Fenimore Cooper listening to Russian aristocrats in Paris express their envy for the freedoms Americans enjoy. From this vantage point, he describes a host of interesting figures including familiar Russian Americans such as Vladimir Nabokov and Ayn Rand (Alice Rosenbaum), as well as other intellectual celebrities from John Dewey and John Maynard Keynes to Mikhail Bulgakov and Boris Pasternak.

Etkind guides readers through a fabric of Russian-American mutual imagining that extends from the eighteenth century to the 1950s. One distinctive pattern is the intense interchanges of people involved in utopian and sectarian communities. Another involves purely intellectual contacts, such as Pushkin's reaction to Tocqueville's discussion of religion in America. A third concerns descriptions and invocations of the other. In Soviet Russia, the political leaders' obsession with America as place in which technology could solve problems paralleled an equally intense interest among Russian cultural figures in the mammoth of capitalism. Etkind describes Ilia Ilf and Evgeny Petrov's humorous travelogue, *One-Story America* (1937), as "the culmination of the American text in Soviet literature" (p. 162). Their account includes an admiring visit to the would-be fascist Henry Ford, whom they warmly compare to self-taught Soviet inventors. The parallel phenomenon in America involved writers such as Theodore Dreiser, who visited Russia and tried to promote Joseph Stalin's cause, and also New Dealers who brought their confused notions of what was happening in the Soviet Union to the table in trying to rescue the United States from the Great Depression.

What conclusions emerge from this multiplicity of comparisons over two centuries involving several dozen writers and philosophers? The most important is that to the intellectual elites of each nation, the other often represented the extreme boundary of the real, the essence of what one was not but might become. For some observers, this meant something to aspire to, and for others it was something to avoid. Of course, there were interludes when neither nation was a prime reference for the other. Revolutionary France through the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte occupied this position for both Russians and Americans. Later Nazi Germany filled the same role and many Americans got used to thinking of Stalin as "Uncle Joe." During World War II, Soviet propagandists also portrayed themselves as more like Americans than Germans and Austrians. Still later, Communist China briefly dwarfed the Soviet Union in American thinking, although America retained its preeminence in the Soviet imagination. At present, Russia has ceased to preoccupy Americans, though not vice versa, so perhaps this is a good time for Etkind's book to appear.

On a final note, this book can be read almost as an encyclopedia of Russian-American interactions and myriad imaginings, but it can also be read as a synthetic history of these interactions. As Etkind observes in his conclusion, for him, as for practitioners of the New Historicism, history is chiefly about "people and texts and their relation to each other" (p. 416). Fortunately, he goes a bit further than this in discussing the intentions of his subjects and their agency in the world around them.

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BERTRAND M. PATENAUDE. *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 817. Cloth $70.00, paper $29.95.

Bertrand M. Patenaude's book is aptly titled. American Relief Administration (ARA) workers in the Soviet Union during the Great Famine of 1921–1923 called Bolsheviks "bolos," and the enormous influx of American money and personnel made it "a big show." But Patenaude's study is not only massively researched and hugely engrossing, it is also crucial for our understanding of a largely forgotten and often misunderstood episode in twentieth-century U.S.-Soviet relations. Not since Benjamin M. Weissman's *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia, 1921–1923* (1974) has a scholar tackled this topic. Considering the richness of the sources and the complexity of the politics, on both the Russian and American sides, this book was long overdue. For far too long, the ARA story has been seen either as a brief and forgotten example of "Herbert Hoover's Brush with Bolshevism" (the title of an earlier paper by Patenaude) or as an interesting but aberrant example of the perils of negotiating with Soviet Russia in the 1920s (see Benjamin Weissman, "Herbert Hoover's 'Treaty' with Soviet Russia," *Slavic Review* [1970]).

Most other historians of either the United States or Russia have relied on Weissman, or the early official history by Harold H. Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919–1923: The Operations of the American*

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Relief Administration (1927), or the contemporaneous memoir of Frank Golder and Lincoln Hutchinson, *On the Trail of the Russian Famine* (1927). Most have neglected to delve into the voluminous archives of the ARA at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, Hoover's own papers at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, Iowa, or the innumerable collections of private and government papers in the United States, Britain, and Russia.

Patenaude did consult and use most of these collections, with the conspicuous exception of many newly available regional Russian archival collections in Samara and Buzuluk, the heart of the famine district. His rich use of archives remains the strength of this work: its detailed, enticing, and yet disturbing story of the thousands of young American relief workers who battled famine on the Volga in the eastern Russian steppes, feeding as many as eleven million Soviet citizens per day by 1922. These workers and this episode left an enduring mark on Russian memory and consciousness, and contributed in a major way to the beginning of a breakdown of the isolation of Bolshevik Russia from the West, a process that, despite Stalinist attempts to reverse it, contributed to the long undermining of Soviet control which finally resulted in the collapse of communism late in the last century.

Pantenaude organizes his magnum opus in three overlapping sections: personal stories and encounters, political confrontations, and cultural impact. The stories are indeed engrossing, as are the tales of political clashes, including the intricate negotiations on both sides concerning the "Riga" agreement by which the ARA received permission from V. I. Lenin's government to send aid and workers to the famine area. As Patenaude definitively shows, both Hoover and Lenin accepted the agreement because they believed it would serve their political interests: Hoover to undermine Bolshevism and Lenin to stabilize his regime (in major crisis at the end of the Civil War). In fact, both Lenin and Hoover were right. The ARA famine relief effort did help to save Lenin's regime, but it also undermined it, albeit in the long term.

Patenaude argues throughout that the relief workers and their experience are crucial to our understanding of the dystopia that we call the USSR (and for that matter all the communist states of the twentieth century), because they "were the first group of outsiders to break through Russia's isolation . . . [and] to have sustained exposure to the strange new phenomenon of Russian Bolshevism" (preface). But the author does not claim too much for this statement by the end of his examination, letting the intriguing but complex story speak for itself. The relationship between the ARA workers and the Russian people and Soviet government was by no means simple. After all, Feliks Dzherzhinski, the founder of the Cheka (Lenin's secret police), was an essential partner to William Haskell, the chief of ARA operations in Russia, in efforts to get the trains running to carry relief supplies to the famine area. Often the arguments between Samara and Moscow or Samara and Buzuluk and Washington seemed as fraught as they were between Moscow and Washington.

This book is essential reading for any historian of the twentieth century. It will enrich but probably not substantially revise our understanding of the ARA relief expedition in exposing, undermining, and strengthening Lenin's Russia. For like most episodes of international political and social history, the more we uncover, on all sides, the more we expand our knowledge of the complex nature of human encounters.

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JAMES T. ANDREWS. *Science for the Masses: The Bolshevik State, Public Science, and the Popular Imagination in Soviet Russia, 1917–1934.* (Eastern European Studies, number 22.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 234. $45.00.

LAURENCE SCHNEIDER. *Biology and Revolution in Twentieth-Century China.* (Asia/Pacific/Perspectives.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003. Pp. xi, 307. $75.00.

That the communist regimes in the USSR and the People's Republic of China (PRC) were committed to emancipating the common people from religion and "superstition" and to propagating a scientific, rational, and technologically developed culture is well known. Less well understood are the mechanisms through which they sought to achieve that ambitious goal. In his well-researched book, James T. Andrews examines the efforts of the Bolsheviks to promote progress and enlightenment through the popularization of science. One of the book's strengths is that it links these efforts to earlier initiatives that go back via the adult education movement of the late nineteenth century to the foundation of such societies as the Society of Investigators of Nature at Moscow University in 1804. Prerevolutionary popularizers of science included professional scientists, journalists, and educators of all types. Their work in disseminating scientific knowledge struck a chord with the urban public, and by the late nineteenth century, commercial publishers were producing scientific and technical literature aimed at the newly literate masses. The public proved to be interested in a wide range of subjects, including astronomy, world geography, and air flight, but nothing whetted their appetite more than the theory of evolution, with its challenge to the biblical account of creation. Andrews shows how quick the Bolsheviks were to entrench the theory of evolution into the school curriculum. Otherwise, however, he suggests that during their first decade in power, they relied mainly on prerevolutionary societies, museums, and journals to popularize science, although these bodies could now rely on funding from the science department of the Commissariat of Enlightenment. During the 1920s,

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such relatively recherché topics as rocket science, interplanetary exploration, and the physics of immortality caught the public imagination, in tune with a zeitgeist that assumed that communism plus science would enable humanity to triumph over every constraint of nature.

Broadly, the Bolsheviks adhered to a policy of undermining religion and "superstition" incrementally, although elements in the party favored a more frontal attack on the Orthodox Church. Andrews suggests that scientific education made relatively slow headway among the rural population, except in the spheres of agricultural improvement and basic hygiene; and from the mid-1920s, the regime became increasingly dissatisfied with the limited progress being made. After 1928, with Joseph Stalin in the ascendancy, the regime backed a more utilitarian approach to science education, stressing the importance of the application of science and technology to production. In line with the "class struggle" approach that briefly prevailed, bodies such as the All-Union Society of Workers of Science and Technology for the Promotion of Socialist Construction castigated the science-popularization bodies that had survived the first decade of soviet power for pursuing a "bourgeois" policy of knowledge for its own sake.

Science education was even more politicized in the PRC. Like their Russian mentors, members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) built on a preexisting tradition of popular science education that went back to the 1930s; but as Laurence Schneider comments in his excellent book, a Chinese reader of popular science literature in 1950 could be forgiven for thinking that China had been bereft of any science prior to the alliance with the Soviet Union. For the leitmotif of such literature was that the Soviet Union, purportedly the world leader in science, was assisting China to acquire the science it desperately needed in order to become prosperous and powerful. The irony is that in the field of genetics—the subject of Schneider's book—Soviet assistance proved to be largely baneful, almost negating the progress that Chinese geneticists had made in the decades prior to 1949. The author ably traces the emergence in the republican era of a small but highly qualified community of geneticists, trained in missionary colleges and U.S. universities, beneficiaries of American philanthropy and of Nationalist government support. He paints a broadly positive picture of Guomindang policy in promoting science, perhaps underestimating the tensions that existed between government and scientists over the extent to which research should be conducted with a view to national priorities of economic development and defense, and the extent to which funds from the United States should determine the primary areas of scientific endeavor. Conflict over these issues shaped the policy the communists would adopt once in power. Convinced that scientists were isolated in urban universities and laboratories, more concerned with enhancing their status than with serving the people, the CCP worked to integrate scientific research with labor, production, and the masses. It is this that helps explain the decision in 1952 to ban mainstream genetics in favor of Soviet Lysenkoism. Trofim Denisovich Lysenko's notion that organic life is fundamentally shaped by environment rather than by some fixed substance or structure within organisms, such as chromosomes or genes, appealed to a CCP leadership keen to revolutionize agriculture by reshaping organisms (especially food plants) through the manipulation of their environment. Schneider does not underestimate the importance of China's dependence on the Soviet Union at this time as a factor facilitating the adoption of Lysenkoism, but he points out that even after the Sino-Soviet split, CCP leaders—or at least some of them—continued to be drawn toward the more controversial of Lysenko's principles, such as the class nature of science and the sovereignty of "people's science." "This pattern strongly suggests," he concludes, "that if Soviet Lysenkoism had not existed, the CCP would have invented something like it on its own" (p. 177). That the CCP did not blindly copy Soviet experience is evident in the character of science education in the PRC, which was galvanized by a distinctively Maoist notion that the common people are ultimately the source of all significant scientific advance, a notion alien to Soviet science educators even in the years 1928 to 1931, when "class struggle" approaches to science were at their apogee. Only in the late 1970s was this Maoist conception comprehensively rejected. In his final, more upbeat chapters, Schneider outlines the rapid and remarkable resurgence that genetics and experimental biology have undergone in the PRC since that time. The USSR and the PRC stand out as examples of societies where ideology seriously compromised the scientific advance to which the regimes formally subscribed. But we should not assume that the conflict between ideology and science is peculiar to communist societies. The merit of both these books is that they remind us that science does not develop in a social or political vacuum and that controversy about the role of the state in promoting scientific research, about dependency on foreign money and knowledge, about applied versus "pure" research, and about the role of science in socioeconomic development continues to be vital today.

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David Henry Slavin. *Colonial Cinema and Imperial France, 1919–1939: White Blind Spots, Male Fantasies, Settler Myths*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 300. $42.50.

This book by David Henry Slavin examines the history of French colonial cinema in the interwar period and the shifting role it played in the making of French national identity. These films were usually shot in North Africa, initially in Morocco until the Rif War,

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and then from 1925 mostly in Algeria. The shift signifies a change not merely of location but of genre, from exotic travelogue to gendered and racialized melodrama. Slavin shows how the Morocco of Hubert Lyautey's indirect rule and the pronounced assertion of settler interest in Algeria provided different contexts in which French colonial films were produced. A constant underlying these changes, however, was that colonial politics shaped film themes, and the films in turn were used to legitimize colonial rule. French colonial cinema thus played an important role in making and remaking an assumed difference between the superior French civilization and the exotic, colonized other. It was in the 1920s and 1930s, partly in the arena of colonial film, that Frenchness became distinctly a white identity.

Although only 5.5 percent of the French feature films produced during the period had colonial themes, Slavin contends that this particular genre was influential in replicating what he calls "white blind spots" both in colonial society and in the metropole. His main argument is that these "politics of denial" (p. 4) created a willful amnesia and concealment of the imposed subjugation of women and colonial subjects. In particular, the manifestation of settler interest in Algeria after World War I aligned across social stratification to assert that not class but whiteness was the core of French identity. This whiteness, then, was seen to refer not so much to a phenotype as to the non-Jewish, non-Arab, noncolonized citizen.

Although Slavin clearly states that this volume focuses on themes and hidden messages and not on filmic or visual interpretation, its strength lies in the fine-grained analysis of the films. It is most interesting where the author shows how colonial novels provided the plot for early silent films, which were often remade after the introduction of sound film in 1930. Prominent examples are *L'Atlantide* (1921 and 1932), *Cinq Gentlemen maudits* (1920 and 1930), and *La Maison du Maltais* (1926 and 1938).

The book leaves many questions unanswered. It is unclear why the time period under investigation breaks off with the onset of World War II. Most French colonies gained independence in 1960, Algeria in 1962; a forward look into the late colonial period would have been useful. Slavin emphasizes that French colonial film found a wide audience not only in France but also internationally, but he leaves this intersection between nationalist assertion and international appeal unexplored. *L'Atlantide*, one of the central films discussed in this study, was remade in 1932 as a German film. It was in fact produced in three languages—German, French, and English—to cater to a wide international audience. Slavin merely notes that this version "downplayed specifically French aspects" of the screenplay (p. 37). How does the international production of some of these films affect the argument of their Frenchness?

Slavin does not engage much with theoretical or comparative historiographies. His gender discussion, for example, shows the ambiguity between the assertion of masculinity and its fragility in the films—with the colonized woman frequently playing the role of the doomed saviour of the white man—and a rigidified notion of white femininity from the mid-1920s onward. But this discussion would have profited greatly had the author responded to the literature on the crisis of masculinity in industrial society, particularly in France and Germany, in the early twentieth century. In fact, he could have shown more clearly how the metropolitan crisis in gender identity played out in a colonial setting and in colonial film, especially in the subgenre of the Foreign Legion. Overall, it remains unclear how this study relates to film studies, colonial photography, and the historiography of popular culture in general, a vibrant and growing field in colonial studies. Finally, the rather baroque subtitle alerts to the fact that the narrative tends to leave the reader at a loss. Slavin does not sufficiently introduce the general reader to French history and terminology. The arguments are presented in a rather impressionistic manner, and the chapter headings offer insufficient guidance.

Slavin's enthusiasm for his topic and his determinedly critical stance toward French racism are admirable. He raises a range of fascinating questions and engages the reader's interest in French colonial history and film. However, this study is mostly useful to experts of the field.

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LORRAINE COONS and ALEXANDER VARIAS. *Tourist Third Cabin: Steamship Travel in the Interwar Years*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xxv, 294. $29.95.

Lorraine Coons and Alexander Varias cover new ground in this book by making use of archival collections in France, Britain, and the United States to examine aspects of steamship travel between the wars. They focus on the upgrading of services that accompanied the postwar switch from impoverished migrants to middle-class tourists as the core market for transatlantic shipping lines, as changing U.S. immigration policies congealed the flow of migrants from eastern and southern Europe; the class-related tensions associated with the opening out of steamship travel to new social strata of more limited means than many prewar travelers; the organization of the voyage and the way of life of the crew; the distinctive experiences of female seafarers; advertising and image, with special reference to the identification of the great new "floating cities" with the competing countries whose flags they carried; and the symbolism attached to the choice of decor and the messages it sent about attitudes to modernity and national identity. A brief epilogue looks at the declining years of the transatlantic liners after their service in World War II, and the continuing growth of cruising as distinct from business and direct tourist travel as competition from the airlines intensified.

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These are interesting themes that have thus far received limited treatment from historians, although it is surprising to find Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel 1750 to 1915* (1998), despite its limitations, omitted from consideration. Harvey Levenstein's excellent *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (1998) is also missing. The focus on gender is paralleled by an intermittent interest in race and ethnicity, among passengers rather than crew, but is not matched by any concern with sexual orientation. Paul Barker and Jo Stanley's *Hello Sailor! The Hidden History of Gay Life at Sea* (2003) appeared too late for the authors to use, but it needs to be read alongside this book.

Omissions aside, the book is at best of variable quality. The authors carry much more conviction when writing about art and design history than when tackling social and labor history themes, and the most interesting sections deal with controversies over the planning and decoration of upscale areas of the vessels, including a splendid vignette on the ill-fated commissioning of paintings by the Bloomsbury artist Duncan Grant for the main lounge of the *Queen Mary*, which generated a full-dress row between Cunard's conservative directors and Grant's well-connected patrons and supporters. With further use of the private papers of the people concerned, this could be developed into a fascinating argument about the cultural fault lines that divided the British ruling class of the period.

Such flashes of illumination are intermittent. The authors lack an adequate conceptual and contextual grip on their themes, with the result that chronologies are confused, the narrative flits to and fro between transatlantic and more straightforwardly leisure travel with insufficient signposting, the extent of middle (and working) class participation in sport and leisure travel before World War I is seriously understated, the disreputable vocabulary of "mass tourism" is deployed uncritically, representations of social structure are sometimes hopelessly confused, and (surprisingly) so are ideas about women's work outside the home. The authors show no evidence of having read any of the extensive literature on maritime labor history, nor awareness of the importance of understanding the seaport environments from which most crew members were recruited and where they lived when not on ship. A little extra reading in secondary sources in these areas would have added disproportionately to the book's value.

These unfortunate flaws are compounded by a writing style that combines the sententious with the banal in its attempts to set the wider political scene of the interwar years and at times resorts to inappropriate verbal jokes. Sentences like "Economic sluggishness was rampant throughout Europe" conjure up images that provoke smiles, but presumably this was not the authors' intention. There are mistakes in the transcription of quotations and in written French, a surprising occurrence in a book by specialists in the history of that country. It is a pity that a better book has not resulted from the authors' extensive archival research and the historically revealing stories they have uncovered.

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P. G. A. ORDERS. *Britain, Australia, New Zealand and the Challenge of the United States, 1939–46: A Study of International History*. (Studies in Military and Strategic History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. vii, 262. $72.00.

Cold calculation, imperial sympathies, and distrust of the United States were among the reasons that Britain's Pacific dominions chose to pin their loyalties to the empire during and after World War II, according to P. G. A. Orders. In the prewar period, the southwest Pacific looked much like it had for many years, with European imperial powers holding sway, although Dutch, French, and Portuguese holdings were secondary to Britain's Australia and New Zealand. That world began to change with the Japanese conquests that opened the Pacific War. Older historiography argued that, with large-scale American military forces moving into the region, Pacific dominion policy makers embraced the United States as the natural replacement for a Britain that could no longer protect them. More recent historiography has revised that view to argue that a romantic imperial ideology blunted an appreciation by the Pacific dominions of Britain's decline as a Far Eastern power. Orders sides with the revisionists but works to fine tune the argument. Orders maintains that while policy makers from "down under" initially welcomed the security offered by American arms, they quickly began to distrust that same power. Their reluctance to embrace the United States was not only based on "dewy-eyed" nostalgia for empire but was also rooted in cold-hearted calculation of national interest. Knowing that in two world wars the United States waited for several years to get involved, Australian and New Zealand politicians wondered if the United States would be any more forthcoming in the future. They also understood that, for the foreseeable future, the great bulk of their exports and imports would depend on trade with the empire, not with the United States.

British policy makers, for their part, were distracted by a sea of problems. Fighting for its own preservation in the European theater, Britain remained concerned about also preserving the organization of empire, including the system of imperial trade preferences. By the end of the war, the British and the Pacific dominions still hoped for a resurgence of the empire, despite a crumbling economy and hard bargaining by the Americans.

Disputes among the dominions, Britain, and the United States tended to boil down to three issues: civil aviation, Pacific islands, and trade. Running throughout Orders's narrative is the important issue of trans-

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pacific air travel, a struggle that illustrates the various regional tensions. Australia and New Zealand worked hard to keep alive the idea that an "all red" or imperial system of air routes could be developed, but that vision finally lost to British industrial weakness and overwhelming American economic preponderance.

During the war, Australian and New Zealand policy makers became acutely aware of the great investments the United States was making on various dominion islands as it constructed military bases. Early on, the dominions suspected that the United States would not want to leave those islands at the end of the war and they resisted American efforts to acquire permanent bases. Rather, they attempted to link joint bases to a broader American-Commonwealth regional defense plan. Despite British attempts to offer compromises sufficient to entice the Americans, Australian and New Zealand policy makers opposed ceding their islands to the United States, and hopes for the agreement faded.

As Orders notes, Britain and its dominions did not always see eye to eye. After the war, British policy makers hoped that Britain would be able to participate in a multilateral world economy and supported the Bretton Woods and Anglo-American financial agreements. In contrast, Orders observes, Australian and New Zealand ministers tended to argue that, without measures to stimulate international trade, the new agreements would aggravate the economic problems of weaker, agricultural countries.

There are few missteps in this work. Negotiations over civil aviation routes and bases are key to the author's arguement, but they seem at times to be an appendage to the book rather than carefully incorporated. Orders makes the point that, during the war, Britain became torn between its empire and the United States; I think that Orders could have done more to analyze the hard decisions facing British policy makers. I also hope that Orders plans to venture more deeply into the Cold War era, when conflicts between American and British interests in the former colonial world grew in intensity.

These minor issues aside, Orders has written a useful study that sheds light on the complexity of wartime and postwar relations within the waning empire and with the United States.

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MARÍA JOSEFINA SALDAÑA-PORTILLO. *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas in the Age of Development.* (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 366. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

Whether this book is cultural studies, development studies, discourse studies, or just plain history does not really matter because it is a great book. There is very little of the rather self-conscious "culturalism" and "politicism" that characterizes some other titles in this series and genre. María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo has something to say and tells her story in a most readable manner (no mean achievement). The book's topics are familiar, yet she manages to treat them in an engaging and relevant manner.

Saldaña-Portillo basically argues that Ernesto "Che" Guevara (and Mario Payeras), the Sandinistas, the Zapatistas, and Malcolm X all share the mainstream development philosophy of the Americas and partake of the paradigm of masculinist individual transformation for the good of the nation. Nations develop in a teleological manner according to modernization and Marxist theories alike, and men are the bearers of the modernizing gene. The odd woman out is, of course, Rigoberta Menchú, who here receives original treatment. Menchú is seen to achieve consciousness not through epochal revelation (as the men did) but rather through experience of the mundane, a territory where women, indigenous people, and peasants live their lives. Perhaps the gender differences are made to carry too much weight, but the case is at least plausible.

Saldaña-Portillo's account of the dominant development discourse is a familiar one; what is novel is her claim of a "discursive collusion" between it and the revolutionary movements of the Americas. This is not surprising, really, if we recall that most of these movements have been nationalist ones and the development paradigm was a national development model. But Saldaña-Portillo bases her analysis on a theoretical model of subjectivity and agency of considerable sophistication, interwoven with a sensitive understanding of masculinist narratives of self-development. Che Guevara can be seen to epitomize this thesis. Guevara, and Guatemalan revolutionary leader Payeras, are seen by the author to "experience an epochal conversion to become transformative agents in their own lives and the lives of others" (p. 9). The revolutionary messianic hero thus becomes the catalyst for the transformation of subaltern consciousness in pursuit of what is effectively a revolutionary developmentalism. Whether these historical figures could have articulated another (post)development politics in the 1960s is not a question the author necessarily has to answer to make her case persuasive within its own limits.

What works in relation to the familiar epic of Che Guevara might not work in relation to the Sandinistas and Zapatistas. There is a distinct change of tone in these chapters and a more grounded feel to them—hardly surprising, as Saldaña-Portillo lived and worked in Nicaragua between 1984 and 1987 and was intensely involved with the rural communities she writes about. The Sandinistas come across as paternalistic and coercive in relation to the peasantry, based on their notions of revolutionary transformation and national development. The Zapatistas are seen to offer a less developmentalist model or understanding of the peasants as premodern; rather they see change predicated in the global politics of local everyday life. Sandinistas and Zapatistas are brought into the narrative in a postcelebratory mode that is most welcome. It opens up the way for a new cultural politics that is engaged

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without becoming theological. A final discussion of the autobiography of Malcolm X (and his strong emphasis on the family) and texts from the queer Aztlán around Chicano(a) complex identities make this truly a book on the revolutionary imagination in the Americas, not just another area studies text on Latin America.

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ASIA

ANTHONY DEBLASI. *Reform in the Balance: The Defense of Literary Culture in Mid-Tang China*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 214. Cloth $57.50, paper $18.95.

Earlier generations of intellectual historians have tended to view Tang dynasty (618–907) political and cultural debates merely as precursors to the later development of Neo-Confucianism. More generally, Ming, Qing, and modern readings of China's early cultural history are based on interpretive assumptions that make many aspects of Tang dynasty writings "illegible": the words are the same, but the cultural system in which the texts are embedded is so different that translation fails. Anthony DeBlasi's short book is important both because he clarifies central issues in mid-Tang cultural debates and because, in presenting his case, he offers the reader a glimpse into the richness of the imaginative universe of the medieval Chinese elite. DeBlasi correctly insists that writings on literature, education, politics, and ethics by major mid-Tang cultural figures present a deeply interconnected and (more or less) coherent system worthy of intellectual historical inquiry.

DeBlasi's specific concern is to set out a cultural context for the *guwen* ("Ancient style prose") writers associated with Han Yu (768–824) and Liu Zongyuan (773–819). He demonstrates that the *guwen* advocates were responding to a broadly shared consensus about the nature of the political, social, cultural, and moral problems revealed by the devastating An Lushan rebellion (755–763) that had almost toppled the Tang dynasty a generation earlier. DeBlasi presents this mainstream consensus and the *guwen* response in a series of five tightly organized essays. He begins with a prelude that sketches out the historical context of the rebellion and the shifting of power away from the court to the regional military commissioners and away from the regular elite bureaucracy to the eunuchs, to the military, and to ad hoc fiscal institutions directly under the emperor's control. In the prelude, DeBlasi also sets out his central methodological concerns and key concepts. He rightly stresses that the all-too-common practice of placing Han Yu at the center of mid-Tang elite culture and using his polemical attacks to define the stances he opposed seriously distorts our understanding of the period. DeBlasi notes that *guwen* partisans and mainstream writers like Quan Deyu (759–818), Bai Juyi (772–846), and Liu Yuxi (772–842) in fact shared a commitment to *fugu* ("return to the ancient") but employed the same technical vocabulary to reach different conclusions. DeBlasi argues, in my judgment correctly and importantly, that similarities in the conceptual language of the two groups have led to a miscategorizing of people and to a muddying of issues. DeBlasi proposes that the mainstream elite was committed to the values of balance and suppleness of response to political problems, and to the idea that this balance was made possible by a capaciousness of sensibility that in turn was nourished through a broad mastery of the received literary tradition.

In the essays that follow, DeBlasi draws from a wide range of texts to explore the various aspects of this mainstream view and the *guwen* response. The first chapter deals with mainstream literary theory. The second elucidates the models for education implicit in the literary theory. The third chapter examines both the ways in which a literary education was to guide political action and how the elite understood their place in the structure of governance. The fourth essay turns to the personal implications of the mainstream political model and to the question of when one should serve and how one can lead a moral life. The final chapter sets out the *guwen* counter-arguments to the system of mainstream positions presented in the first four essays.

Although space constraints prevent me from commenting on the particulars of DeBlasi's arguments, his presentation of the general tenor of the debates and the positions taken corresponds well with my sense of the period. Two aspects of his approach, however, merit comment. First, DeBlasi is an intellectual historian who is well attuned to rhetorical and generic issues: that is, on the one hand, he acknowledges the way in which generic expectations and rhetorical conventions strongly shape the manner in which arguments are made, but, on the other hand, he recognizes what is distinctive within the conventional scaffolding. Second, he "gets" the period. Han Yu has proven an easier writer for later readers to understand than has the mainstream elite. Yet DeBlasi effectively conveys the sense of these men living in a world of overlapping levels of all-encompassing patterns. The literary, psychological, social, political, and cosmic were all part of a complex continuum, and mastery of patterns at one level gave insight into and expression to patterns at another. DeBlasi's stepping out of the conceptual realm of late imperial China into the medieval world is an important part his book's accomplishment. DeBlasi provides both a careful disaggregation of the issues in mid-Tang political culture and a synthetic account of the world view within which the mainstream writers framed their arguments. I strongly recommend this book for professional scholars of premodem China, for both graduate and advanced undergraduate students,

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and for historians looking to Tang China for comparative study.

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JOSHUA A. FOGEL, editor. *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors: Chinese Views of Japan in the Ming-Qing Period*. (Signature Books.) Norwalk, CT: Eastbridge. 2002. Pp. vi, 401. Cloth $34.95, paper $24.95.

The book under review is an ambitious, useful, and generally well-written collection of essays on Chinese views of Japan during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties. Editor Joshua A. Fogel is the foremost American scholar in this field. The book consists of an introduction by the editor and eleven chapters by Chinese, American, Canadian, and Japanese scholars. Fogel is to be commended for the book's international scope, and especially for introducing five major Chinese scholars to Western readers. This collection of essays, which stemmed from a 1997 conference, only begins to touch the surface of this important yet underexplored topic. Going beyond diplomatic and economic relations, essays in this book take a fresh approach to Sino-Japanese history by examining issues of cultural and intellectual relationships.

Most of the essays attempt to grapple with questions of Chinese perceptions of Japan and the Japanese people from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Not surprisingly, the authors point out that throughout those several centuries, the Chinese consistently viewed their neighbor "through a lens colored by an exclusive set of Chinese references" (p. 3). Although views toward the Japanese people alternated between "sagacious monks and bloodthirsty warriors," they were always measured by Chinese standards. As Timothy Brook notes in his essay, the traditional Chinese ignorance of and disinterest in Japan stemmed from deep cultural biases. The Chinese always have been fascinated with Japan, viewing it, on the one hand, as an island of cultural borrowers and, on the other hand, as a potential or actual military aggressor. This dual perspective has continuously colored the relationship.

The first two essays, by Wang Yong and Brook, analyze shifting Chinese views of Japan during the Ming era, a time of so-called Japanese or *wokou* piracy and strained relations between the two countries. Under these circumstances, officials, literati, and ordinary Chinese developed negative images of the Japanese, and knowledge of Japan during these years was always linked to military concerns. As a result, as Fogel's essay points out, Chinese knowledge of the Japanese language reached new heights during the Ming dynasty. The essays by Guo Yunjing and Oba Osamu present differing views of Sino-Japanese relations during the early Qing period. While Guo sees a continuation of Chinese distrust of Japan, Oba sees this as a period of new openings in trade and cultural relations. The chapters by Laura Hess and Benjamin Elman deal with intellectual exchanges during the eighteenth century, particularly the trade in books in which Japan was viewed as a repository of rare or lost Chinese classics. Although Chinese perceptions had become more positive, Japan still had no identity of its own but was viewed in terms of Chinese culture. The remaining chapters by Wang Baoping, Wang Xiaoqiu, Joan Judge, and Zhou Qiqian each focus on scholarly exchanges during the late nineteenth century, a time when a number of Chinese intellectuals became interested in Meiji reforms and modernization. Judge's essay on the ideology of "good wives and wise mothers" is particularly interesting and important as it analyzes the complex nature of the Sino-Japanese relationship in an era of tensions and rapid changes. She concludes that Japan offered an array of intellectual choices as well as a space in which young Chinese women and men could act and live without hindrances from the authorities or families back home.

The book is ambitious in its coverage, trying to do too much in such little space. The result is that, although there are several admirable essays, there is no consistent theme running throughout the book. This, of course, is a problem with many edited volumes of essays by scholars from quite different areas and periods of research. This collection's purported theme is supposed to be "Chinese views of Japan in the Ming-Qing period," but actually several chapters sidestep this theme with thick descriptions of Chinese policies toward Japan (Guo), Chinese visitors to Japan (Wang Baoping and Wang Xiaoqiu), and Chinese learning in Tokugawa Japan (Elman). For instance, Wang Xiaoqiu does an excellent job in describing a little-known, late-Qing scholar-official named Fu Yunlong who wrote extensively about his two visits to Japan during official missions in 1887 and 1889. Fu apparently approached his travels with an open mind, hoping that the knowledge he gained would help China to understand better the outside world and to learn from Japan's recent experiences. As Wang explains, Fu actually went to great lengths in his studies to provide accurate information on Meiji modernization efforts, even while insisting that it be done within the framework of Chinese learning. Fu advocated cooperation between China and Japan in resisting Western imperialism and culture. These are intriguing descriptions, but the reader is left to wonder who in China read Fu's books and what sort of influence his books had in shaping Chinese views of Japan during this important period. Another problem is that there is occasional overlap and repetition of the same materials in the chapters by Guo and Oba, by Hess and Elman, and to some extent by Wang Baoping and Wang Xiaoqiu. A little more effort by the editor might have eliminated the overlap.

Despite these shortcomings, this is a useful and welcome book on an important area of study in Asian history. Major scholars in the field of Sino-Japanese relations pack each chapter with new information,

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often available for the first time in English. I have found much of the new material in this book useful in revising my lectures on modern East Asian history. Because the book is so eclectic in its scope and coverage, there is surely something worthwhile for graduate students and all scholars interested in learning more about modern cultural and intellectual relations between China and Japan.

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DI WANG. *Street Culture in Chengdu: Public Space, Urban Commoners, and Local Politics, 1870–1930.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 355. $65.00.

In spite of decades of studies of socioeconomic history and, more recently, cultural history, our knowledge of the daily life of the common people in the history of most cultures and nations remains approximate, to say the least. The Chinese have an extraordinarily rich mine of historical writing stretching back at least three millennia, yet China is no exception to the "rule" that we know far less about the lives of the ordinary than of the extraordinary. Di Wang's painstaking study of street culture in Chengdu, one of China's major interior cities, is therefore a welcome and indeed an admirable endeavor to narrow this gap.

The main body of the book is divided into three parts of two chapters each. The first part portrays street scenes and street life in Chengdu before the imposition of the urban reforms of the early twentieth century. The streets of Chengdu that the author conjures up for us were literally extensions of the household and everyday space, particularly for those whose homes were cramped. Here we see the street as a marketplace where peddlers made their living and residents bought their daily necessities. We see the street as a work site where craftsmen repaired household items and housewives toiled over their work in the doorway. The street was also a stage where itinerant entertainers beguiled pedestrians with their lively shows, as well as an altar where anyone so inclined engaged in religious and folk worship. In addition, teahouses "assumed almost all of the roles of the street" (p. 93) and, moreover, served as a place where business was conducted, laborers were hired, and disputes were mediated.

In the late Qing and the early Republican years, this traditional style of living became the main target of Chengdu's campaigns for modernity. The second part of the book focuses on how new material culture, ranging from foreign goods, novel means of transportation, electricity, and running water to fashions in clothing and leisure activities intruded on old conventionalities and stimulated calls for urban reform early in the twentieth century. A modern police force was established, not only to cope with public disorder, poverty, and social vice but also—as vague as it was ambitious—to regulate morality. Wang continues what Kristin Stapleton began in her book, *Civilizing Chengdu: Chinese Urban Reform, 1895–1937* (2000), namely painting a portrait of Chengdu's early twentieth-century municipal reforms, and he depicts the details at street level. In Wang's portrait, we see that "policing everyday life" (p. 147) in Chengdu involved a constant struggle with traffic congestion, begging, gambling, hooliganism, prostitution, vile public hygiene, and conflagrations.

The urban reform was almost entirely initiated and carried out by Chengdu's local elite as part of China's national drive for modernization. The last part of the book is structured mainly in the form of a discussion of commoner-versus-elite political struggle for control of the street, with the chaotic and often warlord-torn state in the background. Although the word "elite" is frequently used but not clearly defined in socioeconomic terms, and although the author seems not to be particularly concerned about the differences between "ordinary people" and "persons of lower social status" in his category of "urban commoners" (p. 17), a complex picture of contention and wrangling among various interest groups does emerge. As the somewhat peaceful and idyllic life on the street depicted in the first part of the book was broken and, in some aspects, smashed by modernity, revolution, and warlordism, a reshuffling and reconfiguration of the street opened the way for various parties to seek a share of public space. Political rallies, revolutionary rituals, and street combat forever altered life in Chengdu. Amid the upheaval, the ordinary residents of the city also began to rise up in popular protest and to demand political participation. The politicization of everyday life, however, did not benefit the "urban commoners." In the end, Wang concludes, even the unquestionably progressive aspects of modernity, such as "better roads, newer facilities, and more fashionable amusements," were achieved "at the staggering price of the sacrifice of centuries of traditional lifestyle" (p. 251).

This is an engaging and wonderfully readable account of everyday life and popular culture in an indigenous Chinese city at the time of social transition and political turmoil. The book is a fine example of how China's national politics affected the lives of the common people in a particular region. Wang is passionate about his subject, discerning in his analysis, and robust in his presentation. Dozens of photos and drawings, carefully selected from early twentieth century local pictorials, missionary books, and personal collections, provide good allies for the text. Students of Chinese urban history will find this book both riveting and edifying.

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ZHAOJIN JI. *A History of Modern Shanghai Banking: The Rise and Decline of China's Finance Capitalism.* (Studies on Modern China.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. xxxviii, 325. Cloth $69.95, paper $25.95.

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Zhaojin Ji's book is one of three books in English on modern Chinese banking history published in 2003. The other two, Cheng Linsun's *Banking in Modern China: Entrepreneurs, Professional Managers, and the Development of Chinese Banks, 1897–1937* and Brett Sheehan's *Trust in Troubled Times: Money, Banks, and State-Society Relations in Republican Tianjin*, ask why "modern Chinese banks"—banks organized according to Western models—succeeded in spite of political and economic instability. Ji's book is broader in scope and "modern banking" includes the three types of banks—native, foreign, and modern Chinese—found in Shanghai during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The analytical framework divides "the rise and decline of financial capitalism" into three categories: precapitalism (native banks), integrated capitalism (the coexistence of native, foreign, and Chinese modern banks in the early twentieth century), and state capitalism (state control of banks developing under the Nationalist government, 1928–1949). The author also hopes "to stimulate some critical thinking about contemporary development in banking and finance in China" (p. xxii) and, to this end, sets forth certain themes, such as government intervention in banking and management of foreign currency.

Ji, who comes from a Shanghai banking family, brings together much useful information on Chinese banking and finance in a more or less encyclopedic format interspersed with archival photographs. She begins with a chapter on the organization and practices of native banks, which predated the opening of Shanghai to foreign trade in 1843, and discusses how they were affected by the opening of trade. In the following four chapters, she covers aspects of the history of foreign banks and modern Chinese banks, including sections on individual banks, as well as related historical events up to 1928. Then the focus shifts from banks to the financial policies of the Nationalist government, including growing state control of banks, development of a managed currency, efforts to maintain the value of the currency during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), and the postwar hyperinflation. Chapter nine summarizes the process by which the People's Republic government (founded in 1949) completed the state take over of banking, and a brief afterword describes facets of banking in China today.

Generally, information about specific institutions, policies, and events in the body of each chapter is straightforward and informative. As history, the book has limitations. For example, the concepts of precapitalism, integrated capitalism, and state capitalism are not clearly defined nor consistently developed in the narrative. Precapitalism is associated with the pre-1843 economy, which Ji characterizes as "self-sufficient" and "agrarian" without taking into account the extensive literature on commerce, markets, and production in the late imperial economy. Another example concerns the connection between "state capitalism" and the Qing government policy of establishing "merchant-managed, government supervised" (*guandu shangban*) enterprises in the late nineteenth century. Ji asserts that the policy "embodied the political idea of maintaining central government control over business" (p. 64) without considering the less comprehensive but common view that it was a pragmatic plan intended to develop modern, capital-intensive defense industries within a traditional institutional framework. Nor is there discussion of the fact that, at that time, central political authority had been significantly weakened by the mid-century Taiping Rebellion and the policy was implemented mainly through the initiative of provincial officials.

Material for the book comes from Chinese, English, and Japanese secondary sources, published collections of Chinese and American archives, periodicals from the early twentieth century, and some material from the Shanghai Municipal Archives. The breadth of the sources is not balanced by historical depth. For example, the author's reliance on a book of published documents from the Shanghai Stock and Commodities Exchange (SSCE), established in 1920, suggests that it was the only stock exchange in Shanghai. In fact, the China Merchants Stock Exchange opened in 1920 and merged with the SSCE in 1933. The foreign-operated Shanghai Stock Exchange was formed in 1905. Chiang Kai-shek was a broker on the SSCE (p. 136) but not on the Shanghai Stock Exchange (p. xxxvi). Also greater consistency in the citations and more careful copy editing could have made the sources more accessible to readers.

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LINSUN CHENG. *Banking in Modern China: Entrepreneurs, Professional Managers, and the Development of Chinese Banks, 1897–1937.* (Cambridge Modern China Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 277. $65.00.

This book traces the evolution of modern banking in China, more specifically in Shanghai, from the 1897 establishment of the first Chinese bank on a Western model until 1937, when the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war disrupted the economic life and the financial market of the country. Cheng Linsun draws from banking archives (kept in Nanjing Second Archives and Shanghai Municipal Archives), from published or unpublished original documents preserved by major banks, and from a comprehensive Chinese and Western bibliography to present a general history of this hitherto somewhat neglected topic.

In the first three chapters, the approach is chronological.The author describes the origins and growth of Chinese modern banks. Compared to other Western economic institutions that were introduced in China during the nineteenth century, modern banking was adopted quite late by the Chinese, a delay that may be explained by the vitality and coherent organization of the local financial market dominated on one hand by traditional institutions such as *piaohao* (Shanxi banks)

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and *qianzhuang* and, on the other hand, by foreign banks that monopolized import-export trade. In the initial stage of their development, Chinese banks benefited from official patronage. Out of seventeen banks opened for business before the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, fourteen were intiatied by central or provincial governments and organized as official or official-merchant joint ventures. The 1911 revolution brought about the dismissal of the *piaohao* (which had often played the role of financial agencies of the imperial government) and led to the rapid expansion of modern banking. In the favorable context created by the establishment of a republican regime and the Western Powers' retrenchment during and just after World War I, 226 new banks sprang up (from 1912 to 1927), most of them short-lived enterprises located in Shanghai.

According to Cheng, the Golden Age of Chinese modern banks came during the following decade, from 1927 to 1937, when they took a major role in providing loans to industrial projects and credit to peasants in rural areas. Contrary to the generally held opinion, Cheng asserts that during this period banking business was dominated by private interests, at least until the "banking coup" of 1935 when the Nanjing government took control of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications.

The author thinks that the reason for the expansion and prosperity of modern Chinese banks is to be found in their business practices, their management methods (chapters five and six), and the exceptional talent of a group of chief executives such as Jiang Jia'ao, Song Hanzhang, and others (chapter seven).

This well-documented and organized narrative will be useful to all those, teachers and students, who are interested in modern China's economic and financial history. However, scholars already familiar with this field may be not fully convinced by Cheng's revisionist interpretations. The author rejects the generally received views that the expansion of modern Chinese banks during the Nanjing decade resulted mainly from their close connection with government and speculation on government bonds, and that their contribution to China's industrial and rural economic development remained limited. In presenting his thesis, Cheng quite often substitutes assertion for demonstration. He oversimplifies or overstates views he does not agree with to better refute them. But a number of the points he makes (about the professional expertise of Chinese bankers and their capactiy to blend Western managerial technology with traditional, Confucean approaches) deserve attention and should stimulate further research.

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BRETT SHEEHAN. *Trust in Troubled Times: Money, Banks, and State-Society Relations in Republican Tianjin*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 269. $59.95.

Despite Tianjin's importance as Republican China's second largest financial, industrial, and trade center, few scholarly works are available in English that explore its economic development and significance for our understanding of modern China. Drawing on extensive archival work and theoretical studies on trust, money, and banking, Brett Sheehan's book breaks new ground in the history of modern China by providing a comprehensive account of Tianjin's financial, social, and political history in Republican China.

Given the critical role that financial institutions have played in economic development and in people's lives, the history of modern Chinese banking merits careful consideration. However, studies of Tianjin's banking history are largely absent from the historiography of modern China. Sheehan's work is the first to fill this void. During the period covered by this book, Tianjin underwent endless regime changes, constant political chaos, and frequent financial crises. By scrutinizing nine financial crises that wracked Tianjin between 1916 and 1937 and describing Tianjin's bankers' struggle to develop viable strategies to promote people's trust in banks and paper money, Sheehan provides a clear picture of the development of Tianjin's modern banks in Republican China.

Tianjin's modern banks first survived the 1916 moratorium crisis by cooperating with local elites and local government officials. They made Tianjin a stable financial center and producer of a trustworthy paper currency in the midst of the chaos of republican politics. In the following years, Tianjin's banks further expanded and showed the "powerful flesh" of a "tiger" (even though sometimes the "tiger" was simultaneously weak paper) in various financial crises. Various warlord regimes vied for access to bank-controlled financial resources and threatened to disrupt trust in banks and the money they issued. In response, Tianjin's bankers developed a number of strategies to promote trust. Relying on their financial power, they initiated many institutional arrangements and developed certain rules in dealing with government demands. Sheehan's documentation of the increase in bank deposits and paper money shows that this situation continued without a "complete break" throughout the early Nationalist period until 1934. From 1916 to 1934, paper currency circulation of Tianjin's modern banks jumped more than eight times.

Although it focuses on money and banks in Republican China, this book's second contribution lies in its valuable new perspective on the social and political history of modern China. Sheehan's innovative look at state-society relations and the role of elites will certainly be an important resource for sociologists and political scientists who are eager to incorporate a comparative dimension in their work.

The author approaches the questions of local elite activism, tensions between the center and the periph-

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ery, and the emergence of professional bankers by exploring behaviors of the local elite, nonlocal professional bankers, and both local and central state authorities in various financial crises. The book clearly displays the changing role of state authority in promoting trust in bank money. In the 1910s and 1920s, warlord governments tried but failed miserably in enforcing the circulation of paper money by force. Tianjin's professional bank managers and the local elite successfully defied state authority in maintaining or restoring people's trust. In the 1930s, however, the Nationalist government institutionalized its authority over the financial system and made a smooth transition of bank-issued paper money from silver-based to nonconvertible currency in 1935. As a result, state authority implemented monopoly control over the issue of paper money and played the primary role in creating the institutional environment for the rules of the game.

Sheehan explains the causes leading to the rise of Tianjin's professional bankers and the decline of local elites. He points out that form is as important as function and the form of financial systems played key roles in state-society relations. Tianjin's local elite organizations did not adjust to the demands of a growing economy. The emergence of modern banks changed the institutional context of state-society relations, contributing to the decline of local elite influence.

Not the least value of this book is its unique style of narration. Framing the study around Bian Baimei, a professional bank manager of the time, Sheehan draws stories from contemporary newspapers, journals, folk songs, and official documents and makes various players in this book true to life. He turns an ordinarily dull subject into a fascinating one and makes this book a truly enjoyable read.

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Frederic Wakeman, Jr. *Spymaster: Dai Li and the Chinese Secret Service*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 650. $75.00.

Few names from Republican China conjure up such images of mystery and dread as that of Dai Li. Often referred to as China's Heinrich Himmler, the "mystery man of Asia," Dai worked his way up to becoming head of an enormous spy network for Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang (Kuomintang) government by the late 1930s. During World War II, Dai became enmeshed in the American effort in China, forming a close alliance with United States Navy and Milton Miles, which led to charges that America funded the secret agents and torture camps aimed at Chiang's arch enemies, members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Yet the secrecy that surrounded his efforts, the image that loomed larger than the man, and Dai's death in a plane crash in March 1946 left the historical figure virtually unknown and seemingly unknowable.

Plowing through this morass, one of the most distinguished historians of modern China, Frederic Wakeman, Jr., has produced an enormous volume on Dai and his world. Using a wide range of sources including police archives, diplomatic materials, and most particularly the memoirs of former Dai agents published in both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, Wakeman has produced what is quite likely to stand as the definitive work on the spymaster. And what a story it is. From very unauspicious beginnings as an unsavory youth, addicted to gambling and sex, Dai early formed ties with the underworld Green Gang in Shanghai. A series of unlikely connections led him to the Whampoa Military Academy's Sixth Class, where he made himself useful by spying on his classmates as Chiang prepared for the White Terror purge of communists.

Wakeman then traces Dai's rise to power: the assassinations, arrests, tortures, and political infighting. He confirms a standard view of Chiang's rule, that he created competing units with overlapping functions so as to retain personal authority. While Dai targeted communists and their friends, at times the real enemy seems to have been the rival C. C. Clique and its intelligence units. Whenever Dai's power seemed to become too great, Chiang made moves to create a rival. Yet two events in particular strengthened Dai's position: his unswerving loyalty to Chiang at the time of the Xi'an Incident (a gamble that paid off handsomely), and his connections with the U.S. Navy, which gave him access to American money, weapons, and technology. Wakeman details the great effort Dai made to win over Miles and establish the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO).

Wakeman confirms a number of Dai "successes," including assassinations of enemies of Chiang, effective infiltration of rival camps within the Guomindang, and intelligence breakthroughs in the war. Dai's efforts were critical to weakening the warlords and allowing Chiang to set up his wartime base in Sichuan. With foreign help, he achieved some unlikely breakthroughs in code breaking during the Sino-Japanese War. Yet there were failures. Dai might round up, torture, and kill those suspected rightly or wrongly of leftist sympathies, but he failed to detect many communist "moles" within the Guomindang structure, and he missed the removal of the CCP central committee from the French Concession in Shanghai to Jiangxi. His obsession with the communists left Dai ill prepared to deal with the Japanese when war erupted, and his concern with discipline led him to direct the deaths of 2,000 of his own agents. His continued womanizing sometimes compromised his operation. Even "successes" sometimes bred failure. The assassinations of Shi Liangcai and Yang Quan in the 1930s created a huge backlash against Chiang. Terror had its limits in creating a strong civilian regime.

But what does it all mean? Why has one of our most prominent historians of China devoted such effort to

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studying Dai Li? Indeed, Wakeman's previous two books, *Policing Shanghai, 1927–1937* (1995) and *The Shanghai Badlands: Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1937–1941* (2000), together with this one, all deal with the underside of Republican China, and collectively they have a high body count. For this reviewer, these three works all suggest a strong continuum from Chiang Kai-shek's China to that of Mao Zedong. The White Terror, the arrests, the confessions, and the recantations of Chiang's era gave way to the more efficient efforts of Maoist China. Modern China remains a society in which personal freedom, security, and confidence in the due process of law are lacking. The technology of the modern state in the hands of a Dai Li or of the Chinese Communist security apparatus can produce a reign of terror. Wakeman's chilling account is a must read for students of modern Chinese history.

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ODD ARNE WESTAD. *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946–1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 413. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

Countering what has been conventional wisdom in China and in the West, Odd Arne Westad argues that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had by no means won over the countryside prior to the start of the civil war, and that the CCP victory was not a foregone conclusion until at least 1948. To substantiate this argument, Westad examines almost every imaginable cultural, political, social, economic, and military factor, from movies and student protests to peasant unrest and military armaments. Included in his splendidly reasoned book are discussions of the Korean War and of the Sino-Soviet relationship both before and immediately after 1949.

Westad makes the case that, had two key battles in the Northeast gone another way, the outcome of the civil war might have been different. Until the end, it was touch and go. The CCP had superior tactics and greater flexibility, but, in the end, the Communists won because the Guomindang (GMD) made a lot of bad decisions. Also critical to CCP success was the party's superb propaganda war. CCP operatives undermined the GMD's crumbling legitimacy and brought the Communist government an urban-educated cadre capable of staffing its new administration.

According to Westad, the civil war, not the CCP, was to blame for the elimination of foreign influence in China after 1949. The GMD's failure to deal adequately with a faltering economy and Jiang Jieshi's inability to satisfy the expectations of discontented urban groups undermined the cosmopolitan nature of cities like Shanghai before the CCP took power. As the chaos escalated in the late-1940s, foreigners fled China.

Shortly after the CCP triumphed in 1949, the new government was confronted by a growing Korean conflict. As American forces pushed into North Korea, Mao Zedong determined to show the world that China could successfully stand up to the United States. Mao's decision to intervene in Korea was made knowing that, in return, the United States would probably prevent the CCP from occupying Taiwan. Westad infers that Mao understood that China would not be able to take Taiwan when he ordered Chinese troops to join the Korean conflict.

Many of these fascinating and sometimes groundbreaking conclusions are speculative. The problem with accepting Westad's argument that the key to the civil war was a few decisive battles in the Northeast that could have gone differently is that no one really knows what would have happened if the key players had acted in other ways. Would a GMD inclined to gaffes not have blundered elsewhere if it had somehow pursued different tactics in the battles for the Northeast?

Although Westad argues that the rural populace was not securely in the pocket of the CCP prior to the start of the civil war, some very recent studies have maintained that this was in fact the case. In an article in the November 2003 issue of *Modern China* ("Hong Kong and Communist Resistance in South China, 1937–1945"), Gordon Y. M. Chang finds that CCP strength among the peasantry was actually much greater in many parts of South China than previously estimated, mostly because the CCP was able to take advantage of the sanctuary of Hong Kong. Another article by Yang Wu in the same issue concludes, on the basis of a detailed study of two local areas, that CCP support among the rural populace of North China, while fragmented, was nonetheless extensive, as older studies such as Chalmer Johnson's *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937–1945* (1963) have long maintained.

Mao, unlike GMD head Jiang Jieshi, at least acted like he had faith in the local populace. During the civil war, Mao granted local rural cadres the independence to react to the changing and varied situation in their areas. He was not as worried as were his rivals about whether these local leaders would remain loyal to the center if he allowed them to make their own strategic decisions during the conflict.

Quibbles aside, this is a book that anyone who wants to know about the period has to read. The data Westad has uncovered is fascinating, and many of his conclusions are stimulating. His postscript, which argues that the CCP's post-1949 actions would have been different if the CCP had owned up to what really happened in the civil war, is not as strong as other parts of the work. But this does not detract from a book that needs to be read.

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KAREN GARNER. *Precious Fire: Maud Russell and the Chinese Revolution*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 295. $39.95.

This fascinating book tells the truly unique story of an American woman missionary who experienced total change of mission. From Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) to communist activist, Maud Russell's career represented a departure from those of most missionaries, who usually maintained their American Christian identities despite developing strong affection for China. By contrast, Russell was very much converted to the Chinese Communist cause and became a procommunist activist after she returned to the United States in 1943.

Trying to explain Russell's change of mind, Karen Garner makes a powerful case by using global feminism as her interpretative framework. Born into the Progressive era in 1893, Russell was very much influenced by her family's social activism. Her grandparents worked for the prohibition movement. Her paternal grandmother and her mother participated in the temperance crusade. Growing up, Russell took on the responsibility of promoting equality and social justice worldwide. As a missionary, she was keenly aware of Chinese women's suffering. Therefore, she welcomed the Chinese revolutions and their efforts to liberate women. Her commitment to global feminism formed the basis of her acceptance of communism in China.

One remarkable feature of the book is its success in presenting the historical complexity of a radical feminist such as Russell. Despite her Progressive and feminist background, Russell initially demonstrated the arrogance typical of American missionaries, displaying "her conviction that sympathetic and superior Americans were in a position to aid 'helpless' China" (p. 29). Gradually, however, she grew more appreciative of Chinese culture and society. More important, she acquired a deep understanding of Chinese political development and "believed that China's anti-imperialist protests were part of a democracy-building process" (p. 33). The most important inspiration for Russell's personal transformation was her strong feminist convictions that guided her to put Chinese women's liberation ahead of American Christian evangelization.

Russell's change of ideology led to her deep political involvement in both China and the United States. She supported the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. She was active in YWCA efforts to mobilize Chinese women for the war against Japan. Russell was probably the first missionary to realize that "America's Progressive values were not the answer to China's national problems" (p. 107). She thus accepted communism as a workable alternative and went to Yanan in 1939, initiating friendships with many Chinese Communist Party leaders. After being repatriated to the United States in 1943, she made herself a strong female voice in the male-dominated American Communist Party (CPUSA). Her radicalism forced her to retire from the YWCA in 1946. In the meantime, however, she found a suitable place to demonstrate her talent by becoming the executive director of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (CDFEP). It was in this capacity that Russell challenged many aspects of American China policy, especially after the Chinese Communist victory in 1949.

Russell's story eventually ended in tragedy. Her advocacy for radical policy alternatives almost led to accusations that she was a communist spy. Her absolute loyalty to the worldwide communist cause kept her silent toward Soviet brutalities such as the crackdowns in Poland and Hungary. Furthermore, her blind affection for Chinese Communism led her to justify some of the worst social and political disasters in Chinese history, including the Cultural Revolution and government suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen student movement. Russell died on November 6, 1989, heartbroken over the failing international communist movement.

Overall, this book could be strengthened by incorporating more material to reflect the Chinese side of the story in order to demonstrate the interactions between Russell and her Chinese counterparts. It would be better if more interpretive themes were developed in the body of the narrative. The book is, nevertheless, an important addition to missionary scholarship because it points to a new direction in understanding the relationship between feminism and society.

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STEVEN E. PHILLIPS. *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945–1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 256. $55.00.

After studying in Taiwan over thirty years ago, three incidents remained buried in my memory: one of our Taiwanese teachers was arrested, the caretaker at a Confucian temple urged me to speak either Japanese or the Taiwan language with him as he could not speak Mandarin (*guoyu*), and some Taiwanese youths made fun of my Mandarin. The memories surfaced when I read Steven Phillips's book on the interaction between the Guomindang (GMD) and the Taiwanese during the late 1940s. He is perfectly right, in my case as well as those of most of my classmates, when he writes that "Americans . . . paid little attention to the Taiwanese because the islanders' 'provincial' agenda did not fit neatly into the Cold War context" (p. 142).

After an informative introductory chapter, including an adumbrated look at pre-1895 Taiwan history, Phillips devotes a chapter to the half-century of Japanese occupation of the island (1895–1945). He makes clear that the Taiwanese reaction was a complex one. They felt abandoned by China when the latter signed the island over to the Japanese in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. This "abandonment" later was used as a reason for not welcoming rule by the mainlanders in

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1945. At the same time, the elite recognized that the Japanese created economic prosperity and law and order. And yet, Taiwanese were treated as second-class subjects of the Japanese emperors during the occupation. Hence, the main response of the Taiwanese elite was to struggle for increased autonomy within the Japanese empire rather than for outright independence.

In chapters three, four, and five, Phillips deals with the heart of his account, the return of Taiwan to mainland rule and the February 28 "incident." Expecting the orderly rule of the Japanese colonialists, the Taiwanese got the corruption and violence of a GMD regime in the throes of disintegration on the mainland. The resultant February 1947 explosion and the Nationalists' reaction to it firmly established the framework of GMD rule in Taiwan until Chiang Ching-kuo liberalized the regime in the late 1980s. During this forty-year period, Taiwanese either made their peace with Nationalist rule, by withdrawing from politics or serving the regime, or suffered the consequences.

In chapter six, Phillips humanizes his story by discussing several members of the Taiwanese elite and their different reactions to harsh GMD rule. Those who were too public in their opposition to the GMD met grim (extrajudicial) fates. Others walked a fine line, on the one hand accepting Nationalist rule, and on the other, criticizing when they could get away with it. Some activists from the Japanese colonial era simply gave up on politics. Finally, some became "accommodationists," that is, they served the Nationalists and hence prospered. Time, as it turned out, was on the side of the Taiwanese. One of the "accommodationists" (Lee Teng-hui) lived long enough to be elected president of Taiwan, marking the culmination of "Taiwanization" of the island's government.

Even though Phillips disclaims any attempt to project the present ongoing "Taiwan crisis" into past history, the reader cannot help viewing this volume in that light. Is Taiwan a nation, state, or province? China's position, that Taiwan is a province and should be returned to mainland control, is clear. The position of Taiwanese, this fine study shows, has been more complex. Drawing on the Japanese colonial experience, the author demonstrates that neither assimilation by the mainland nor independence has captured the allegiance of many Taiwanese.

Reading Phillips's superb account of the "encounter" between the Nationalists and the Taiwanese from 1945 to 1950 has been a revelation. Moreover, in arguing his thesis, he makes every word count. It is rare to find a study that in a mere 150 pages deals with a slice of history in such a way that the reader is convinced, after finishing it, that all the important issues have been thoroughly and persuasively covered. Phillips has dug out the relevant Chinese and English sources as well as a few Japanese materials. His notes provide the necessary citations and information to support his arguments and descriptions in the text. Students of Taiwan history and Republican Chinese history will find much here to deepen their understanding. United States policy makers also would be well served by reading this book.

ROGER B. JEANS
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PITMAN B. POTTER. *From Leninist Discipline to Socialist Legalism: Peng Zhen on Law and Political Authority in the PRC*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 259. $55.00.

In this short book, Pitman B. Potter has taken upon himself a formidable challenge: to write an interesting and compelling political and legal biography of an individual who was, for most of his life, the quintessential (but powerful) Leninist apparatchik. I'm no specialist in legal literature, but I would imagine that this is a fairly novel genre as far as legal biographies go. Unlike American legal historians who dissect their subjects' law school papers, diaries, and famous cases and decisions, Potter focuses on the public speeches and essays penned by a man who was not intellectually innovative, whose political fortunes largely depended on those of his political patron, and whose role in the legal system was mainly that of a hard-line enforcer of the party line. "A major aspect of Peng's political personae," Potter writes, "was his ruthless pursuit of party goals set for him by his superiors" (p. 14). Peng Zhen (1902–1997) was a conservative, even by the standards of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). As Potter recounts in the first four chapters, Peng fulfilled many roles: he excelled in party organization; he zealously ferreted out various "enemies" within the party and outside of it before and after the Communist victory in 1949; he served as Beijing's mayor for many years prior to the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), at which time he was ousted by Mao Zedong. After the Cultural Revolution, he was politically rehabilitated and served as a leader of China's legislature, the National People's Congress (NPC). With the exception of a mild critique of Mao over the disastrous Great Leap Forward and resistance to Mao's radicalization of politics in the early 1960s (feelings that were widely shared among the CCP elite), Peng did not display any characteristic that would make him a worthy subject for a full-scale biography. Even in Potter's generally positive appraisal of his life, Peng rarely established policy, set new directions, or contributed to innovative thinking in political theory or jurisprudence. So why, then, did the author devote prodigious amounts of time researching his life?

Peng, according to Potter, became very consequential in Chinese political and legal history largely as a result of his efforts to thwart his rival, Deng Xiaoping, after the latter gained effective control of the CCP after the death of Mao in 1976. He did this by attempting to strengthen, either directly or by sanctioning local initiatives, the NPC, as well as local people's representative congresses. The NPC in particular, Potter argues, gained institutional heft and

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influence not to strengthen the rule of law in China or because of a belated recognition that securing individual rights helps prevent the sort of tyranny many Chinese experienced during the Cultural Revolution, but rather because Peng needed a power base from which to curtail Deng's power and obstruct the reform process. Potter stresses that Peng, despite his travails during the Cultural Revolution, remained true to his Leninist views and continued to view law as "a mechanism to achieve the policy goals of socialism, particularly the centrality of the Party/state and the importance of public ownership in the economy" (p. 140). Law was a "weapon of policy ... the authoritative articulation of political, social and economic policies, sanctioned by the Party and enforced by the state" (pp. 141, 110). Peng, however, seemed to be unaware of the possibility of unintended consequences. The NPC, according to Potter, was a conservative institution in a liberalizing polity, but by insisting that laws actually needed to be written down and widely debated—a view not shared by all in Deng's circle—Peng laid the foundation for more assertive people's congresses after his retirement in 1988. For Potter, Peng's lasting contribution was to make it more difficult for other elites to "ignore the importance of the legislative process, as the legitimacy of the regime had come to depend in part at least on claims to respect the rule of law" (pp. 133–34). Law, even in its most positivist and instrumentalist forms, has become a much more prominent element of political discourse in the People's Republic, in large part thanks to Peng's political and legal manuevers. For those interested in the evolution of China's legislature and the reintroduction of legal discourse in the post-Mao period, chapter five of this book is an indispensable read.

My guess is that this book will become the standard work on Peng in the English language for some time. It is well written and researched and reasonably comprehensive for a biography of an elite politician in China. The book, however, does have its drawbacks. Even for a Leninist, Potter's Peng is too much of the apparatchik, given that he made a singular contribution in pushing through one of China's most consequential innovations in rural politics: the Organic Law on Village Committees (1987, revised in 1998), which reintroduced grass-roots elections in villages. Peng, we know from research conducted by political scientists Kevin J. O'Brien and Li Lianjiang, believed that grass-roots democracy was a matter of life and death for the CCP, and he devoted a great deal of time breaking down opposition to it within the NPC; he personally called the minister responsible for implementing the law to make sure that he would give it more than lip service. This important episode in Peng's later life is not given enough attention. It is also problematic that much of Potter's data comes from Peng's public speeches, published essays, and rather hagiographic memoirs written about him. Not only do these heavily edited and jargon-filled sources make for rather dry reading at times (that said, one has to pity scholars that have to slog through hundreds of speeches written by Leninist party functionaries), this sort of material often obscures motivation, interests, and political machinations; Potter often deduces rather than proves them. A more comprehensive biography probably awaits the opening of central CCP archives; unfortunately, this is not an event we expect to happen anytime soon.

NEIL J. DIAMANT
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MORNING SUN. Written, directed and produced by Geremie R. Barmé, Carma Hinton, and Richard Gordon. United States. 2003; color; 117 minutes. Distributed by Long Bow Group.

The Cultural Revolution presents China historians with challenges comparable to the conundrums faced by students of the Jewish Holocaust. It is hard to explain how, within two months, from June to August 1966, the Red Guard became a decisive and destructive force. What banal details can account for the seeming madness of a generation turned brutal to the point of denouncing parents and beating teachers to death? The well-wrought documentary *Morning Sun* is the latest attempt to place the years of chaos in context. Although it does not uncover many new details, the film's coherent use of visual material provides a fresh and convincing examination of the dynamics that paved the way for the Cultural Revolution.

Morning Sun's major contribution consists in focusing on contemporary images and foregrounding their importance in molding the collective mindset. The film opens with the climax of *The East Is Red*, the 1964 revolutionary musical. *The East Is Red* accompanies the narrative throughout, as a visual illustration of the ideals imbued in the generation of the Red Guard. Yet the musical is also presented as an active agent in shaping the period, one of the many visual artifacts that determined the daily behavior and ideological beliefs of those who took part in the Cultural Revolution. *Morning Sun* validates the argument that images were a major force in the cultural makeover. The film draws attention to the scope of cinematic propaganda, including musicals such as *The East Is Red*, pseudo-documentaries such as *Lei Feng* (1964), feature films such as *Never Forget!* (1964), and dubbed productions from the Soviet Union and North Korea such as *The Gadfly* (USSR, 1955). The last in particular is used to show the contradictory messages, from revolutionary sacrifice to repudiating paternalist authority, with which the Red Guard had to contend. The Soviet film provided the Red Guard generation with a vehicle for fashioning their ideology before, during, and after the Cultural Revolution.

Clips from *The East is Red* and other contemporary films punctuate the initial exuberance and multiple disenchantments of the Red Guard recounted by prominent members of the generation. The interview-

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ees include children of high officials who had fallen from grace. Their testimony ranges from inside stories of party factionalism—Liu Ting and her mother, Wang Guangmei, tell of the persecution of Ting's father, Mao Zedong's designated heir Liu Shaoqi—to more personal experiences, such as Li Nanyang's repudiation of her father, Mao's secretary Li Rui, and later realization that he had been wronged. Of the same age group are Red Guard celebrities, such as Luo Xiaohai, one of the first to use the appellation "Red Guard," and Song Binbin, the young woman chosen to greet Mao at Tiananmen. Their personal anecdotes capture the absurdity of the Cultural Revolution better than dry accounts. Song tells how Mao commented on her name, Binbin, which conveys refinement, and said that she had better "be militant." Without her consent, newspapers changed Binbin's name to Yaowu, literally "be militant." Later, the new name landed her in trouble, and she had to change her name yet again, choosing a random Chinese character. Even the present interview does not show her face, to protect her anonymity.

The combination of oral history and visual materials provides a palpable exposition of revolutionary culture. For example, *Morning Sun* shares Roderick MacFarquhar's thesis that traces the events of 1966 to the intraparty debates during the Great Leap Forward. Yet in focusing on everyday experience, the film shows how high-level enmity could be manifested in grassroots strife. The Red Guards' paranoia and militaristic rhetoric may well have been rooted in the rift with the Soviet Union and the tension between the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army, yet they became part of the youth's mindset and vocabulary through the contemporary counter-espionage films, which called upon children to be vigilant against counterrevolutionaries in their midst, even if they should turn out to be one's own teachers or parents.

Morning Sun, together with the superb accompanying website (www.morningsun.org), are welcome teaching tools. High school, college, and graduate students alike stand to gain insights into the dissonances of the culture of revolution and the dilemmas of the Red Guard generation. As do all treatments of atrocities of this order, the film will still leave spectators wondering how it could all have taken place.

YOMI BRAESTER
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KEI USHIMURA. *Beyond the "Judgment of Civilization": The Intellectual Legacy of the Japanese War Crimes Trials, 1946–1949*. (LTCB International Library, number 14.) Translated by STEVEN J. ERICSON. Tokyo: International House of Japan. 2003. Pp. xvii, 336.

This is a subtle book about a subject generally presented in the broadest of strokes, which may explain why the original Japanese edition won a major prize. Kei Ushimura begins by rejecting the stance that "civilization" was the plaintiff in the Tokyo War Crimes Trial and traces the history of that assertion. Not only did the lead prosecutor open the trial with that claim but Maruyama Masao, a prominent postwar Japanese intellectual, also concurred in a famous essay that decried the "dwarfishness" of wartime leaders for their failure to accept responsibility for their crimes. Through a close reading of the trial transcripts and other documents, Ushimura shows that Maruyama systematically ignored statements in which the defendants did acknowledge responsibility. Moreover, contrary to Maruyama's assertions, the Japanese leaders acted much as did their counterparts on trial at Nuremberg. Ushimura's message is that both the prosecutors and Japanese leftists did Japan a disservice by portraying the trial in such a black-and-white way, making it easier for other Japanese then and since to reject the exercise as hypocritical victor's justice.

Deftly showing how Japanese and Allies influenced each other and shaped later perceptions of the Tokyo trial, Ushimura matches several pairs of Japanese and Westerners, including novelist Takeyama Michio (most famous for *The Harp of Burma*) and Dutch justice Bernard Röling, who became friends during the course of the trial. Both produced nuanced analyses of war responsibility. In a remarkable essay written in 1946 but not published until 1951, Takeyama cast "modern civilization" as the defendant rather than the prosecutor. Invoking the tale of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, he argued that Japan's "evil" deeds derived from its use of modern organizational and propaganda technologies, not from its feudal benightedness, as intellectuals such as Maruyama had claimed. By implication, the Allied nations sitting in judgment also contained their own evil twin, modern Mr. Hyde. And, more subtly, Japanese critics also bore some responsibility for wartime policies. Judge Röling issued a dissenting statement, finding five of the twenty-eight defendants not guilty but also recommending the death sentence for three others who had been given life in prison by the majority of the justices. His carefully reasoned judgment, Ushimura suggests, was informed by his conversations with Takeyama, respect for Japanese people, and modest recognition that neither he nor the other judges embodied civilization itself.

The Tokyo trial introduced many Japanese civilians to the facts of Japanese wartime actions such as the Nanjing Massacre and established postwar remembrance of the war in Japan on many points. The trial thus operated as a site of remembrance for both Japanese and Westerners, and Ushimura's book, at one level, is a meditation on historical remembrance. Informed by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) as well as Japanese struggles over how to remember the years of war and occupation, Ushimura criticizes both those who ignore Japanese war crimes and those who treat them as uniquely Japanese. Participants and observers alike frequently used the Tokyo trial as an opportunity to define civilization and barbarity. Often civilization

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was framed as Western or even global, as against Japanese barbarity, but the concept was more flexible than one might suppose. One of the defendants, former foreign minister Togo Shigenori, wrote a memoir in prison that stressed the views of his predecessor, Mutsu Munemitsu, who had argued that the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 represented the triumph of Western civilization, embodied by Japan, against the "old civilization" of East Asia, represented by China. Togo thus invoked both the context of global imperialisms and Japanese efforts to join the ranks of the Great Powers. He framed the Pacific theater of World War II as a "challenge-and-response" narrative, in which Americans and Japanese reacted to each other in a tragic escalation of hostilities. American insistence before Pearl Harbor that Japan alone withdraw from the Asian continent made it impossible, he averred, for any Japanese government to comply, setting in motion a series of events that could only end in war.

This is an interesting book, well translated with a strong authorial voice; at the most fundamental level, Ushimura wishes to remind his readers of the essential humanity of everyone involved. He may be too kind to a few of his subjects, but his reminder that the consequences of dehumanizing others are rarely positive is both timely and important.

LAURA HEIN
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GI-WOOK SHIN and KYUNG MOON HWANG, editors. *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present*. (Asia/Pacific/Perspectives.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003. Pp. xxxi, 159. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.95.

This book offers what an edited volume should: a multiplicity of perspectives on a common topic with sufficient introduction and cross-references.

The 1980 Kwangju Uprising looms large on the map of contemporary South Korean history. It is no exaggeration to say that it is nearly universally appreciated as a critical landmark in South Korea's political and social struggle over the 1980s and 1990s, and it is precisely this uniform appreciation of its historical salience that warrants critical analysis. Although the contributors by no means challenge Kwangju's rightful historical prominence, they do interrogate orthodox understandings of the event. The book's fitting subtitle serves as a handy reference to what it is that makes "Kwangju" (i.e. the uprising) contentious: first, its character as a social movement or struggle; and second, its life as a post-1980 historical legacy.

This is in large part a well-integrated volume because of a first-rate introduction by coeditor and sociologist Gi-Wook Shin and a provocative afterword by coeditor and historian Kyung Moon Hwang. Shin's contribution is remarkably efficient: readers will find there exactly the pithy historical background needed in order to make sense of the work's points of contention. The uprising is also succinctly reviewed as a process, a ten-day struggle in Kwangju and its vicinity from May 18 to May 27 aptly characterized by contributor Keunsik Jung as "comprehensive" (p. 44).

To take up the book's first arena of contention—the character of the social movement or struggle—I begin with Hwang's bold challenge to what he dubs "the now solidly orthodox view of Kwangju as an indispensable source of Korean democratization" (p. 133). Hwang argues compellingly that the actions of Kwangju's citizens, remarkable though they were, are best understood to have been "driven first and foremost by rage in the face of the unspeakable brutality of the government troops." This he contrasts with the received understanding of an "idealistic striving for democracy" (p. 136). Hwang reminds the reader that the struggle for democracy is one with a long history preceding and following Kwangju. To those who celebrate the collective action and vision in Kwangju, as in the case of political scientist Jung-woon Choi's essay on the "absolute community" of the Citizen's Army, Hwang asks that democratic behavior be distinguished from a struggle for democratization. Indeed, we can appreciate the contributions by Hwang and Choi as a fascinating social and political dialogue of enormous contemporary interest. Of note is that Hwang is a U.S.-based academic, whereas Choi writes from Seoul; this collection is greatly enhanced by the contributions of four scholars/public intellectuals from South Korea.

The debate over Kwangju's rightful place in the history of democratic struggle and realization takes on further life in the contributions of Jong-chul Ahn of the National Human Rights Commission of Korea and United Presbyterian Church missionary Jean W. Underwood. Ahn analyzes the class composition of the Kwangju citizens active in the uprising, distinguishing between the largely college-educated leadership with roots in the city's earlier democratization struggles and the class-variegated rank-and-file protesters, including many young blue-collar workers. This demographic analysis contributes to a nuanced understanding of the heterogeneous motives of Kwangju participation. Underwood's eyewitness account parses the diversity of the participants in Kwangju from the interesting perspective of missionaries who were actively engaged with the Citizens Settlement Committee formed to negotiate with the military.

The contributors' debate over the character of the Kwangju legacy is every bit as interesting as their discussion of Kwangju as a social movement. Anthropologists Linda S. Lewis and Ju-na Byun take us most forcefully into South Korea's present with their discussion of the Kwangju victims (including relatives of the deceased and the many injured). They assert that the victims have been doubly victimized, once in Kwangju and again by South Korea's contemporary moment, in which the turbulent 1980s are quickly receding into a distant past (p. 62). The current activism of Kwangju survivors and injured is organized around the contemporary constructs of "health" and "human rights,"

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constructs that have moral suasion in a transformed South Korea (p. 62). Sallie Yea echoes these observations on the postpolitical in contemporary South Korea with a fascinating discussion of South Chôlla Province's regional identity today. Similarly, historian Don Baker examines the post-Kwangju framing of Kwangju "victims" or "heroes." Echoing Hwang's challenges to Kwangju as a democratization struggle, Baker reflects both on the complex motives of participants and on a number of rich cultural texts (from fiction to film) that variously document the spirit of Kwangju.

In one of the book's most exciting contributions, Jung-kwan Cho takes up the Kwangju legacy from a new vantage point: that of regime elites. Through detailed documentary history of state action in the 1980s, including surveys of government officials, Cho examines the on-the-ground political life of the legacy of the brutal suppression of Kwangju. Although it is widely appreciated that Kwangju was critical to the legitimacy crisis of the Chun Doo Hwan regime, this essay convinces that regime elites' consensus that "military suppression was not a viable alternative" in the June 1987 democracy struggle was founded on the understanding that the South Korean populace would not tolerate "another Kwangju" (p. 75). Cho offers a quite different way of understanding the Kwangju legacy in the history of South Korean struggles for democracy.

This book deserves the attention of those with general interests in social movements and historical memory. More specifically, the volume should be carefully studied by students of democratic transitions, and by all observers of South Korea's recent history and contemporary social and political life.

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DORIS R. JAKOBSH. *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 296. Rs. 1000.00.

Appropriating the pioneering methodology of Joan Wallach Scott, Doris R. Jakobsh provides the first critical gendered reading of Sikh history and culture. This is a welcome departure from current trends in resurrecting women's voices in Sikh studies, which make do with simply inserting women into Sikh history without altering the hegemonic, patriarchal narrative of the tradition in any way. Jakobsh goes beyond the dominant formulation that informs such texts to provide an analysis of the way that Sikh women have been perceived by male Sikh intellectuals throughout Sikh history (1469-present), and of how this perception has been made to play a role in the construction of the "true" Sikh: namely the hypermasculine Sikh male of the Khalsa Order.

As the context of the book under review is the entire history of the Sikhs, it may be divided into two uneven chronological sections: the early period beginning with Guru Nanak, the founder of the tradition, and ending with the rise of the Punjab Kingdom (1469-*ca.* 1800), and the later generally ending when Sikhs *en masse* joined the Indian nationalist movement (*ca.* 1800-present). Sources for the second period are more abundant thanks to the mid-nineteenth-century appearance of the printing press in the Punjab and its regular use by the Sikh intelligentsia, particularly members of the Singh Sabha or Singh Society, who sought to recast Sikhism in light of their own "enlightened" understandings of religion, nationhood, and modernity.

Jakobsh masterfully reconstructs the efforts of these middle-class male intellectuals in the second section and those of the precolonial Sikh gurus and savants from whom they inherited the Sikh tradition in the first. What I find particularly striking is her discussion of the large-scale entry of the Jat caste into the Sikh Panth (pp. 32–34), a topic that has generated a great deal of controversy over the last thirty years. Refracting the hymns of the gurus and other early evidence through the lens of gender, Jakobsh conjectures that it was specifically Jat women who were attracted to the emancipatory message of the Sikh gurus in the fifteenth century since they "had the most to gain from rejecting the restrictions placed upon them by the orthodox brahmanical system." She continues that as Jats were noted for their "disposition of equality" such entry "would have threatened the established order of the Sikh Panth" (p. 34). Jakobsh supports her contention through reference to the hymns of Guru Ram Das. In the light of this new interpretation, the guru's allusion to women as "corrupting" is transferred from the level of symbol to that of the actual.

There is a discussion in part one, however, about which I have some misgivings. Jakobsh's account of the initial female exclusion from the Khalsa Sikh ritual of initiation, *khande di pahul* ("nectar stirred with the double-edged sword"), is very persuasive generally but problematic in its specifics. Jakobsh here contrasts what she calls the "masculine" two-edged *khanda* used in the ritual—the symbol of the "true" (read "male") Sikh—with that of the *karad*, the "domestic" knife she associates with women (p. 42). This last association is knotty, as eighteenth and nineteenth-century *rahitnamas* or Sikh codes of conduct make it clear that the *karad*, although definitely not part of the initiatory ritual, was included in the list of weapons that all male Sikhs initiated into the Khalsa must wear.

Jakobsh is at her best in the second section of this book. Situating the construction of gender within the appropriate Victorian context in which the British first colonized the Sikhs, she details how eighteenth-century Victorian images of womanhood were mapped onto Punjabi Sikh women to the benefit of both the Singh Sabha and the colonial authorities, who saw in Khalsa Sikh men and women kindred spirits (a recognition that, for Jakobsh, belongs to "the politics of similarity"; p. 69). Indeed, her discussion of the

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"Kaur" signifier, the surname that all contemporary women initiated into the Khalsa must take, has changed the way I understand the overall history of the Khalsa. Whereas many of us believed it was a process originating in the eighteenth century, Jakobsh demonstrates without doubt that it was in fact developed only in the early twentieth as part of the overall agenda of the Singh Sabha.

In this section, too, there is one area where I remain unconvinced, and once again this concerns specifics. Jakobsh's discussion of Vir Singh's novel *Sundari* (1898) is intriguing but somewhat exaggerated. Was Sundari really understood as an unreachable, goddess-like being by Sikhs of the early twentieth century, as Jakobsh suggests? This is exactly the opposite of what Nikky Singh has claimed. The situation is far more complex, as during the Gurdwara Reform Movement (1919–1925) there are accounts of many brave male Sikhs drawing their inspiration from the novel's character. Does this make the character far more "human" than Jakobsh suggests? It seems so to me. It must be acknowledged, however, that Jakobsh ends her discussion of the novel before the beginning of the Gurdwara Reform Movement.

These are very minor complaints and should in no way detract from the book's original contribution to the history of the Sikhs. I heartily recommend it to all those concerned with the history and religion of the Sikhs, with women's history, and with South Asian colonial history.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Guy Chet. *Conquering the American Wilderness: The Triumph of European Warfare in the Colonial Northeast.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 207. Cloth $60.00, paper $18.95.

In an invigorating book, Guy Chet takes steady aim at the legendary portrayal of the prowess of American arms as entailing the rejection of hidebound European military doctrines in favor of a more mobile and tactically offensive style of war. Chet maintains that the colonial era saw not the eclipse but the vindication of European approaches based on combining aggressive strategies with careful and usually defensive battlefield tactics. In military affairs, "the colonies gravitated towards England's cultural and administrative sphere of influence" (p. 6). By contrast, the offensive tactics often favored by French and aboriginal forces were determined "by strategic and logistical *weakness*" (p. 139; emphasis in original).

Chet divides the English military experience in northeastern North America, from 1620 to the beginning of the American Revolution, into three distinct eras. From the settlement of Plymouth to the mid-seventeenth century, English colonizers were well prepared for local conflict with aboriginal neighbors. Although most settlers lacked military training, captains such as Miles Standish and John Underhill used essentially conventional tactics to inflict defeat on aboriginal populations weakened by disease. From the era of King Philip's War to the Treaty of Utrecht, however, there intervened a period of "military degeneration" (p. 38). Confronting French as well as aboriginal opponents, colonial commanders, "as a group, were not Americanized; they were simply remarkably inexperienced and unprofessional" (p. 39). Colonies survived by striking at aboriginal economies through destruction of crops and fisheries, but there were many setbacks. Only with the introduction of British regular forces, British naval support, and British logistical strength did a third phase emerge by the mid-eighteenth century. General Jeffery Amherst, by taking a "methodical, conservative, and defense-minded approach," epitomized the "wilderness warriors" (p. 136) who defeated New France and showed the way for younger American commanders who would succeed in the Revolutionary War by applying conventional military doctrine.

Chet's questioning of American military exceptionalism is refreshing and effective, especially regarding the first and third phases. English exploits in the Pequot War—profoundly disturbing as they remain—are convincingly related to the disciplined use of conservative tactics. Conversely, the defeat of General Edward Braddock at Monongahela is the exception that proves the rule, caused not by any failure to adopt more flexible tactics but by Braddock's "momentary neglect of the fundamentals of European military doctrine" (p. 121). Less satisfying is the book's treatment of the intermediate period. Attributing English reverses convincingly to a sudden poverty of military leadership would require a level of explanation not offered here. It was in this era that both English and French observers found northeastern aboriginal military power to be at its most impressive. Differing explanations can be advanced, but one factor to which Chet gives limited attention is the spatial reality that areas of substantial colonial population were small in this period. Arguably, lack of territorial control brought strategic dilemmas that were acute regardless of tactical acumen or its absence.

The book also has self-imposed restrictions in certain areas. The era of King Philip's War is discussed exclusively with respect to southern New England, eliding the very different conduct and outcome of the Wabanaki-English conflict further north. As for the role of French and aboriginal military cultures, Chet defines his study as dealing "almost exclusively with the English component of the story" (p. xv). Fair enough, but as the book moves to British campaigns against New France, it becomes clear that there is a historiographical as well as a substantive limitation. Fifty years' worth of Canadian scholarship, for the most part, is steadfastly ignored. I. K. Steele is prominently cited, and properly so, but the studies of W. J. Eccles, Guy Frégault, Brian J. Given, George A.

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Rawlyk, C. P. Stacey, and G. F. G. Stanley go apparently unnoticed as older and less specialized works are frequently substituted. The results are seen in the occasional outright error, such as the notion that the deported Acadians of 1755 were sent to Canada (p. 108), and interpretively in the treatment of a major episode such as the 1759 battle for Quebec in a way that is kind to both Montcalm and Wolfe (pp. 113–16) but neglects alternative analyses.

Yet the virtues of a provocative and insightful book remain. Recent scholars such as Patrick Malone and Armstrong Starkey have initiated what promises to be a productive debate on the importance of military effectiveness in the era when empires, colonies, and aboriginal nations related to each other in a context where there were no predictable outcomes. Chet continues the discussion, to the considerable benefit of our understanding of the resulting complexities in northeastern North America.

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GREGORY EVANS DOWD. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 360. $32.00.

For a book about a war, there is remarkably little fighting in this latest work by Gregory Evans Dowd. Instead there is a great deal of talking: diplomatic speeches, religious visions, angry testimony, racist jokes, boasting, spying, lying, and above all rumors. Dowd brilliantly illustrates how words were a form of action in frontier politics. This well-written narrative not only provides the latest and most authoritative account of Pontiac's War: it demonstrates how hopes and fears were as historically significant as actual deeds.

There is, of course, some combat. However, to understand the "war" as Dowd sees it one must understand the fundamental question that lay at its heart: what place would Native Americans have in the British Empire now that New France was gone? Pontiac and his fellows forced this question on the empire, which never quite got around to answering it. As a result, Dowd maintains, the status of Native Americans in both the United States and Canada remains ambiguous to this day.

Biographical details about Pontiac are few and often shrouded in rumor. In some of his best close analysis, Dowd makes clear that Pontiac's fame as a leader was a creation of British officials desperate to find someone to help them control the Ohio Valley Indians. Ironically, Pontiac's reputation rose with the British just as it fell with the Natives, who cast him aside shortly after he made peace. One cannot help wondering if the very idea that there was something called "Pontiac's War" is not in its own way a legacy of what Richard White called the "middle ground," which after all depended on finding leaders who could negotiate some sort of coexistence between European and Native cultures. But the "middle ground," along with the French language sources in which White discovered it, is notable primarily by its absence from Dowd's text.

In Dowd's hands, the war is simply one manifestation of the conflicts between colonists and Natives sparked by the British victory in the Seven Years' War. He is at pains to point out that British officials and imperial policy were just as guilty of antagonizing the Indians of the Great Lakes (if not more) as the land hungry colonists. Since the most militant fighters tended to be those least affected by settler encroachments on their land, Dowd concludes the war was really about Native peoples' status within the empire, not land. The real cause of the war was the lack of respect shown by British officers in the way they talked to and treated Pontiac and his fellows.

But land was at the source of the conflict, even if no British settler had yet made it out to Michigan. As Dowd shows, all sorts of wealthy colonists and imperial officials—including the Indian agents Sir William Johnson and John Stuart—were speculating in western lands. The British officials paid so little respect to the Natives because they expected them to be displaced one way or another: either killed, pushed west, or reduced to the status of servants or slaves. These are all forms of landless status.

Dowd's attention to the British marks a departure from his earlier work, which was concerned primarily with Native American religious and political activism. The link between land and status was the cornerstone of eighteenth-century British culture. No man was a gentleman without his estates. No farmer was free without a substantial freehold. The desire for land, and the status that went with it, was a constant in colonial American history, shaping colonists' relations with each other and those around them up through the American Revolution.

Although this book begins with an informative discussion of Native spirituality, in many ways it is more about the British than Native Americans. Dowd continues his excellent scholarship of earlier years in reconstructing the movements and motives of Native peoples, but the real thrust of his argument concerns the hearts and minds of British officials. Since they never considered Natives to be "subjects" of the British Empire, he refuses to draw distinctions between their aims and those of the colonists. The Native response, as Dowd demonstrated in his first book, was to embrace a new identity as "Indians" and to dream of an America without white people—just as whites dreamed of an America without Indians. These hopes, and their accompanying fears, ultimately destroyed both Pontiac and the empire he fought against.

EVAN HAEFELI
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FRANÇOISE NOËL. *Family Life and Sociability in Upper and Lower Canada, 1780–1870: A View from Diaries*

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and Family Correspondence. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 372. $49.95.

Françoise Noël's account of the loving ties that bound together families and their friends in Upper and Lower colonial Canada (today Ontario and Quebec) is an affecting and fascinating book. Noël draws on family letters and personal diaries to reveal the quality of intimate life from 1780 to 1870. Beginning with the couple, she investigates courtship customs, patterns of married life in their initial and mature stages, and relationships between parents and their children. Noël then broadens the discussion to investigate the family's links to the community in social life and mutual support in times of crisis. Despite the frequent reality of hard times and the ever-present specter of death, Noël paints a rosy picture of companionate marriages entered into for love, deep emotional connections between children and parents, husbands strongly interested in all aspects of domestic life, and warm, supportive, extended community and kinship networks. Certainly no one who reads her moving accounts of the agonies of enduring the deaths of children will ever again suggest that in the days of high infant mortality parents cultivated an emotional detachment from their offspring.

Noël's central argument is that her domestically concerned fathers and the family's ties with the larger world outside their front door is "antithesis" to the idea of "separate spheres." "The major conclusion of this study," she asserts, "is that the family life of the literate classes in the Canadas before 1870 was not located in the narrow private world of the domestic sphere but in a much broader social space shared by people of both genders and all ages" (p. 13). Noël certainly does an excellent job of showing that social and family life extended into the community, but she does not closely examine the gendered aspect of the ideal of separate spheres that dictated that men and women had different roles to play in society. Women's sphere was the domestic, however much within a broader social community, and men's was the public world of work, law, business, and politics, no matter how much they were concerned about what went on at home. Women's exclusion from the public sphere was often a great hardship for them, as Noël reveals in the cases of both Susanna Moodie and Reine Duvernay, whose spouses were separated from them for work and political reasons. Both had husbands who failed to provide for them and their children adequately, and, although literate, intelligent women of genteel background, they struggled with poverty. Each was forced to resort to such pathetic expedients as selling paintings on tree fungus and embroidered birch bark decorations to bring in some meager funds. There were simply no other socially acceptable avenues for women of their class to earn an income, except for school teaching, generally the province of single women.

Class is definitely a factor in this book, but not one highlighted in Noël's discussion. Her families are mainly from the educated middle class, representing a diversity of religious backgrounds including Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Although her book starts in 1780, the bulk of Noël's discussion focuses on the period after 1830. These were the decades when the growing middle class was flexing its muscles. Its members struggled to implement more democratic governments and a morally reformed society through such means as temperance and charitable work. In doing so, they challenged the rule of the oligarchic and (in their view) somewhat dissolute elites popularly known as the Family Compact and Château Clique. Part of their middle-class value system was an emphasis on the importance of religion, family, and the companionate model of married life. This was increasingly the case throughout the nineteenth-century, and thus it is not surprising that Noël's subjects are mainly selected from the later part of the century. As she effectively demonstrates, however, these new, more intimate families still followed older models of community socializing and formal and informal visiting. Noël observes that, in this period, Canadian families had not yet developed the private domestic rituals surrounding birthdays, Thanksgiving, and Christmas that were becoming typical of the middle class in the United States.

This book is delightful to read, full of touching human stories lived out in a vivid emotional landscape. Noël has brought to light many important aspects of early Canadian intimate life about which we have known little. Any reader interested in the history of the family and sociability will find this book to be a valuable resource.

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HENDRIK HARTOG. *Man and Wife in America: A History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. vii, 408. $29.95.

Hendrik Hartog's book is particularly relevant in an era when debate over gay marriage is front-page news. The issues raised by this debate—the rights, responsibilities, and expectations of what marriage is and can do for individuals as well as constraints imposed by the marriage contract—are at the heart of the book, even though it is focused on traditional male/female marriages from the late eighteenth century to the 1950s—what the author calls the "long nineteenth century." Hartog's main argument is that marriage law has been shaped since the late eighteenth century by ordinary men and women as they sought to enjoy the benefits and protections of marriage as well as to escape its constraints; this argument is posed in opposition to the view that the law of marriage has been determined by internal legal logic or the wishes of those in power, namely upper and middle-class men who control the legal system. Hartog claims that he is challenging the methodological assumption that the "work of history is . . . to reveal the masked ideological assumptions and goals of the judges" (p. 4). In stressing the power of

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ordinary folks to shape the legal system, Hartog's thesis suggests that gay marriage will be ultimately decided, not by the religious right or by constitutional amendment, but by people's attempts to engage in or escape from the institution of marriage.

In his introduction, Hartog argues that the best way to understand the evolution of marriage law is to examine separation. In attempting to exit marriages, he claims, women and men forced the courts to grapple with issues of the legal standing of marital partners, whether living together or separated, and to face the increasing demand for ending marriages through divorce. In placing these issues in context, Hartog emphasizes the significance of unique American legal, social, and cultural practices, the most basic being the fact that marriage law is determined by state rather than federal law. This fact, combined with high rates of geographic mobility throughout the nineteenth century, ensured that marriage, separation, and divorce would be very complicated because the Constitution stipulates that every state is required to give "full faith and credit" to the laws of every other state. Since Hartog garners much of his evidence from New York, a state that, until recently, was one of the most conservative in granting divorce, the legal arguments in that state are the most relevant to his argument. Yet despite the attempt of New York judges, along with some in other states, to preserve traditional views such as that women be "obedient" to their husbands, that their legal domicile remained with their husbands even when separated, and that husbands must support separated wives and not enter into bigamous marriages, these patterns changed dramatically over the course of the long nineteenth century. Indeed, one of the most startling findings in this study is that judges in every state tended to excuse or to allow bigamous marriages. According to Hartog, this is because both judges and ordinary people believed that marriage was a desireable state and that it was better to recognize a de facto marriage than try to enforce a previous one that was clearly defunct, no matter how legally sound the argument of the previous wife or husband.

This volume is a very readable, well-written addition to the literature on legal history, family history, and women's history. Hartog's emphasis on the social and cultural context of changing marriage law is refreshing whether one agrees that women frequently benefited from coverture and traditional notions about marriage or not. One point to be raised is whether Hartog devotes enough attention to the dramatic cultural changes, especially among the emerging middle class, concerning attitudes toward women and children. One is always hesitant to criticize an author for not writing a different book, but a case might be made that the dramatic changes in views of women that moved from their being emotionally and intellectually inferior in the eighteenth century to superiority in the nineteenth century are very relevant to the argument. High geographic mobility and differences in state laws, while helping to explain changes, are not everything. Hartog indirectly addresses this issue in his chapter on the "unwritten law" of the late nineteenth century that allowed men who killed their wives' lovers to escape conviction. However, he mostly attributes this pattern to the undermining of men's rights in marriage rather than to fundamental changes in women's roles as the measuring stick of civilized society and the symbol of both male honor and national honor. Still, this is a small caveat. For the most part, this book will bring the legal history of marriage to a larger audience of nonspecialist academics and students.

ALTINA WALLER
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JAMES A. MORONE. *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 575. $35.00.

This is a big book both in length (560 pages) and ambition (covering the sweep of American history), and it offers arresting insights into our understanding of the history of American moral politics. In researching this book, James A. Morone reports discovering the power and attraction of the Social Gospel. The moral politics of the right, however, what he calls neo-Puritanism, is what he had set out to impugn (p. x). But irrespective of his personal preferences, Morone makes clear that American politics at the highest levels has been regularly moved by a religiously based morality that challenges the myth of an omnipresent liberalism.

"Political life," Morone argues, "constantly gets entangled in two vital urges—redeeming 'us' and reforming 'them' " (p. 3). In the first, society causes sin, and in the second, the individual is held responsible. But here and throughout this work, Morone fails to grasp a crucial element of Reformed theology: the central role of original sin (there is no mention of it in this work). From this perspective, the dominant one in colonial North America, only the Holy Spirit and a community of fellow Christians could help the individual believer walk a righteous path. Thus, rather than two models of moral politics, as Morone suggests, there have been at least three in America: the incipient utopianism of those Christian and secular thinkers who reject original sin; the Reformed Protestant understanding resting on a confident belief in the ubiquitous deformation resulting from original sin; and a liberal individualist view that rejects corporate oversight and holds the individual personally responsible for his or her failings. Morone conflates the latter two, and this confusion haunts his analyses throughout the book.

In five sections and fifteen chapters (plus a lengthy introduction and brief epilogue), Morone describes conflicting patterns of moral political life in America. In the first section of three chapters, he begins with New England. Without any original contribution to this literature, Morone does usefully demonstrate that "the old world pushed tolerance while New England resisted," inverting "one of the most basic myths about

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American political culture" (p. 72). This is an argument that deserves repeating. Yet, despite the section's strengths, there are also major difficulties. There is no mention of American history between 1740 and 1840, nor is any colony other than Massachusetts discussed. Possibly the latter omission might be excusable, for Morone holds that the Puritans founded American moral politics and that they "articulated attitudes and organized institutions that—in constantly evolving ways—reach across American time" (p. 31). Less defensible, though, is his apparent unawareness of the research of the dozen or so political scientists, such as Donald Lutz and Daniel Elazar, who have already plowed this field. But the most troubling oversight in these early chapters is Morone's failure to acknowledge the Hebraic and Reformed concept of a "national covenant." Because of this, Morone cannot understand how communities can and must exercise legitimate moral oversight over their wayward members.

The next section of the book, chapters four through seven, covers the years 1800–1865. Here, Morone makes much of the burden that America's elevated moral goals placed on it (p. 129). He also launches into an exploration of the prominent role of women in the abolitionist movement and how this, in turn, did much to challenge gender norms. He writes that his biggest surprise "in surveying American moral crusades is how regularly sex wars run through them" (p. 166). This is one of the most powerfully argued findings of his book.

The third section, the longest and finest in the book, covers in four chapters the years 1870–1929. Morone begins by reviewing the construction of sexual politics in the late nineteenth century. Here he is at his best, offering a compelling account of how gender and religiously based moral politics were intertwined in America. As well, he demonstrates that questions involving birth rates, maternity, and sexuality were on the forefront of American politics long before the 1970s, clarifying the cyclical nature of moral politics. In the next three chapters, Morone discusses early twentieth-century efforts to control alcohol consumption and "illicit" sexuality. He again guides his readers to important new insights. He drives home the fact that "moral panics and dreams of virtue enlarge the American state" (p. 278). He also reminds readers that the Christian Right is not a product of the 1980s but rather a movement whose greatest political success came in 1919: Prohibition. In the 1930s, as the fundamentalists went to ground, everything they had accomplished was swept aside by the Supreme Court (p. 337). Sixty years later, fundamentalists returned to national political life and American politics returned to its normal state: morally divisive and nasty.

The fourth section, chapters twelve through fourteen, covers the years 1932–1973. This is a period in which "policy makers blamed the system rather than the sinner" (p. 349). Yet, on the foreign policy front, Puritan sensibilities continued to play an active role in shaping discourse if not policy, as God-fearing America confronted Godless communism. By the end of the 1950s, there were two states flourishing in America: the New Deal welfare state driven by the morality of the Social Gospel, and the national security state in which the neo-Puritans found an outlet for their domestic frustration produced by liberal judicial hegemony.

In discussing the 1960s in chapter fourteen, Morone praises the democratic aspirations of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the liberal jurisprudence of the Warren Court. But what he seems unaware of (here and earlier) is that the goal of protecting oppressed groups has often been in conflict with a call for more direct democracy. That is, if American history is any guide, you can not have both high levels of participatory democracy and judicially imposed barriers protecting individuals and minorities from majoritarian moral aspirations.

In the final section, Morone explores contemporary U.S. politics and laments that it is driven by a liberal-conservative rather than a progressive agenda. Of greater interest is Morone's conclusion that "liberalism protects our people from dangerous impulses . . . [but] it does not dream big dreams about a better society" (p. 492). I agree, but my dreams differ from his. Liberalism, he might have recalled, makes possible our living together.

In sum, this is a book with enormous strengths and insights that, due to space limitations, I am unable to detail in full. But in some instances, its flaws parallel and almost match its strengths. We must keep in mind the number of issues that Morone illuminates: the prevalence and importance of illiberal moral politics in American history; the intermixture of gender and moral politics; the periodicity of American moral politics; the importance of moral politics to the building of the American state; the centrality of the Christian Right in shaping twentieth-century politics; and the split nature of mid-century American foreign and domestic policies. This is a book that deserves to be read by students of both American history and politics.

BARRY SHAIN
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PETER CHARLES HOFFER. *The Great New York Conspiracy of 1741: Slavery, Crime, and Colonial Law.* (Landmark Law Cases and American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xi, 190. Cloth $29.95, paper $14.95.

By the time August of 1741 drew to a close, executioners in New York City had taken the lives of thirty blacks (seventeen of them burned at the stake) two white men, and two white women. Were these deaths the consequence, as Judge Daniel Horsmanden insisted, of a massive conspiracy orchestrated by the enslaved to burn the city and slaughter its inhabitants? Or was it, as some recent scholars would have it, the result of a Salem-like hysteria brought on by the pressures of war, or worse yet, a cynical hoax hatched

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by city leaders to unify whites across class lines by playing to racial fears? Historians remain divided, and with two more books forthcoming (beyond this one under review), the debate shows no sign of an early resolution. To one side stand Graham Hodges, Peter Linebaugh, Marcus Rediker, T. J. Davis, and Leslie Harris, all of whom believe that a major revolt erupted out of the city's interracial gatherings, while Edgar McManus, Jill Lepore, Michael Johnson, and Philip Morgan are dubious of the prospect of servile revolt. Although some writers may remain unconvinced, respected legal historian Peter Charles Hoffer here pieces the story together in a way that erases all reasonable doubt that a good many slaves were indeed "guilty as charged" (p. 165).

All scholars, of course, are uneasy with the methods early American courts employed to extract information from the accused, especially when those on trial for their lives were black or female. Hoffer concedes that if modern judicial standards were applied to these cases, contemporary juries would have to acquit. But as virtually every legal document dating from the eighteenth century is tainted by racial or class bias, the standards employed by historians, Hoffer sensibly argues, must of necessity be different. "If the preponderance of evidence seems to support a point," he writes, "if it is more likely than not, we should credit it" (p. 8). Especially since the prejudices of colonial jurists were often so transparent, thoughtful scholars can read their official proceedings from a far different perspective and take the clearly problematical nature of such documents into account. As a result, Hoffer believes that most of what Horsmanden wrote of the affair was true.

Hoffer takes exception to Rediker and Linebaugh's assertion that the New York rebels were part of a larger proletarian movement in the Atlantic basin, a perspective echoed by Harris, who regards the conspiracy as one launched by enslaved and free white workers bent on overturning the city's economic hierarchy. Such plots, Hoffer insists, arise out of local circumstances and flourish due to specific contexts. But recognizing that each servile conspiracy is unique need not ignore the larger conditions that were consistent to all North American revolts, such as the opportunities presented by wars or some other bitter division among white elites. Certainly some of the accused were well traveled. After taking part in the 1733 conspiracy on Saint John's, Will Ward was sold off to Antigua, where he again plotted for his freedom. Saving his neck by informing against others, Ward was sold once more, this time to New York, where he arrived just in time to conspire yet again with Caesar Varick, Caesar's common-law wife Irish Peg, and the others who gathered to drink at John Hughson's tavern.

Hoffer is particularly skillful at reconstructing the lost world of prerevolutionary New York, in which slaves like Caesar mixed easily with Irish soldier William Kane, who worried that the war would carry him to the disease-ridden tropics, and with Spanish-speaking sailors like Juan, who had been captured by an English warship and demanded to be treated as a prisoner of war rather than sold as a slave. In Hoffer's meticulous retelling, the plot began in anger—Quaco Roosevelt planned to burn Fort George to revenge himself upon authorities who would not allow him to visit his wife, a cook—but grew in confusion as it spread through the alleys. The so-called "Spanish Negroes" wished to return to the Caribbean, Kane desired to remain in the city, Irish workers longed to take out their animosity on English Protestants, Caesar hoped to become free, and Hughson, a fence, dreamed of the loot his men could steal while other whites rushed to put out the flames. Not until after the American Revolution successfully conflated race with class would slave rebels divest themselves of their white allies.

Given the debate over the very existence of a plot, it is curious that Hoffer chose not to document his account with footnotes. His key source is clearly Horsmanden's detailed *Journal of the Proceedings*, published first in 1744 and reprinted numerous times since then. A lengthy bibliographical essay, however, provides a key to relevant secondary sources, as well as an insightful discussion of reading such thorny testimony. The size of the monograph, together with Hoffer's elegant prose and artfully crafted argument, make this study a natural for classroom use.

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON
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ADRIENNE D. HOOD. *The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. 230. $35.00.

In the past five years, scholars have made important new forays in the study of cloth and cloth production in eighteenth-century America. Ranging from Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's analysis of the "hidden work" of female spinners and weavers in New England to Marla Miller's discovery of female milliners in the Connecticut River Valley and Linda Baumgarten's analysis of colonial clothing, the field of textile studies has emerged as an exciting arena in which to study the intersection of production and consumption in the colonial economy. Rather than simply rely on a romantic notion of self-sufficiency, seen in the reverence for the term homespun, or skip over domestic production to concentrate on the more visible technological story of mechanized spinning and weaving, these new studies have situated cloth production within specific historical contexts.

Adrienne D. Hood's book, which focuses on textile production and consumption in rural southeastern Pennsylvania, clearly demonstrates the richness of this new scholarship. Her volume is important for its methodology as well as for its conclusions. As a former weaver, Hood brings a deep understanding of the

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materials and processes to a case study based on written records such as probate inventories, tax records, and account books. Her linkage of these resources allows her, in sequential chapters, to follow cloth production from planting flax seed or sheering sheep to spinning and weaving to the sale of cloth to neighbors. She also contextualizes locally produced materials within the broad array of available imported textiles. Sprinkled throughout the text are a number of revealing insights into the world of the eighteenth-century weaver: the export of flax seed linked Pennsylvania to the fine linen cloth production of Ireland, domestic production of linen shirts and sheets permitted a household to purchase an expensive imported piece of personal clothing, and homespun was a term used to describe coarse, irregular work regardless of where it was made. Hood provides a clear narrative about the various processes and stages and the flow of cloth, but deftly intersperses interpretive and analytical material.

Throughout the volume, Hood stresses the connection of weaving to the truly mixed agricultural economy in southeastern Pennsylvania; no decisions regarding flax, sheep, or weaving output were made separate from agricultural practices. Her use of Chester County, Pennsylvania, offers an important balance to the New England story laid out by Ulrich. A "cloth society" (p. 3) existed in both New England and southeastern Pennsylvania (in both regions a broad-based understanding of and experience with processes and products led to a certain fiber literacy), but the local texture was different. In the northeast, earlier settlement and a lack of agricultural exports contributed to less intensive farming and a reliance on familial labor or exchange work with neighbors. Such conditions led to an increasing dependence on female weavers and resulted in a narrower range of products, many of which were simple woolens. In Chester County, later settlement, rich soil, and the new grain market throughout the North Atlantic led to a commercial agricultural economy in which weavers used their craft to acquire land and provide insurance from market fluctuations in the wheat and flax seed trade. Nevertheless, these weavers were all trained males who used bound seasonal skilled labor and supplied a wide variety of linen and woolen cloth.

While Hood links the weavers of southeastern Pennsylvania to the various British, Scots-Irish, and Germanic craft traditions of its settlers, she stresses the compatibility of these Old World practices in forging a coherent regional economy. Overlooked is the possibility that ethnicity might have contributed to dialectical variations within the common grammar or to the subsequent Philadelphia textile industry, one that specialized in a wide assortment of mid-level and custom textiles. Hood's focus on the differences evident in Chester County in contrast to eastern Massachusetts also suggests that future scholars need to study the cloth contexts in other regions, particularly Connecticut and New York, to understand fully the local fiber economies before large-scale manufacturing.

Hood's detailed analysis of the Chester County economy offers an important corrective to many assumptions about colonial America. Attention to regional economy, local production, importation, and consumption make Hood's volume an exemplary model of craft history, one that reintegrates craft activity into social and economic history. More scholars should follow her lead by looking at the other trades and other regions so that we may build up a richer, more sophisticated sense of the craft topography than that presented by Carl Bridenbaugh fifty years ago.

EDWARD S. COOKE, JR.
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PHILLIP HAMILTON. *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830.* (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2003. Pp. xi, 250. $35.00.

Historians have long debated the nature of the American Revolution. Did it bring about substantive social change, or was it merely a war for independence? In this well-written and engaging book, Phillip Hamilton tells the tale of an elite family in transition as a way to illuminate the economic and social changes of the revolutionary period, particularly in the South. Thus Hamilton places his work squarely in the revolution-as-a-radical-movement camp. How, he asks, did the Virginia gentry deal with "the evaporation of their power" (p. 4) as a result of the revolution, and why did they become increasingly conservative in the early national period? In the process of answering these questions, Hamilton chronicles the inward turn of elite families like the Tuckers in the revolutionary era as the importance of larger kin networks declined, economic changes took men away from home, and women became homemakers charged with creating a safe haven from the outside world. The book focuses on two generations of Tuckers: St. George Tucker (1752–1827), the well-known Virginia jurist, and his offspring.

Hamilton elucidates the values by which St. George lived the first half of his life. He was the youngest of six children born in Bermuda to Colonel Henry Tucker, a merchant and assemblyman, and Anne Butterfield, the daughter of Bermuda's chief justice. St. George learned early on that genteel behavior, reliance on kin and patronage networks, and landownership offered the keys to advancement. In the early 1770s, while studying law at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, St. George shrewdly cultivated elite men who might aid his career. During the war, the young Bermudian used his far-flung family ties and the money of his new Virginian friends to launch himself as a smuggler, making the patriot cause his own. He advanced his fortunes further when in 1778 he married Frances Bland, the widow of John Randolph, who

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brought into the marriage three large plantations. The couple settled on Matoax on the Appomattox River where St. George became a planter. They managed their households as partners, jointly rearing Frances's three children and the five they had together. St. George added significantly to his landholdings to provide for his children with Frances, since his stepsons would inherit their deceased father's plantations. However, he soon began to realize that the revolution had changed the world as he knew it.

Alarmed by the changes that chipped away at the gentry's position atop tidewater society, St. George rethought his values. He decided that reliance on "connections, gentility and landownership" (p. 72) no longer brought advancement. Thus, he not only resumed his law career (which, thanks to the many debt suits of the 1780s, picked up rapidly) but he began to divest himself of his lands, investing in the newly chartered Bank of Alexandria instead. He moved to Williamsburg, accepted a position as law professor at William and Mary as well as a position on Virginia's General Court, and began a career as a professor, judge, and political commentator. He urged his sons away from planting and into careers in law and medicine, stressing to them the importance of their own hard work. He briefly advocated the gradual emancipation of slaves yet later came to see such views as "Utopian" (p. 150) and embraced slavery once more.

In the end, Tucker became a victim of his own ideas. Two of his three sons took his advice and tried their hand at professional careers out west, refusing to move back to Williamsburg when their aging father wanted them nearby. St. George became increasingly marginal to his children and grandchildren, who seem to have thoroughly embraced his emphasis on individual effort and self-sufficiency. Two of his three stepsons died young. The survivor, John Randolph, refused to give up planting, and eventually broke with his stepfather, convinced that St. George had squandered his patrimony. Isolated from each other, the second generation of Tuckers relied on their increasingly sentimentalized nuclear families rather than on their larger kin networks. They also became staunch conservatives, rejecting the ideals of the revolution in favor of a nostalgic worldview that idealized Virginia's prerevolutionary past and their own family's history.

Hamilton does not break a lot of new ground in this book, and at times he seems to equate the gentry's views with reality. Yet he does an imaginative job of showing how social change was perceived by the members of an elite Virginia family and how they reacted to what they saw around them.

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DAVID C. HENDRICKSON. *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xiv, 402. $29.95.

David C. Hendrickson has written a complex and remarkable book that, if it has the influence it deserves, may well mark an important paradigm shift in early American history. So much has been written in recent decades about the intellectual world of the American revolutionary era that offering a fresh perspective might seem impossible. But in a book that deftly combines intellectual, constitutional, and diplomatic history, Hendrickson significantly reorients our understanding of the creation of the American republic.

Hendrickson's approach and multifaceted argument are nicely captured in the book's title. They rest on an unconventional assumption: that the central republican challenge facing Americans in the late eighteenth century cannot be understood solely or even largely as institutional developments within the domestic and often national context that scholars customarily (and to some extent anachronistically) employ. Hendrickson's focus is instead federal, in the eighteenth-century sense of that term, emphasizing the relationships among polities and more specifically the struggle to secure a durable basis for peaceful cooperation among the disparate colonies and states in North America from the end of the Seven Years' War to the adoption of the Constitution. According to Hendrickson, this project—in effect of finding a workable alternative to the depressingly familiar European state system with its "balance of power" catechism—was "at the center of political and constitutional thought in the Atlantic world" (p. ix) and hence formed as important a dimension of American republican discourse as the more familiar "liberal ideology" and classical "republican paradigm" (pp. 16–17) that recent scholars have analyzed to death. Indeed, Hendrickson's "unionist paradigm" (p. 15) defines "the lost world of the American founding" in his title, focusing our attention on a dimension of the revolutionary enterprise that is largely invisible in that scholarship: the American effort to steer a middle passage between the twin evils of, on the one hand, international anarchy and decentralization, which would likely entail warring regional confederacies chronically embroiled in foreign intrigue and eventual foreign domination, and, on the other hand, a form of universal empire embodying the despotic consolidation that would destroy America's republican promise.

As they wrestled with the issues and challenges illuminated in the familiar writings of Hugo Grotius, Emmerich de Vattel, and Samuel Pufendorf, among others, revolutionary-era Americans understood themselves precisely within this tradition of European internationalism; and if we are fully to comprehend their experience and predicament, and perhaps what is most original in their thought and practice, Hendrickson insists that we place them in this context as well. Viewed in this light, the Constitutional Convention of 1787 becomes "an international conference, conducted in secrecy among diplomatic plenipotentiaries of the states"; the resulting Constitution represented both

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"an arms control treaty" and "an alliance that parceled out spheres of influence and nicely adjusted the continental balance of power"; and the larger constitutional settlement of the late 1780s (and beyond) is most notable as a "reasoned response to a serious security problem that espied a sequence in which internal division and the intervention of external powers would create the same whirlwind in America that had undone Europe" (p. 259). In sum, Hendrickson's Constitution, as a peace pact, did not reflect any fundamental conflict between aristocracy and democracy, to use the still-influential and largely inappropriate Progressive formulation of the key issues. Instead it marked a new phase of the experiment in international cooperation through which Americans formalized the precarious interdependence of unionism, independence, and republicanism in their revolution.

Hendrickson's contribution goes considerably beyond his persuasive effort to get us thinking about a heavily studied era in fresh ways. He also provides detailed analyses of many specific topics, from Benjamin Franklin's "Albany Plan of Union" through the tangled diplomatic negotiations during the war for independence to the complex history of the Articles of Confederation. He is at his best in his treatment of the emergence of regional conflict in the years leading up to the Constitutional Convention, and especially in his analysis of its tentative accommodation at a critical juncture of that gathering in a superb chapter entitled "Commerce, Slavery, and Machiavellian Moment." Here Hendrickson recurs in interesting ways to the suggestive framework of Frederick Jackson Turner in his long-neglected essay "The Significance of the Section in American History" (1932), while also building on the much more recent work of such scholars as historical geographer D. W. Meinig, theorist of international relations Daniel Deudney, and historian Peter S. Onuf.

Hendrickson's book is interdisciplinary scholarship at its best, opening up new avenues of inquiry and reflection, especially for historians of preindustrial America. His interpretive framework has striking and obvious relevance to the history of the United States during the early national and antebellum eras (a subject that he will address in a forthcoming sequel). Less compelling, perhaps, is Hendrickson's desire to speak in this book to scholars in the discipline of international relations whose approach is more abstractly theoretical—although the visual representations of his arguments, in the form of elaborate diagrams in the lengthy appendix, should warm the hearts of any fellow political scientists among his readers.

DREW R. MCCOY
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BRUCE H. MANN. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 344. $29.95.

Debt creation and collection provide a keyhole, or, rather, a wide window, through which one can learn much about the values and power relations of a society. The United States, with its current consumer, corporate, and public debt amounting to thousands of billions of dollars, and the number of bankruptcies annually crossing an unparalleled 1.5 million, is remarkably suited to the study of the history of debt and bankruptcy.

Bruce H. Mann's book deals with a crucial period in this history, one that runs from late colonial times to the early nineteenth century. This perplexing period saw upheavals in the formal legal framework—the bankruptcy clause of the Constitution, the passage in 1800 of the Bankruptcy Act and its repeal in 1803—that reflect fundamental societal and political tensions. Bankruptcy scholars and conventional legal historians aim to capture these by directing their attention to high legal texts and their framers' original intentions. But for Mann, such documents serve only as points of reference on a journey whose aim is to understand contemporary cultural conceptions. Mann wisely identifies debtors' prisons, rather than legal texts or political discourse, as the path into his world. The prevailing religious-based view of non-payment of debt as a moral vice was challenged by the reality of the debtors' prison, where moral condemnation encountered the impoverished, imprisoned debtors surrounded by disease and death, subject to worse conditions than those of criminal prisoners and arguably also of slaves. Mann uses the correspondence, memoirs, and pamphlets written by inmates to portray not only their miserable daily lives but also their cries for help.

New York's Society for the Relief of Distressed Debtors and the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating of the Miseries of Public Prisons established in 1787 exemplify the moral judgments of the period. Further confusion was caused by the fact that not all imprisoned debtors fared alike. Well-to-do debtors' terms of imprisonment were liberal; they retained their property and were often involved in trade and speculation while in prison. Mann tells a fascinating story about the social order created by imprisoned debtors in New York's New Gaol. He uses the private papers of William Duer, a prominent active debtor, to show that such debtors did not view themselves as criminals but desired to create a legalized constitutional order in prison and be law-abiding citizens of the new republic.

Merchants and businessmen, who distinguished themselves from other debtors, strove to exploit the moral disarray and reshape the nature of their nonpayment. For them, laborers and others not making a living were justifiably doomed to destitution. Entrepreneurs, however, were expected to assume risks, and since their failure stemmed from market fluctuations or external shock, they deserved protection from imprisonment and eventual discharge.

At times I would have liked Mann to engage in quantitative social history. He has examined sources that yield themselves to a structured analysis of the

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changes in numbers of debtors, their social origins, and the nature of their debts. Clearly, authors can select their favored methodology. But with respect to this period, unfortunately we have no quantitatively oriented study to complement Mann's non-quantitative study.

The growth of the public debt during the war, the depreciation of paper money in the 1780s, and the fact that American merchants' and plantation owners' creditors were mainly British all contributed to legitimizing privileged debtors' discharge. In this setting, a bankruptcy clause made its way into the Constitution almost unnoticed. But after the ratification of the Constitution, the playing field was reshaped. Land speculation that ended in a chain reaction of collapse across the country in the 1790s made the issue of bankruptcy more visible and political. The 1800 Bankruptcy Act, amid controversy, narrowly passed. Mann is the first to narrate its passage authoritatively. By the time we reach this story, we are well positioned to grasp the conflicts and subtexts involved. Merchants and farmers, religious sentiments and risk management, the Federalist desire for a centralized and loyal judiciary, and Republican protection of state-level pluralism all played roles, but the conjuncture of 1800 was short-lived. The demise of the first Bankruptcy Act paralleled the Federalist decline, and supporters of a long-lasting bankruptcy act would have to wait until 1898. But the three years during which the 1800 Act was in effect were sufficient for many well-to-do and sophisticated debtors to initiate their own bankruptcy litigation and achieve discharge of debts. The personal stories of figures such as Duer, Robert Morris, and John Pinard are masterfully interwoven with the general narrative, gracefully connecting the chapters to each other and the personal to the political. They make the book even more readable and appealing to a wide range of readers.

RON HARRIS
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ROBERT E. WRIGHT. *Hamilton Unbound: Finance and the Creation of the American Republic*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 228.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xii, 230. $62.95.

This is a frustrating book to read. Despite its title, it has little to do with Alexander Hamilton, who appears only in passing. The subtitle gives a better idea of the scope of Robert E. Wright's work: there is actually a good deal of scattered, useful information on banking, credit, and investment in the early republic that, if consolidated, could be a good—perhaps excellent—article. But the book, as is, should never have been published. There is no coherent theme. It is a collection of unrelated chapters, most propounding either a far-fetched claim almost entirely unsupported by evidence or a painfully obvious point well established by decades of previous historiography.

In an inauspicious beginning, chapter one wanders through an explanation of how interest rates affect the value of income-producing assets, usury laws and colonial interest rates, the impact of imperial policy on colonial assets, and a few other topics before concluding that one of the major reasons for the American Revolution was the desire to gain control of monetary policy. Unfortunately, Wright finds no evidence for his claim. In the 203 footnotes for this one chapter, there is not a single reference to anyone discussing independence as a means of achieving local control of monetary policy. Furthermore, the author commits several errors of interpretation along the way: for example, misunderstanding completely the cultural importance of "honor" in a gentlemanly society and claiming that the concept meant simply concern for one's business credit rating.

The second chapter swings to the opposite extreme. Instead of proposing a far-fetched thesis with no supporting evidence, here Wright spends thirty pages proving the obvious. He painstakingly explains that the U.S. and early state constitutions were constructed as solutions to the "principal-agent" problem, which is simply a jargonized way of saying that people wanted to make sure that government was their servant and not their master. This, of course, has been common knowledge since before the Constitutional Convention, and Wright adds nothing new.

Chapter three, "Financial Development, Economic Growth, and Political Stability," could have made a real contribution to understanding the link among these three factors in the early republic. Wright fritters away his opportunity, however, giving us much detail on the operation of financial and securities markets in the early nineteenth century but without making the important connection between those subjects and either the growth of the American economy or political stability.

The next chapter is, for a political historian, the most interesting. Here Wright argues that the Republican victory in New York City legislative elections that swung the state's electoral vote (and hence the presidency) to Thomas Jefferson was due to Aaron Burr's Manhattan Company extending credit to city artisans when the Federalist banking system would not. But again, he has no clear evidence that the ability to get loans from Burr's bank led artisans to cast Republican ballots. Until evidence replaces mere assertion, one must continue to believe that larger fears about oppressive Federalist government (the direct tax, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the specter of Hamilton as the new Caesar leading an expanded army) were decisive.

Chapter five makes the claim that more organized and rational methods of rating individual and business credit-worthiness after 1800 were largely responsible for the decline of dueling in the North. In the South, older, more haphazard standards of credit assessment prevailed and dueling continued to be popular. It would require substantial evidence to convince histo-

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rians of this far-fetched thesis, but the author admits that he has none. Wright can find no instance of anyone making or accepting a dueling challenge in order to preserve financial credit-worthiness, nor does he mention any case of a potential lender basing an individual's credit standing on his accepting or declining a duel. Finally, he produces no evidence that any person mentioned dueling or failing to duel as a reason for receiving or being denied financial credit.

The book's final chapter, "Financial Markets and the Subjugation of Women," says that women shifted their economic activity from "active" participation in businesses in the late eighteenth century to "passive" investment in securities by the mid-nineteenth century. This is a plausible conclusion, but it could be developed further. Wright presents no evidence, however, for his major point, which is that this shift occurred because women were denied access to business information and bank credit. His impressive research in bank and business records produces no single case of a woman being deliberately refused such access. This chapter could be more useful if it first considered the broad cultural factors that limited women's economic roles and then used the shift from active to passive investing as one example of the impact of these larger cultural pressures.

In short, there is useful and interesting information here, but the book itself does not work.

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Robert E. Wright. *The Wealth of Nations Rediscovered: Integration and Expansion in American Financial Markets, 1780–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 240. $55.00.

In this impressively researched and closely argued study, Robert E. Wright lays out the evidence for the centrality of an early national financial revolution. Before industrial, managerial, or transportation revolutions could provoke capitalist takeoff, Wright maintains, a network of financial institutions had to make them possible. Banks, brokers, corporations, and rudimentary stock exchanges laid the groundwork for a smoothly efficient economy by providing cheap and trustworthy ways to link borrowers and lenders. The result was a substantial pool of investment capital that sparked American progress.

The story Wright tells depicts the dramatic rise of financial activity impelled by the inner laws of the marketplace. Chief among those laws is the power of information. So-called information asymmetries—ignorance about lenders, borrowers, and their intentions—impede economic activity. Where information is more widely disseminated through credit assessments, financial reporting, and the open trading of securities, economic activity increases because investors have more reliable ways of assessing risk. Before the 1790s, information asymmetries stymied American development. There were few banks, an uncertain securities market, and a confusing, unwieldy array of debt instruments. Alexander Hamilton's reduction of state debts to three national bonds and the establishment of the Bank of the United States stimulated trade in corporate securities, bank stock, and even secondary instruments like ground rents. Lenders and brokers multiplied to meet demand. Such innovations fueled the liquidity that drove long-term growth.

In its broad terms, the argument is familiar enough. What makes Wright's discussion so compelling is the wealth of detail he brings to bear. Like Richard Sylla, Howard Bodenhorn, and other recent economic historians, he demonstrates increasing market efficiency through the convergence of securities prices. By the 1820s, he shows, prices of government bonds in major American markets were roughly equivalent. So, too, were bid-ask spreads on stocks and early brokerage fees, which approximated current charges. In his most extensive analysis, Wright demonstrates that antebellum investment was equally widespread. Stock in Maine banks appealed to both local and out-of-state investors, who created a broad and thriving capital market in one of the newest and least developed states in the union. Financial centers produced more impressive markets. Early nineteenth-century brokers in New York and Philadelphia sold stocks, made loans, and maintained intelligence networks for clients. Wright's analysis of the Philadelphia broker Clement Biddle's correspondence reveals a rapidly maturing securities market, and even a small broker like Andrew Summers did half a million dollars in business between 1798 and 1806. Well before the Civil War, American capital markets had come of age.

Behind Wright's argument lies a deep conviction of the democratic effects of the market. Although wealthy investors snapped up securities, middling entrepreneurs also benefited. Farmers and artisans in New York and Pennsylvania flocked to government loan offices, bought insurance, and financed their businesses through small-scale real estate deals. One of Wright's most interesting findings is the widespread participation of women in early national financial markets. Women typically owned ten to fifteen percent of Maine bank stock, and in many cases more than twenty-five percent, figures that belie their common depiction as "powerless and wealthless" (p. 67). Indeed, their activity confirms one of Adam Smith's dicta in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), that "the judicious operations of banking" can promote the greatest good (cit. p. 213).

Not the least of this book's virtues is its clarity. Wright avoids jargon and pitches his argument to the general reader. This is not to say that his argument is flawless. Wright claims that, despite the quibbles of social historians who point to deep market resistance, most early Americans eagerly benefited from financial innovations. In chapter eight he gives wide-ranging evidence of such benefits, from a Philadelphia brewer who kept current accounts with the Bank of North America to coopers, tanners, and brickmakers who

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sustained trade through banknotes. But the argument here is suggestive and anecdotal rather than definitive. One would like to see the kind of dense statistical portrait that Wright earlier gives of the Maine bank before agreeing that most middling entrepreneurs avidly embraced the financial revolution. Then, too, his critique of New York's Safety Fund as inefficient misses the larger point of the intervention. Such "political" responses, by commoners as well as bureaucrats, to financial instability influenced the pace and progress of antebellum institutions, and the willingness of individuals to use them. Throughout the 1830s, and particularly after the Panic of 1837, many middling Americans became deeply suspicious of banks and bankers, whom they blamed for their economic ills. By the 1850s, urban workers routinely took to the streets demanding relief from predatory bankers, echoing the laments of Jacksonian farmers. The best evidence suggests that acceptance of the financial revolution was a complex affair, always mediated by Americans' desire for independence, economic as well as political. Wright's book presents one important element of that momentous change.

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NANCY ISENBERG and ANDREW BURSTEIN, editors. *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 253. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

The twelve essays in this volume originated at a conference held in the spring of 2001, at a time when military and civilian deaths did not yet dominate headlines and haunt our national consciousness. Editors Nancy Isenberg and Andrew Burstein began with a conviction that the ways early Americans thought about death reveal aspects of "national self-definition" (p. 1), and in the wake of American casualties on September 11, 2001, and in the Iraq War, their conviction seems well sustained. The essays yield a rich array of approaches to mortality that go well beyond the landmark works that inaugurated the field in the 1970s. Philippe Ariès, David E. Stannard, Maris Vinovskis, and Michel Vovelle gave us either studies of "attitudes"—very broad and monolithically portrayed, in the case of Ariès—or else detailed demographic and social-history approaches to funeral customs, testamentary practices, and, in the case of Vinovskis, the paradox of long-lived Puritans obsessing over imminent demise. These essays, by contrast, bear the stamp of the 1990s in their attentions to race, gender, memory, landscape, and the symbolic uses of death to configure power relations.

The volume has four parts, each containing three essays. Part one takes up "Mortality for the Masses," in which two essays feature mass death—Indian annihilation and fatal epidemics—and a third considers individual death sensationalized for the reading public. Laura M. Stevens, one of two literary scholars in the volume, explores the grim fascination with which Anglo-Americans considered the deaths of Indians in the colonial period. Drawing on the writings of mostly Puritan missionaries, she advances the claim that religious framings of Indian deaths embraced both sorrow at the wastage of unconverted souls and satisfaction for the providential clearing of the land. Missionary accounts produced a "trope of the vanishing Indian and the aggression it legitimated" (p. 25); it would be interesting to push this argument to the Ohio Valley in the 1790s, when John Eliot, Experience Mayhew, and the Mathers were presumably not widely read by American soldiers and settlers. Robert V. Wells's essay shows how well-established rituals of death intended to comfort the living went by the board in two epidemics, Boston's smallpox outbreak of 1721 and Philadelphia's yellow fever of 1793, in which some 5,000 people died. Daniel A. Cohen traces the genre of lurid pamphlet literature on murders back to England, where it entertained the literate public long before becoming a staple (but in a transformed state) of American popular culture around 1800.

In part two, the essays consider death symbolically mobilized to make crucial political points. Isenberg's fascinating contribution looks at the uses of dismembered or dead female bodies in the political iconography of revolutionary-era cartoons, from Benjamin Franklin's 1765–1766 famous entry, "Her Colonies Reduc'd," to 1790s depictions of "Dame Guillotine." Burstein compares the eulogies that immortalized as godlike Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. Andrew Jackson's eulogists strove for the divine, but the fierce party system of the 1840s kept alive memories of ungodlike things the mortal Jackson had done. In the end, there could only be one civic savior, Washington, winged to heaven in white robes in a variety of apotheosis memorials. Julia Stern, a literary scholar, examines death in five sentimental novels of the 1790s that also deal with sex, gender, and class. Stern sees the novels as "distinctly political" (p. 109) and concludes they offer "textual moments" that reveal "the manipulation of collective affect that could be—and was—exploited for political purposes" by Federalists and Republicans. But the link between actual politicians and sentiments of novels remains merely suggestive.

Essays in part three deal with literal bodies and bones. Michael Meranze recounts the British exhumation of Major André some forty years after his 1780 dishonorable hanging, ordered by Washington. In a moment of shared Anglo-American sympathy, André was reburied in Westminster Abbey. Meranze then analyzes James Fenimore Cooper's 1821 novel, *The Spy*, in which a fictional Washington departs from history and allows the spy of the novel to live. In the next essay, Matthew Dennis writes of graves and bones, contrasting Indian mounds (freely disturbed by many Americans) with the abandoned bones of 11,000 American soldiers who died on British prison ships during the revolution. Dennis details the efforts, only

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partially fulfilled, of the New York Tammany Society to bury with honors the soldiers' bones in 1808. Douglas R. Egerton contributes a chilling essay on the judicial mutilation of the corpses of slaves, a practice that terrorized African Americans who believed that souls of dismembered bodies could not find peace in an afterlife.

Part four goes to afterlife beliefs. Elizabeth Reis tracks changing conceptions of angels, from the Puritans (low on angel sightings) through the Great Awakening, the Shakers, and finally the Spiritualists of the mid-nineteenth century, who were persuaded that every dead person could bring a message from the other side. Reis correlates the growing popularity of angels with a feminized religion that feminized angels as well. Nicholas Marshall turns to letters and diaries where death is omnipresent to trace out reactions among survivors. His antebellum New York sources reveal a preoccupation with fatal illness that Marshall correlates with an actual decrease in longevity as described by demographic historians. Marshall suggests that the boom in religious observance in those years is in part explained by the higher death rates. Yet actuarial risks of dying are rarely known with accuracy in the general population, and high-death regimes do not necessarily generate a sentimentalized culture of death. Still, Marshall's moving evidence taps our sympathy for the human dimensions of abrupt loss. The final essay, by Thomas G. Connors, looks at one instance of the rural cemetery movement in Sleepy Hollow, New York, where Washington Irving transplanted romanticized European ideas about grave landscape to create a pastoral resting place for his family.

Nearly all of the essays are complex and smart, and at the same time well grounded in solid documentation. No brief summary can do them justice. The volume should see heavy use as a classroom text for courses on early American cultural history.

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JUDITH RICHARDSON. *Possessions: The History and Uses of Haunting in the Hudson Valley*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 296. $29.95.

This book offers a cohesive interdisciplinary project that enhances our appreciation of regionalism, folklore, local history, and the transforming uses of cultural memory in response to demographic as well as industrial change. Romanticism is key to the genesis of Judith Richardson's narrative, for, as she explains, although there would have been a proliferation of ghost stories in the Hudson River Valley without the impact of that movement early in the nineteenth century, it made what she calls hauntings "eminently valuable, [and] fueled the elevation of hauntedness to a regional aesthetic and encouraged the proliferation of local tales" (p. 39).

Richardson highlights three periods: the age of Washington Irving and the notable influence of his popular tales; the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and the 1930s and 1940s. In the first phase, social change and instability become central to her explanatory scheme. In the second period, a shifting configuration of ethnic communities in the valley is crucial to the persistence and transformation of "spooky" narratives in oral tradition and regional publications. For the final phase, Richardson relies heavily upon the nostalgia and anti-modernism of Maxwell Anderson's stage play *High Tor*, which enjoyed considerable appeal in 1937. The title refers to a small but mysterious "mountain" located at the north end of the Palisades on the west side of the Hudson River.

The texture of this book varies nicely because between the author's in-depth studies of Irving and Anderson there is a considerable amount of social history and analysis of less familiar writers and publications. Chapter three provides a meticulous case study of a single ghost story that persisted for many generations in one locale, Leeds, New York, and involved significant elements of class and race as well as ethnicity—all of which pervade the book as crucial variables. In the following chapter, "Local Characters," Richardson insists on yet another consideration, the railroad and tragic deaths caused by train accidents: "the presence and products of industrial society not only have been conducive to the proliferation of hauntings of various types, but have in many cases provided the locus and content of the hauntings themselves" (p. 161). Richardson's epilogue appropriately utilizes *World's End* (1987), a brilliant novel by T. Coraghessan Boyle, not merely as the culmination of her "story" but as a powerful indication of the persistence and instructiveness of her rich material.

For those interested in the never-ending issue of "American exceptionalism," this book provides evidence on both sides of that discourse. Richardson points out, for example, that in European ghost stories, the ghosts often speak, whereas her New York-area ghosts rarely do (p. 27). At the same time, she is careful to note Irving's considerable debt to European tales, especially German ones, and that during Irving's European travels (1815–1832) he discovered "that he was able to synthesize his Hudson Valley experiences and his literary and philosophical sensibilities in such a way that they not only achieved for him international acclaim but would haunt the Hudson Valley for generations to come" (pp. 48–49).

Richardson's analysis of the persistence of ghost stories in her region is nuanced and largely persuasive, even though "explaining" the venue and variability of ghost stories is, more than figuratively, like nailing jelly to the wall. She emphasizes the swiftness of historical change "and thus of obsolescence, and [that] the frequent social shifts bestowed on the region a large number of 'pasts' in a relatively brief period, providing a plethora of raw materials from which hauntings

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could emerge, while also effectively foreshortening historical time, so that even recent events seemed remote" (p. 23). Her research in primary as well as secondary sources could not be more thorough, and the writing is always clear, even memorable on occasion. My favorite turn of phrase is "usable hauntings," as in "Irving thus provided a set of usable hauntings, a more general way of seeing which valued ghostliness, and a fertile equivocation [deliberate ambiguity about his meaning] that served to prime the canvas for later generations" (p. 77).

Richardson's book is completely free of jargon. I suspect that some devotees of cultural studies who are wedded to critical theory might find that a flaw, but it is surely a virtue in terms of nonspecialist readers and students. The publisher deserves particular praise for a most attractive format and design. This book would work well in upper-level courses for undergraduates in disciplines ranging from history and literature to American studies, folklore, and sociology.

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C. EDWARD SKEEN. *1816 America Rising*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2003. Pp. xvi, 299. $35.00.

Some readers may have thought or hoped that the notion of the "Era of Good Feelings" was dormant and discredited, but not C. Edward Skeen. Although he seeks to breathe new life into the concept, his version of the so-called era is a diminished and truncated one. For example, he refers more than once to "one brief moment" (pp. xv, 231). The fleeting and ephemeral nature of the era in question offers small hope that we shall witness much of a revival of interest in it.

Skeen's decision to focus on a single year places his work among the lengthening list of books of this genre. The absolute essential for any study like this is that the time span have major significance. In my judgment, however, the year 1816 does not rise to that level, and Skeen's study has not fully persuaded me to alter my belief.

The author's central argument is that 1816 was "a pivotal year of transition, particularly for the political life of the nation" (p. xi). But he does not turn his attention directly to the topic of political developments until chapter twelve, where he ably explores the election of that year. The opening sentence of the chapter, however, does little to encourage or entice the reader: "Historians have found little excitement during the 1816 presidential campaign" (p. 211). Yet, protests Skeen later in the same paragraph, "the race was hardly devoid of interest." He seems to be struggling to convince himself as well as the reader. After a fairly extensive examination of the various aspects of the campaign and election, the author reaches this conclusion: "The election was essentially a non-event" (p. 229)—hardly a "pivotal year" in the nation's political life.

Correctly claiming in chapter four that the most serious questions confronting the Fourteenth Congress were financial ones, Skeen offers an engaging investigation of the tariff and the national bank. He demonstrates that there was widespread support in Congress and in the nation for a protective tariff, an understandable attitude in the immediate aftermath of the extravagant expenditures required by the war. Therefore, the new tariff bill did not generate much controversy in Congress, other than some haggling over rates for various imported goods. The national bank proposal, however, faced more difficulty, thanks in part to opposition raised by certain Federalists. Even though John C. Calhoun, a bank proponent, "passed lightly over the constitutional issue" (p. 66), other members of Congress gave that topic a good bit of attention. Not surprisingly, important details, such as the amount of government-owned stock and the number of government-appointed directors, absorbed the energy of some of the debaters. But when the dust settled after all the speeches and resolutions, both houses solidly endorsed the national bank. John Randolph, well known for his contrarian views, declared the bank to be inexpedient, unconstitutional, and dangerous; yet he avowed that he was eager to purchase stock in it.

One may readily be excused for having forgotten the Compensation Act of 1816, but in chapter five Skeen rescues it from oblivion. He makes a convincing case for the act's importance, particularly because of its impact on members of Congress. Moreover, he boldly contends that the adoption of this act "greatly accelerated the shift from deferential to popular politics" (p. 77). In the spring of 1816, representatives and senators agreed, without much hesitation, that they needed and deserved a pay raise—a not unfamiliar view for congressmen. But they had not reckoned on the "hysterical reaction that followed" (p. 82). Across the nation, newspaper editors eagerly rose to the challenge as they fanned the flames of public outrage. The voters were nondiscriminatory, for they directed their wrath toward both Federalists and Republicans. As the author notes, a higher than normal percentage of members of Congress were not reelected in late 1816. The lame-duck session that began in December had to confront the public's demand for repeal, and the chastened congressmen speedily rescinded the act. Skeen speculates that the future belonged to politicians who learned the lessons of the Compensation Act, but one wonders.

The author devotes other chapters to a variety of topics, such as internal improvements, state developments, crime and punishment, and humanitarian impulses. There is even a chapter on the extraordinary weather in the summer of 1816. Skeen has done prodigious research in a wealth of primary materials, and his entire book benefits greatly as a result. Overall,

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he has produced a thoughtful work that stimulates the reader to ponder the postwar nation anew.

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DAN MONROE. *The Republican Vision of John Tyler.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 252. $39.95.

Dan Monroe's study of John Tyler's career down through his presidency attempts to address and redress the oft-made charge that Tyler was a fanatic whose extremism destroyed his own public life and seriously jeopardized the political viability and economic program of the Whig Party. Monroe contends that, to the contrary, Tyler's policies were principled and were derived from, and consistent with, a republican ideology inherited from Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. From Tyler's education at William and Mary College through his life in politics as United States representative, governor of Virginia, senator, and finally president, he remained intent on "acting in a virtuous republican manner." Although Monroe is careful to point out the pragmatic turns in Tyler's public positions and policy decisions, readers will conclude that his republican principles were axiomatic and controlling. Put in other terms, Tyler consistently looked to an idyllic and static Jeffersonian past for guidance in an imperfect and politically fluid present.

Throughout his career, Tyler remained suspicious of, and hostile to, centralization of power in the national government, the presidency, and economic institutions such as the Bank of the United States. Instead he embraced states' rights, a strict construction of the Constitution, and an agrarian view of economic development and the creation of wealth. Equally influential on Tyler's temper and policies was a southern sense of honor and sensitivity to slight that only served to harden his commitment to republican principles. The confluence of ideology (which was timeless and universal) and honor (regionally specific to the South), Monroe argues, made inflexible Tyler's opposition to Henry Clay's efforts to resuscitate the Bank of the United States. His vetoes were at once a defense of a republican vision of government and an agrarian economy, and a rebuke to partisan—and personal—criticism of himself. From his opposition to bankruptcy legislation during his tenure in the House of Representatives to his advocacy of Texas annexation as president, Tyler's policies were a consistent extension and reflection of republicanism and personal honor.

Monroe does a very good job of untangling the various threads that, woven together, constituted the republican vision of the revolutionary generation. He also deftly demonstrates how that revolutionary heritage was adopted by Tyler and adapted by him to the political world of the 1830s and 1840s. The strength of Monroe's work—its inward-looking, close, and descriptive analysis of Tyler's public career—also constitutes its weakness. First, Monroe tends to internalize Tyler's worldview and uses it as the standard by which to judge all other political actors and decisions. Andrew Jackson and Clay, not surprisingly, come in for some rough handling. Jackson both personifies and reifies executive usurpation; Clay, too, appears intent on personal political aggrandizement at the expense of republican government and governance. Monroe does not consider whether Jackson or Clay might have been motivated by republican principles at variance with those of Tyler. Opposing, principled views of the nullification, the bank, or Texas annexation are neither discussed nor analyzed.

By extension, then, Monroe does not adequately acknowledge or describe the larger political universe in which Tyler operated. To be fair, Monroe's purpose is to explicate the Virginian's seemingly willful and self-destructive political behavior, and he makes a strong, creditable case for Tyler being the most prominent of an ever-diminishing cadre of Jeffersonian republicans. Yet the fact that his principles failed to resonate more widely either within the Democracy, Whiggery, or the national electorate is suggestive and beyond the scope of Monroe's analytical framework. So, too, is any larger consideration of how slavery intersected with and was incorporated into Tyler's republican vision. To be sure, Monroe carefully explores how the problematic issue of slavery extension affected Tyler's opposition to restriction in the Missouri Crisis and undergirded his advocacy of Texas annexation. But how slavery, whether as an institution or as a trope, complemented or contradicted republicanism is not taken up in any meaningful way.

For such a focused study, Tyler the man remains oddly elusive. Monroe's effort to make the case for Tyler's principled behavior and his own internalization of the Jeffersonian paradigm produces a political narrative that tends to oversimplify the republican legacy and the inconsistencies that characterized his presidency. Tyler's equivocal positions on the Bank of the United States, executive power (or usurpation), and congressional governance are eclipsed and obscured by an analytical framework that downplays contingency and change over time to emphasize the certitude of ideological consistency.

For all of that, Monroe has fashioned a powerful and to a large extent persuasive defense of Tyler's principles and his principled behavior. Although some readers may prefer a larger sense of the political universe of Jacksonian America or of Tyler himself, Monroe's work is informed by a wide array of secondary sources, and it is built on a close reading of Tyler's published speeches and correspondence. As such, it is the most insightful treatment of the motives and republican assumption that animated the public behavior and private beliefs of this much-maligned and misunderstood president.

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JOHN T. MCGREEVY. *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2003. Pp. 431. $26.95.

This book by John T. McGreevy explores and amends the conventional view of the relationship between Catholics and democratic principles as they have evolved since 1776. In a nation where "official" histories were, until recently, the purview of white Protestant authors, Catholicism has appeared as the despised enemy of liberty. By providing historical background for this contest, and by focusing on the interplay between Catholics and their critics since the emergence of liberalism in the nineteenth century, the book complements European histories of the Catholic Church's troubled relation to the state since 1789, and focuses on the American scene up to the current crisis involving priests accused of sexual abuse of minors.

McGreevy's title echoes (and repudiates) the anti-Catholic polemics of Paul Blanshard, who embodied "mainstream" American anti-Catholicism during the 1940s and 1950s. Ten chapters explore selected public issues central to American "identity," ranging from abortion to education funding to slavery. McGreevy's account traces the path of non-Catholic opinion about the inability of Catholicism to embrace Enlightenment ideals of freedom and democracy as well as Catholic responses to that criticism, and pinpoints the efforts of the handful of Catholic liberals who shared the view of continental thinkers that their faith and political principles were not intrinsically antidemocratic.

The study opens with mid-nineteenth-century debates about Catholics as citizens of a democracy, a struggle that led to such events as the Eliot School Rebellion of 1859, in which Catholic schoolboys attending common school in Boston protested the obligation to read the King James Bible and to say Protestant prayers. Court judgments here and later permitted the Bible readings, contending that they could be, as Horace Mann had argued, "at once religious and nonsectarian" (p. 115). The Protestant bias of the allegedly nonsectarian public schools continued to aggravate some Catholics, who eventually developed a nationwide parochial school system of their own.

Chapters two and three highlight the transatlantic character of the nineteenth-century Catholic Revival and (Protestant-led) attacks on the Roman Catholic Church as the eternal enemy of liberty. As antipopery bled into antislavery in the 1850s, Romanism and slavery were understood by many Americans as a "two-edged dagger with which to stab liberty to the heart" (p. 63). McGreevy provides the fullest reading of the complexity of Catholic opinion on slavery to date. The papal and theological opinion that slavery was not opposed to natural law fostered a climate of opinion such that in the antebellum decades no leading Catholic agitated for immediate abolition. The Civil War appears here as a contest between liberal proponents of freedom of contract, which underlay slave emancipation and laissez-faire economic policies, and despotic forces (such as Catholics) who would hamper such autonomy. It would not be until the early 1900s that liberals and Catholic social reformers would find common ground on a social interpretation of the causes of poverty and the need for labor activism, an alliance that reached a high point during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A strong fourth chapter on "The Nation" examines the consequences of the clash between the state's increased interest in monopolizing education to produce ideal citizens and Catholics' position that school choice was a parental prerogative. As McGreevy points out, the quarrel, "ironically, led to the secularization of the public schools" (p. 115).

Issues of human life and freedom are visited in two chapters. The notion that life must be protected from "womb to tomb"—associated most recently with the late Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, who refashioned Catholic ethics as a "seamless garment"—took some time to evolve among Catholics. A Catholic position against artificial birth control dates only from the 1920s, while the church's antipathy toward contraception was eroded by the practices of the laity, who have largely disregarded papal teaching on the subject since 1968. In that year Pope Paul VI sealed the failure of the church's doctrinaire outlook when he issued the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* against the advice of theologians and lay counsel. As McGreevy notes, opposition to this document, "more vocal and sustained than on any other topic in the history of modern Catholicism, inevitably stimulated study of the very meaning of papal authority, sin, and dissent" (p. 246). Once Catholics began to invoke American individualist norms of "freedom of conscience," would any leader or doctrine survive the challenge to authority?

The dilemma facing Catholics who have become "liberalized" remains how to maintain ties to their long tradition of support for social solidarity (a "common good" perspective) against modern ideas of freedom and autonomy (a "me-first" outlook). A resolution must seemingly be deferred while the church deals with its priest-pedophiles and its inadequate notions of sexual morality. While not detracting from its considerable insights and careful use of archival materials, McGreevy's intellectual history is one that highlights the perspective of male leaders: the Catholic hierarchy, priests, and self-proclaimed "intellectuals." Although women suffered the everyday consequences of the conflict between communalism and individualism, they are in short supply as shapers of history. Nonetheless McGreevy's thoughtful and insightful work is a model of intellectual history and provides stimulating reading even for those familiar with the contours of American and European Catholicism.

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DEAN GRODZINS. *American Heretic: Theodore Parker and Transcendentalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 631. $39.95.

Theodore Parker, the great Unitarian preacher and abolitionist, was fond of telling a story about himself. Four years old and alone in the woods, Parker came upon a spotted tortoise. He had seen other boys kill them for sport, and he was about to do the same, when something inside him told him: "It is wrong!" His mother later explained that he had just heard his conscience, through which God had spoken to him, and that his life "depends on heeding this little voice." Parker would recollect that "no other event in my life has made so deep and lasting an impression on me." Such tales told about or by public figures are, of course, suspect. After reading Dean Grodzins's fine biography, however, no one should doubt this story or how from then on Parker was guided by that little voice. Indeed, a main source of Parker's genius and, simultaneously, anguish is that often it was the *only* voice he heard.

The first full-scale biography since Henry Steele Commager's *Yankee Crusader* (1936), this study covers Parker's life to 1846 (volume two will include his abolitionist years). A young minister who unrelentingly tried to make other Unitarians confront the logical conclusions of their theological speculations, Parker was perhaps the most complex of all the Transcendentalists. Today, we might say he had an anger management problem. While discussing a play with a college classmate, Parker abruptly ordered his friend out of his room. Parker then burst into tears, fearing that he had given offense. This was a pattern repeated throughout his life: a sudden explosion of unbridled belligerence followed by insecurity and deep remorse. Parker wore his heart on his sleeve.

Well, not entirely. One of Grodzins's many great services is his extensive transcription from Parker's private journal, a work immensely difficulty to decipher (the handwriting would do a physician proud, to which add Parker's occasional use of code). Full of thoughts he dared not reveal, among his many anguished expressions about his domestic life the journal contains this, written in Greek letters but with English values: "Go where I may, this fact stares me in the face. [My wife is a] *DEVIL*. I. HAVE. NO. HOPE. in. LIFE." The phrase in square brackets is what Parker crossed out to prevent his wife, the heiress Lydia Dodge Cabot, from reading it in case she broke the code. Although marrying well (if only in one sense), Parker struggled for everything he got. Qualifying for Harvard but then too poor to matriculate, on his own he completed the entire college reading list in a single year. When he later entered the Harvard Divinity School, Parker established himself as the most erudite of the newly forming group of Transcendentalist geniuses. A prodigiously autodidactic scholar, he read dozens of languages and, within a few years of graduation, wrote hundreds of articles and pamphlets. Yet his friend John Sullivan Dwight called him out for "converting insensibly what is originally pure thirst for truth into a greedy, avaricious, jealous striving not merely to know, but to get all there is to know." Dwight was on target: publishing polemical sermons with three hundred footnotes, Parker could be an intellectual bully.

Parker happened to be in that very small audience of students in 1838 that heard Ralph Waldo Emerson deliver his infamous Divinity School Address. Its power blew ecclesiastical Boston apart and set Parker, who bought six copies of the speech, along the same path of denying the divinity, and eventually even the infallibility, of Jesus. The centerpiece of Parker's attack was his 1841 address, *Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity*. Acknowledging the thoroughly human qualities of Jesus, Parker, like other Transcendentalists, argued that Jesus's words, rather than his miracles or the subsequent Christian institutions, are the essential, permanent qualities of the religion. In situating Parker's theological beliefs, Grodzins is particularly good at clarifying the contemporary competing theologies that swirled around Europe and the United States.

Fellow Unitarians shunned Parker, not so much for his theology but, as Grodzins rightly points out, for his persistence. Defensive during the Second Great Awakening, Unitarians also felt the heat from Congregationalist critics who claimed Unitarians were essentially Deists. Parker served as confirmation of that claim and proved an embarrassment. Even as other Transcendentalists moved on, he continued the attack and drew huge crowds. But he misread the doctrinal split he helped produce. Henry Hedge, Convers Francis, and eventually even Emerson reconciled with Harvard and Unitarianism, realizing that time was on their side. Parker remained out in the cold, fighting for principle but also to exorcise his demons.

Parker was always confronting evil. After all, he had already identified his own wife as the devil. And in that journal he constructed rules that came close to an enemies list. Regarding Lydia, he must "smother the ferocity of her 'no's.'" After his theological disputes with his closest friend, Convers Francis, he recorded: "Never ask him any questions relating to *Phil[osophy]* or *Morals* or above all *Religion* since his shabbiness." He had another journal entry (not included by Grodzins) entitled "Doubts about Alcott." He treated human relations with the newly emerging Biblical criticism he had mastered: if one applied enough rational theory, the subject could be dissected and ultimately controlled.

Parker was a card-carrying member of the perfectionist school of social reform. He held an absolute vision that, he felt, was not only obtainable but was immediately and necessarily so. That led him to become one of the most eloquent of the abolitionists. Yet despite Parker's passion for social justice, like many other reformers he did not particularly care to socialize with those for whom he fought. Parker's unfortu-

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nate views about African Americans will undoubtedly emerge in the next volume. But here Grodzins quotes from Parker's journals that Jews were "*cunning, sly, & ferocious* . . . creeping stealthily . . . from city to city," and, as to Anglicans, Parker opined that "I could not but think Cromwell did only half his work." Catholics came off no better.

Although somewhat overwritten, this book uncovers so much new evidence and produces so many gems of original insight into Parker's brilliant yet complex personality that any reader interested in the social or intellectual aspects of the period should profit greatly. It is an impressive first book and bodes well for the next volume, where Parker fully emerges as an abolitionist leader.

KENNETH S. SACKS
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JOHN PATRICK DALY. *When Slavery was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery, and the Causes of the Civil War.* (Religion in the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2002. Pp. 207. $45.00.

Just how different were the antebellum North and South? Historians have debated this question for years. In a brief book with an intriguing title, John Patrick Daly reconsiders the culture of southern evangelicalism before the Civil War, finding therein evidence for secession not in difference but in similarity. The key to Daly's thesis may be found in the three-page epilogue in which the author astutely observes that, since 1975, the South "has achieved amazing political and cultural influence that has obliterated its regional isolation" (p. 156). Perhaps historians have overstated nineteenth-century regional difference, and it is time for the "two civilizations" historians such as Eugene Genovese and Raimondo Luraghi to concede defeat. Daly demonstrates that not only did southern evangelicals call slavery freedom, as the oxymoronic title of his book proclaims, but they also understood the institution to be, *pace* Louis Hartz, "mere slavery." As Daly reads them, southern evangelicals' proslavery sermons and declarations reveal just how similar Americans were south and north of the Mason and Dixon line. They slaughtered each other by the tens of thousands between 1861 and 1865, because they failed to recognize their common values.

As it turns out, southern and northern evangelicals held almost identical views. They embraced modernization and individualism, defended moral free agency and manifest destiny, and showed themselves to be utterly enamored of that much-bandied American ideal of freedom. Using Thomas R. Dew as an early example (although hardly an evangelical), Daly shows how southern apologists conjoined material progress, both personal and regional, and moral standing. Southern prosperity, such as it was, signaled that God smiled down on southerners and their institutions. Far from begin a national or regional sin, slavery was ordained by Providence and for the most part constituted a southern blessing. Prosperity proved it.

Daly argues that nineteenth-century Americans north and south largely agreed that Providence's hand was at work in America. Ontology merged with deontology; what existed in America, including slavery, was right. Hardly involved in a shameful enterprise, slaveholders were engaged in saving the souls of their African-American charges. As Thomas Jefferson had argued in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1784), slavery was pernicious more for whites than blacks. Moreover, sin and salvation were not bound up in institutions but in individual conduct. The benign slaveholder, which encompassed the vast majority, was nothing less than a virtuous citizen doing his duty. Indeed, as late as 1840 Ralph Waldo Emerson could insist that the slaveholder deserved not excoriation but pity.

No doubt, defending slavery and slaveholders served southern evangelicals' interests. Slavery in one way or another paid their salaries. And defend slavery they did. Where Daly's book breaks new ground is in its insight that the southern evangelicals defended the peculiar institution in very nearly identical language as their northern counterparts attacked it. Southern Americans were doing God's work: improving the slave and constructing a great democratic nation. Indeed, the evangelical apology for slavery was couched in terms of freedom. Not only were masters free to own slaves, but as South Carolina evangelical James Henry Thornwell proclaimed, slaves were no less free than the wage laborers of the North. Both slaves and free workers had someone else control their labor but were free to give that labor (as God ordained) obediently or not. In short, both workers freely served a higher authority than their respective master or boss. In what Daly terms "the most significant development in proslavery apologetics," southern evangelicals not only effectively undermined the distinction between slave and free labor but did so in language that incorporated the values of their northern brothers and sisters. Slavery, Daly concludes, could indeed be called freedom.

That northerners refused to comprehend the equivalency of slave and free labor brought about the Civil War. By denying that slavery could be called freedom, abolitionists impugned southern honesty and honor. Northerners attacked and southerners defended southern honor. Southern evangelicals understood abolitionism as an assault upon a free, God-ordained institution, and as such interference with God's free creation. So a blundering generation, too headstrong to perceive common values, recklessly and needlessly stumbled into a horrific civil war.

This is a short book that begs many questions. The author neglects politics altogether, makes little distinction between the Upper and Lower South, lumps denominations together, and offers scant discussion of the major historiography. So terse a book could hardly cover all these topics. Surely, however, Richard Carwardine's *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum Amer-*

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ica (1993) and Mitchell Snay's *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South* (1993) deserve at least inclusion in the bibliography.

PETER S. FIELD
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SUSAN ZAESKE. *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 253. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

In the earliest mass petitioning against slavery (1831–1835), women offered deferential "prayers" while men used assertive language to petition members of the U.S. Congress. Yet their humble stance did not soften the negative response to those women who allowed their names to appear in the political arena. Susan Zaeske argues that the key factors propelling women to enter the public fray were the examples, first, of British women petitioning against slavery, and second, of American women petitioning against Indian removal and for temperance laws (pp. 43–44). Petitioning made women aware of their rights as citizens, a change in women's identity that Zaeske sees reflected in the more assertive language used by women petitioners after 1840.

How women traveled this road to political awareness is an important question whose analysis is relevant to understanding of democratic developments in other times and places. In the American antislavery campaign, women's earliest petitions literally prayed that "fathers and rulers" act against slave trading and its cruel separation of families. Citing Christian precedent, organizers noted that their petitions were like those of Esther, the biblical figure who risked death when she petitioned her husband to stop the planned slaughter of her people, the Hebrews. Bringing together petition texts, congressional speeches, and an extensive range of letters and newspaper articles on petitioning, Zaeske's narrative provides a lively tour of the controversy and process surrounding antislavery petitioning.

During a second phase of petitioning (1837–1840), Zaeske sees the omission of deferential language as evidence that women were moving toward more political consciousness. But she acknowledges that this change might have resulted from the gag rule, which tabled petitions mentioning slavery and encouraged the kind of one-sentence petitions that Congressman John Quincy Adams could slip into the official record.

During a third phase of petitioning (1840–1854), Zaeske argues that women made their greatest progress toward self-conscious "identity" as citizens. Although fewer in number, women's petitions used more direct, sometimes militant language. They attacked plans for extending slavery into Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska and continued to condemn slavery in the District of Columbia—places over which Congress had jurisdiction.

The Civil War years (1861–1865) comprise the fourth, triumphant phase of petitioning, with Zaeske noting that more women signed petitions for emancipation and the Thirteenth Amendment than had signed petitions during the campaigns of the 1830s. This important chapter helps bridge the gap between separate studies on antebellum and wartime work, but the price is the omission of the period 1854 to 1860. If women were progressing toward greater political consciousness and involvement, why were they not raising their voices ever more loudly over the possible extension of slavery into the Nebraska territory? Readers who want to know about the role of women in this important period should consult Michael D. Pierson's *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics* (2003). Those interested in petitioning in other time periods can consult the curriculum package, "Our Mothers Before Us: Women and Democracy, 1789–1920" (unit #11142, Publications Office of the National Archives). Developed from the exhibit and database that Zaeske notes made her work possible, the curriculum essays and petition facsimiles cover a much broader range of women's petitioning efforts.

Zaeske's book is important for those with little background in antislavery movements or petitioning, and the fine illustrations of petition texts and signatures allow for varied conclusions. Future scholars will explore and debate Zaeske's assumption that the process of signing petitions created and then transformed women's sense of political identity. With many petitioners dropping out along the way, Zaeske's feminist progression of women being transferred from infrequent petitioners to humble but frequent petitioners and then into aggressive, rights-conscious petitioners does not include many of the names on antislavery petitions. Lacking are documented links between the masses of grass-roots petitioners and the writers of petitions and essays urging women to sign. Whether most women did actually sign petitions remains unclear, with mention omitted of the petitions that featured lists of names written in one hand (see Deborah Van Broekhoven, *"The Devotion of These Women": Rhode Island in the Antislavery Movement* [2002]).

The book's introduction states that the author's project is "the reconstruction of female political subjectivity" and the "cultural process related to individuals' living experience and the ever-changing discursive resources available to them" (p. 4). Yet Zaeske does more than create a lively narrative of women's rhetoric and consciousness, asserting in her conclusion that women's petitioning had a great impact on political parties and legal emancipation (p. 174). Clearly this was true for women like Catharine Beecher, whom both Zaeske and "Our Mothers" prove moved from an "anti-petitioning" stance in the 1830s to actual signing an antislavery petition in 1854. Some will want to know more about ordinary petitions and the author's sampling. Zaeske credits two pioneer studies that find

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petitioning "opened a way toward citizenship" for women (Gilbert Barnes, *Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830–1844* [1964], and Gerda Lerner, "The Political Activities of Antislavery Women," in *The Majority Finds Its Past* [1979]) but notes no differences between her own data and samples used by these other studies.

Zaeske's book and "Our Mothers" both show a process by which women petitioners expressed more consciousness of their rights. How widespread these notions were remains unclear, because neither Zaeske nor the Center for Legislature Archives selected petitions randomly but chose them in order to highlight women's progress in the political sphere. Still, Zaeske's close analysis of petition texts should encourage further analysis of a greater range of the petitions and political writings, including those found in the "Our Mothers" database and in other state and national archives.

Deborah Van Broekhoven
American Baptist Historical Society

Mark Voss-Hubbard. *Beyond Party: Cultures of Antipartisanship in Northern Politics before the Civil War.* (Reconfiguring American Political History, number 7.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 266. Cloth $45.00.

For the cynical, antipartyism is a rhetorical device resorted to by politicians who find themselves in a minority position electorally or who wish to engineer some sort of party realignment. In this most interesting and cogent book, Mark Voss-Hubbard recognizes the pragmatic functions of much antiparty rhetoric but also explains that its cultural power in the mid-nineteenth century derived from more than the long-standing traditions of patriotic republicanism or evangelical communitarianism that Richard Hofstadter and Ronald P. Formisano have emphasized. Antipartyism, he finds, drew on the political engagement that flourished in civic life outside the vigorous two-party system of the "party period," providing means of cooperation, identification, and organization capable of generating popular attachments that could be used to challenge the command of the major parties in electoral politics.

These revelations come through a careful study of the Know-Nothing explosion that transformed northern politics in 1854 and 1855 and opened the way for the Republican triumph of 1860. Voss-Hubbard provides excellent brief accounts of politics in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, sharpened by local studies of one important county in each state—Essex, New London, and Dauphin (embracing Harrisburg), respectively. Although political circumstance and a rapidly changing socioeconomic fabric affected how the nativist revolt evolved in each locality, certain common themes are evident. In each state, rapid economic change—notably the astounding leap in the scale of industrialization—created the opportunity for a social protest movement. The Know-Nothings, however, expressed not so much the dislocations suffered by the new urban working class as the anxieties of aspiring native-born males distressed by new social and economic challenges.

But, beyond that, the process and manner of the protest drew heavily on the nonpartisan operation of local and municipal government, of local economic enterprise, and of voluntary benevolent associations. These activities had always looked beyond partisan ties toward the welfare of the community as a whole, and, as with the temperance movement, claimed a higher justification than the partisan outlook of the main political parties. Furthermore, the apparent irrelevance of the major parties encouraged popular cynicism about the selfishness of party hacks, the corrupt use of patronage, and the logrolling distribution of economic benefits. Significantly, in 1854 the Know-Nothings targeted not merely the Catholic menace but practicing politicians who were willing to sacrifice the republic's welfare in their competition for immigrant votes.

In practical terms, the electoral protests of 1854 were made possible by the secretive fraternal bodies created by the nativists. These organizations generated a corps of followers independent of the major parties, who were released at the polls in 1854 in an unanticipated outpouring that undermined the local Democrats and virtually destroyed the Whig Party. Once in power, however, the Know-Nothings had to move on from rhetorical generalities to deal with practical issues of government and the necessary distribution of governmental benefits. In doing so, they alienated some supporters, especially those of Democratic background, and by mid-1855 had evolved into political parties, adopting the usual measures of coordinating and mobilizing their supporters. Moreover, the powerful focusing effect of a presidential election forced them to face up to the national crisis over slavery, and the Fremont campaign of 1856 effectively used antiparty appeals calling on voters to give up their old partisan attachments and rally round the cause of the country. Although Voss-Hubbard does not consider antislavery as central to the Know-Nothings as Tyler Anbinder did in *Nativism and Slavery* (1992), he recognizes that after 1856 the Republicans successfully used the antiparty rhetoric, moral concern, and economic nationalism of the nativists to weld the Know-Nothings into the North's anti-Democratic coalition.

In a stimulating essay in the *Journal of American History* (vol. 86, 1999), Voss-Hubbard argued that the prevalence of antipartyism and third-party insurgencies meant that the "party period" hypothesis is of limited value for understanding public life between 1830 and 1900. Yet the processes he describes were an essential part of a party system that could never accurately reflect society or satisfy its needs. In its traditional "Country Party" form, antipartyism had always been volubly expressed during the emergence of major opposition parties from the 1790s to the 1830s. In each case, those in power were condemned as neglecting the true interests of the republic for the

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sake of narrow selfish interests, and the new party denied that it was a party even as it adopted partisan techniques of winning power. Similarly, the tendency of established parties to ossify meant that major shifts in voter allegiances could be effected only by popular social movements (like antimasonry) operating outside the current structure. Undoubtedly Voss-Hubbard usefully opens up broad areas of public life that lay "beyond party," but his evidence also brings new understanding of the forces underlying major political realignment, confirms the high level of popular engagement in politics at such moments, and reemphasizes the power of the partisan imperative in the mid-nineteenth century.

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HAROLD D. TALLANT. *Evil Necessity: Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2003. Pp. xiii, 307. $45.00.

Kentucky has often been called the state that seceded after the Civil War. In this study of antebellum attitudes toward slavery and the politics of antislavery reform in Kentucky, Harold D. Tallant offers an intriguing explanation. His study also invites a comparative look at other so-called "middle ground" slaveholding states that, like Kentucky, remained (more or less) with the Union in the Civil War.

The antislavery movement in Kentucky was dominated by conservatives, although a few radical abolitionists were tolerated but gained little support there. The cornerstone of the conservative position was the conviction that slavery was a necessary evil, and conservatives were frequently slaveholders themselves. At the Frankfort Emancipation Convention in 1849, half of the 150 delegates held over 3,000 slaves. When other slaveholding states moved to the militant defense of slavery as a positive good, slaveholders in Kentucky did not. When reformers in other states moved from gradualist to immediatist positions on emancipation, Kentucky reformers did not.

Tallant argues that, when the conservatives insisted that slavery was evil even as they clung tightly to their slaves, they really meant it. The key to understanding this apparent contradiction as something more than hypocrisy is the overwhelming concern of these conservative reformers to preserve a harmonious social order. On the one hand, they recognized that slavery itself threatened this order, not only by presenting a constant prospect of violent resistance but also by fostering economic decline. On the other hand, they saw Kentucky slavery as an exceptionally mild form of the evil, a view with which outside observers such as Harriet Beecher Stowe concurred. Its preservation was necessary to prevent the greater evil of social chaos that surely would follow any sort of unqualified emancipation of slaves. For the public good, slavery must end—in the future, and in an orderly way.

These contradictory concerns fostered debates over slavery and race among conservatives throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Most of their proposals depended on demographic effects to reduce the number of slaves and the prospective presence of free blacks in the state. *Post nati* schemes were discussed periodically but always ran afoul of the question of compensation. Strong theoretical support for voluntary African colonization in the 1830s was unmatched by monetary support and was really about removing the free black population rather than ending slavery. A nonimportation act was passed in 1833 but drew increasing opposition and was repealed in 1849.

The unflagging conviction that slavery was necessary prevented antislavery reform in Kentucky from evolving from conservative gradualism to immediatism, while the recognition that it was evil fostered a tolerance for antislavery activism in Kentucky unusual in a slave state. Ultimately, however, "necessary" won out. In 1849, a constitutional convention called in part to consider abolishing slavery produced a strongly proslavery state constitution predicated on a very late conversion to the belief prevalent elsewhere in the South that slavery was a positive good.

The passage of this constitution had the effect of radicalizing the antislavery movement. Coming so late to the "positive good" position, Kentucky still tolerated a limited amount of antislavery activity throughout the 1850s, although anti-abolitionist violence escalated. Tallant's concluding chapter explores radicalization and response in the mid-1850s by focusing on the career of abolitionist John G. Fee.

Kentucky ultimately expelled Fee; yet the state remained ambivalent enough on slavery and sectionalism to adopt a policy of "armed neutrality" when the war came and, when that position became untenable, to support the Union (in the declared belief that this would *preserve* slavery, in the face of obvious evidence to the contrary). Tallant argues that Kentucky's "moderate" prewar stance enabled postwar Kentuckians to switch sides after the fact, hitching their mythology of mild slavery to a logic of unjust outcome that fueled a virulent postwar racism and the adoption of a Neo-Confederate identity.

Tallant is convincing when he explains the tangle of contradictions in Kentucky's antebellum political culture in terms of its determined adherence to the "necessary evil" position. The precise combination of developments in Kentucky in the face of a growing sectional crisis was unique, but some comparisons with events elsewhere, especially in the three other border states, would have been illuminating, too. Delaware's prewar "moderation" led to a postwar resistance to emancipatory ideas so powerful that the state did not ratify the Thirteenth Amendment until well into the twentieth century. All four states on the "middle ground" laid claim to the so-called myth of mild treatment, or "presumption of benignity," as Barbara Jeanne Fields called it in her 1985 study, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (p. 90), as did the mountain South.

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These mythologies supported racial hostility in different contexts with seemingly similar results, and their connections with antebellum debates over slavery and antislavery in these contexts would be worth exploring.

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WILLIAM A. LINK. *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 387. $45.00.

William A. Link, better known as a historian of the postbellum and twentieth-century South, has written a most valuable work on antebellum Virginia. Focusing almost entirely on the period from 1850 to the state's secession in April 1861, Link has drawn on a wide variety of sources to write what will surely become the standard work on the subject. A considerable amount of research has gone into this book; it is well written, and it will be welcomed by all who are interested in slavery and the politics of the sectional controversy.

The search for the origins of the Civil War has traditionally centered on slavery in the South. Nevertheless, the politics of slavery has traditionally been understood to mean the politics of slaveholders and white nonslaveholders, northern as well as southern. The voice of blacks, whether free or slave, has rarely intruded into originary narratives. This is beginning to alter, however, and we now have before us an enticing prospect: an integration of the social history of slavery with the political history of the sectional controversy.

Such an integration will probably be based on the concept of slave resistance. Historians now recognize that behind many of the controversies of the late antebellum era was the simple fact that slaves did not want to be slaves and resisted their enslavement. Forms of resistance were as apparent in Virginia (which had more slaves and more slaveholders than any state in the Union) as in the states of the Deep South, and they frequently punctuate Link's account of the 1850s and the secession crisis.

It is here that the originality of the book is to be found. The author's discussion of what might be termed "white" politics does not significantly alter our understanding of the period. Virginia acquiesced thankfully in the Compromise of 1850 and suffered the disintegration of its party system in the wake of the twin challenges of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Know Nothings (who did, Link insists, exhibit a genuine commitment to nativism). The Whig decline, however, proved temporary in Virginia, in that an "Opposition" party was able to run strongly even after the collapse of both the Whigs as a national force and the Know-Nothings. This success meant that, even after the panic caused by the John Brown raid, the erstwhile Whigs were able to capture the state, albeit by the narrowest of margins, for John Bell in 1860. Thereafter it seemed that the moderate, conditional Unionists were in charge and would have remained so had it not been for Abraham Lincoln's refusal to tolerate the idea of secession, the firing at Fort Sumter, and his call to arms. Only at that point could secessionist sentiment triumph.

Link does not endorse the view of Michael Holt, for example, that Virginia and the other states of the Upper South were slow to secede because of their recent experience with a two-party system. Rather he subscribes to the more traditional view that slavery lay at the heart of the controversy. The originality of his work instead lies in the attempt to incorporate examples of slave resistance into the narrative. Thus he contends that slave unrest intensified at times of political crisis, at election times and during the protracted secession crisis, and he offers many examples of slaves acting apparently on the basis of a clear understanding of "white" political processes. A vivid example came with Lincoln's election in 1860, an event that some slaves, it seemed, believed would bring the end of their enslavement. In this case, they betrayed a clearer understanding of mainstream politics than their masters, who embarked on the quest for southern independence and upon war with, as it would turn out, a quite misplaced confidence.

Those who are skeptical about slave resistance, or at least about its impact upon political events, will question the causal relationships that Link affirms. As the author acknowledges, it is extremely difficult to know who was responsible for the unexplained fires, for example, that broke out periodically in the slave states and still more difficult to relate them with precision to events in state or national politics. Link's work will thus provide much food for thought. There is reason to believe that the causes of the Civil War, for so long a neglected subject, are beginning once again to command the scholarly attention they deserve. Here is yet another reason to welcome the appearance of this study of antebellum Virginia.

JOHN ASHWORTH
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JOSEPH R. FORNIERI. *Abraham Lincoln's Political Faith*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. 209. $38.00.

Joseph R. Fornieri has written a useful book on the religious contributions to Abraham Lincoln's political vision, but it is also a volume that will be more readily appreciated by Fornieri's fellow political theorists than by historians. The central argument is that Lincoln's public philosophy constituted a "biblical republicanism" in which trust in divine revelation balanced the prudential exercise of reason and for which Lincoln drew together commitments to antislavery, the Declaration of Independence, and the Union into a coherent political perspective of compelling ethical force. Fornieri is an unabashed partisan for the political philosophy that he finds in Lincoln. In his view, Lincoln's "biblical republicanism" far outshone major contemporary alternatives, including the self-serving prosla-

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very theology of southerners, the enervating appeal of Stephen A. Douglas to popular sovereignty, and the politically suicidal ultraism of radical abolitionists. Fornieri is equally dismissive of modern interpreters who view Lincoln as anything but a principled defender of sound principles. Historians who project Lincoln's personal psychological history onto his politics misunderstand the integrity of his intellectual commitments; Straussian doctrinalists give too little credit to Judeo-Christian religion; and southern conservatives misread Lincoln's blend of shrewd practice and moral wisdom as dangerous millennialism. Against such interpretations, Fornieri holds that Lincoln rooted himself in the soundest traditions of American politics, especially the link drawn in George Washington's Farewell Address between religious practice and republican integrity, and the egalitarian principles enshrined by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln's particular contribution, in this reading, was to expand upon the founders' republican basis with a sensitive use of the Christian scriptures and put it to use along lines following Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas rather than Immanuel Kant or modern moral relativists.

Fornieri should be appreciated by historians for his convincing argument that an 1854 Lincoln speech in Springfield, which was responding to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, offers a much better reading of his mature "civil theology" than the Lyceum Address of 1838 that many historians have read as reflecting his deepest principles. Fornieri also makes a convincing case that proper understanding of Lincoln's well-known familiarity with the Bible depends upon seeing how he was putting it to use—whether evocatively to spruce up his rhetoric, allegorically to teach a political lesson with a well-chosen text, existentially to describe his own personal pilgrimage, theologically to ponder the secret providence of God, or civil theologically to provide a religious complement for the best of republican principle. A major chapter on Lincoln's refutation of proslavery biblical argumentation, which draws on writings and speeches mostly from before 1860, shows how carefully Lincoln had scrutinized those arguments. Fornieri's sifting of public speeches and private writings includes Lincoln's well-known 1858 dismissal of the Reverend Frederick Ross's biblical defense of slavery as an instance of blatantly self-serving exegesis. But he also makes excellent use of a less frequently quoted 1859 speech—where Lincoln responded to other biblical defenses of slavery by pointing out that southerners were unwilling to recognize that the Bible was talking about the enslavement of white men—to explain Lincoln's understanding of racial (although not civil) equality for blacks. Fornieri's care in illustrating these divergent usages of the Bible, and in showing how often Lincoln put them into practice throughout his entire career, are the highlights of the book.

The volume will be less appreciated for its sometimes simplistic historical accounts. Against Fornieri, as an example, it is not true that Americans in the antebellum period—or ever—enjoyed a common understanding of republican political philosophy. Similarly, it is not as certain as Fornieri contends that Lincoln's personal religion remained substantially unchanged throughout his life. Recent studies by Allen C. Guelzo, Richard J. Carwardine, and Stewart Winger remain more reliable on such biographical questions. The book's treatment of antebellum uses of scripture also suffers from Fornieri's inability to admit what scholars like Gaines M. Foster, Eugene D. Genovese, and Jack P. Maddex, Jr., have demonstrated convincingly, which is that efforts to defend slavery using the Bible were not acts of bad faith undertaken disingenuously but hermeneutically serious interpretations that revealed a fundamental clash *within American republicanism* over how religion should influence public policy. Significantly, the widespread acceptance in the North of biblical defenses for slavery is not treated in this book. In addition, its last sections, with the exception of shrewd commentary on the Second Inaugural Address, repeat arguments that had been thoroughly aired earlier in the volume. Yet for the seriousness with which Fornieri parses Lincoln's political thought, as well as for the depths that he convincingly reveals within that thought, this is a book that, like William Lee Miller's *Lincoln's Virtues* (2002) and Lucas Morel's *Lincoln's Sacred Effort* (2000), will enlighten historians even as it stimulates political theorists to affirmation or rebuttal.

MARK A. NOLL
Wheaton College

DAVID FARBER. *Lincoln's Constitution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. 240. $27.50.

When I teach constitutional history, I tell my class in the first lecture that it will be a course in constitutional history and not constitutional law. After that, several students, heading for law school, drop the class. This book by David Farber is essentially about constitutional law, so at this point some historians may want to drop out of reading this review, for they will not find in the book a richly contextualized study of constitutional conflict in the Civil War era. Nor will they read about the social and political groups of the nineteenth century that fronted their causes behind particular constitutional arguments. Still, there is much to be learned from this study. Farber offers an extremely clearly written analysis of constitutional arguments about issues that arose before and during the Civil War (unfortunately, he chose to leave Reconstruction questions out of the book). These are not all arguments used at the time, and it is one of the interesting contributions of the book that it traces some of the issues in later U.S. Supreme Court decisions.

A little over half of the book discusses secession; the remainder deals with presidential power in wartime. Farber gives the secessionists a fair hearing, but he does not see them as winning the constitutional argu-

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ment. Abraham Lincoln and presidential power in wartime itself are likewise given searching analysis, and, with a few exceptions, constitutional vindication.

Farber is a master of constitutional argument and offers many a startling insight. For example, he makes the nature of John C. Calhoun's constitutional ideas clear. "The Framers," Farber points out, "were not major influences on Calhoun's constitutional thought. He did not believe in blindly following the 'original understanding' of the Framers—indeed, he thought the Constitution itself was in need of revision in order to accomplish its fundamental purposes. He said the authority of the *Federalist* deserves to be destroyed" (pp. 62–63). There are many other similarly incisive comments about major actors in the dramas of constitutional conflict before and during the Civil War—but only about such elites. Like most constitutional history, this book takes a vertiginously top-down approach, and one reads in it mostly the opinions of very prominent figures in American history: "Framers" (James Madison is "as much . . . as Abraham Lincoln" the hero of the book, by Farber's own admission), presidents (Thomas Jefferson, Jefferson Davis, James Buchanan, Lincoln), Supreme Court justices (John Marshall and Roger B. Taney), Calhoun, and some attorneys general. By contrast, in the discussion of the conflict over suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus during the war, the book does not discuss Horace Binney's important defense of Lincoln and the famous pamphlet war over the question that Binney's arguments provoked among Philadelphia lawyers and politicians. There were many constitutional debates at the time, in other words, that this book ignores.

To be sure, Supreme Court justices and presidents have more to do with making constitutional history than Philadelphia lawyers and ordinary Americans, but this study will likely seem too limited in focus for many historians these days. The discussion of the case of Clement L. Vallandigham epitomizes the drawbacks of the approach. First, the discussion is rather abstract and unhistorical. Farber points out that "current First Amendment doctrine has not merely evolved since the Civil War; it has essentially sprung into existence out of a legal void" (p. 171). The subsequent discussion then measures the Vallandigham case by *Schenck v. United States* (1919), *Debs v. United States* (1919), *Abrams v. United States* (1919), and *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969).

Second, though seemingly fair minded, the discussion is somewhat onesided, and that is symbolized by the lack of citations to Vallandigham's able biographer, Frank L. Klement. The reader learns Lincoln's position on the case as well as the opinions of later Supreme Court justices on the issues (a valuable contribution, certainly), but Vallandigham's lawyers, among them the Ohio politician George E. Pugh and the next Democratic vice-presidential candidate, George H. Pendleton, go unheard.

Third, like most of the book, the whole discussion remains largely innocent of the highly charged partisan context of the Civil War. Farber does not bother to discuss in depth what worried some critics of the administration: namely, that like the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the measures embraced by the Lincoln administration might threaten loyal opposition itself and, from their terrified perspective, the existence of the Democratic Party.

Historians are sure to mine this lucid book for sharp interpretations of constitutional issues from Lincoln's era, but they should not expect to take from it new and guiding ways of interperting the causes of the Civil War and the fortunes of the presidency of Abraham Lincoln.

MARK E. NEELY, JR.
Pennsylvania State University

SUSAN-MARY GRANT and PETER J. PARISH, editors. *Legacy of Disunion: The Enduring Significance of the American Civil War.* (Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 267. $34.95.

This collection is an Anglo-American production, consisting of essays by eight British and four American scholars. It is also a tribute to the late Peter J. Parish, for many years a leading British scholar of the American Civil War and a promoter of Atlantic crossings in a subfield of U.S. history not noted for them. Before his death in May 2002, Parish completed two essays for this volume, one on Abraham Lincoln and American nationhood, and the other (in collaboration with Adam I. P. Smith) on northern party politics. Susan-Mary Grant has ably put things together, contributed a chapter of her own on the Civil War and nationalism, and coauthored the volume's introduction.

Even by the standards of edited collections, this one is fairly diffuse. Four of the twelve essays were originally composed for other venues, and only one essay—political scientist Jeffrey Leigh Sedgwick's arid Constitutional treatise on Lincoln—makes even passing reference to the others. Consequently, each piece stands or falls on the merits of its own arguments, although for the most part these are ruminative rather than argumentative essays. With the partial exception of James McPherson's contribution, all are based on secondary sources, or on easily accessible primary sources such as newspapers and the published works of Lincoln. The first four essays by Charles W. Joyner, Bruce Collins, Robert Cook, and Melvyn Stokes all have to do with white southern memories of the Civil War, or with the civil rights backlash against them. The next four by Smith, Parish, Sedgwick, and McPherson all focus on Lincoln. The last four, although grouped together editorially, are more of a hodgepodge: Brian Holden Reid on civil-military relations, Patricia Lucie on the Civil War constitutional amendments, Grant on American nationalism, and Richard N. Current on the postwar rise to world power.

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Readers of recent Civil War and Reconstruction history will notice some interesting inclusions and omissions from this program. Traditional questions of political and constitutional history are front and center. Smith and Parish, for example, give an engaging interpretation of party building and antipartyism in the nineteenth-century North (especially within the Republican Party). Grant argues against the mythos of the Civil War as a triumph of simple (and exceptional) American egalitarianism, and for recognition that "[n]o less than in Europe, warfare was indissolubly linked with the process of American national development" (p. 206). Lucie recounts the history of the Reconstruction amendments, as they were gradually narrowed to protect white corporations rather than black citizens from the nefarious designs of the states. McPherson elucidates Lincoln's leading the nation from notions of "negative" to "positive" liberty. And Sedgwick gives a peculiar reading of Lincoln as a sort of extra founding father, engaged in "dialogue with Madison" (p. 111), devoted to law, fearful of mobs, and suspicious of moral politics (abolitionism, for example).

Most of the other essayists focus on the cultural fallout of the Civil War: changes in ideas about the conflict's meaning, or about the nation it made. Grant and Parish both argue for a postwar American identity different not just in degree, but in kind, from that of the antebellum republic—more inclusive and egalitarian, but also more focused on military and national state power. Collins traces the evolution of "the Southern myth" from its nineteenth-century Lost Cause origins forward. Such interpretations suggest that the enduring significance of the Civil War lies mainly in the realm of culture. And certainly the two contributors who focus on institutional change—Reid on the military and Current on foreign relations—both wind up concluding that the Civil War generation had to pass from the scene before significant change could take place.

On the other hand, race and Reconstruction make only fitful appearances in these pages, which seems odd for a collection devoted to the legacy of the Civil War. Joyner and Cook start from the historical amnesia of present-day Confederate revivalists but then toggle back and forth between the war and the 1990s without much attention to the horrific century-plus of race relations in between. Cook's essay on African Americans and the Civil War centennial deals with race, but it begins in 1961 and ends in 1965. Only Stokes's essay on "The Civil War in the Movies," which focuses on *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Gone With the Wind* (1939), gives sustained attention to racialized memories of the war before the late twentieth century. And while the political ideas of Lincoln are treated at length, the political and social histories of Reconstruction are not.

Less odd, perhaps, given the authors' interest in old-fashioned political and Constitutional questions, is the absence of gender and class analyses, and of much attention to the literary, artistic, and philosophical legacies of the war. All of these approaches are more characteristic of David Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (2001), a book that appeared too late to influence this volume beyond Grant and Parish's introduction, but that seems likely to dominate the field of Civil War memory for some years to come. Instead, philosophical questions in this volume focus primarily on Lincoln, with thinkers such as Stephen Douglas and Frederick Douglass serving as foils or interlocutors.

In his long and productive career, Parish was always keenly interested in the comparative dimension of American history, the ways in which the development of the United States converged with and diverged from those of European nation-states. Although none of these essays has an explicitly international focus, the theme pops up repeatedly in passing: when Collins briefly compares the reintegration of defeated Scots and Irish with that of Confederates, for example; when McPherson notes the worldwide impact of American emancipation; or when Grant expresses strong doubts about "American exceptionalism." That is the sort of legacy one hopes to leave as a scholar—a legacy of transatlantic conversation, leading to a plate full of questions for further research.

STUART MCCONNELL
Pitzer College, Claremont

NELL IRVIN PAINTER. *Southern History Across the Color Line*. (Gender & American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. 247. Cloth $37.50, paper $17.95.

This book is a collection of challenging essays Nell Irvin Painter published in the 1980s and 1990s. The strengths of the essays emerge from Painter's efforts to understand the nature, human costs, and experiences of racism among white southerners, from the antebellum period through the early twentieth century. The essays discuss the concept of soul murder under slavery, analyze what white North Carolinian Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas wrote and did not write in her journal, offer a Freudian interpretation of writers Thomas, Sue Petrigru King, and Harriet Jacobs, deconstruct white supremacists' use of the concept of social equality, reflect on her work documenting the life of southern communist Hosea Hudson, and critique W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* (1941). From the beginning, Painter makes clear her emphases: power, the body, sexuality, and cultural meaning.

The first two essays, and the last one, seem especially important to the broad themes of the book. By applying the concept of soul murder to antebellum slavery, Painter considers topics such as child abuse, sexual abuse and harassment, and family separation to stress the psychological as well as the physical brutality of slavery. Certain not to go in the direction of Stanley Elkins's *Slavery: A Problem in American Instititional*

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and Intellectual Life (1976), Painter paints slave owners as engaging in practices that damaged both slaves and their owners, without arguing that slaves' souls were in fact murdered.

The book's longest, fullest essay of over fifty pages studies Thomas, a thoughtful diarist married to the owner of a declining Carolina plantation. Painter gets to know Thomas as someone whose diary entries dramatized her desire for self-control within a secure family hierarchy. Most important and most intriguing are what Painter calls Thomas's "leakage entries" (p. 85), which seem to show her wrestling, without expressly saying so, with her husband's sexual relationships with slaves. She concludes of women such as Thomas, "Reluctant to pit their class position against their gender interests, they avoided the facts and kept their secrets" (p. 92). As in the book's first essay, here Painter stresses tension, worry, and pain.

A lively concluding critique of *The Mind of the South* gets deep into Cash's inability to see beyond a South based on white and male identities. Painter emphasizes how he defines all powerless people by dismissing them as overly or even completely sexual, and stresses the resulting limits of his vision.

Reading this collection in 2004 should encourage us to ponder how quickly the historical profession changes. Painter wrote her essays as one of the leaders of a group of scholars who sought to bridge gaps between social and political history in order to understand how power, broadly understood, worked or failed to work. The study of private life had its heyday in the 1980s, perhaps as a final rejection of the long tradition of studying the public actions of people in power. But Painter was one of many historians who, unwilling to study specific times and places without analyzing what groups and forces were in charge, began to challenge that perspective. She was also one of the few African-American historians to cross the color line in her research in order to study the varied experiences of the oppressors.

It seems almost commonplace today for scholars to write about multiple perspectives and levels of meaning, complex connections between public policy and everyday social relations, and the politics in which cultural expressions seem to naturalize or challenge power relations. It seems less startling today than it did just a few years ago to suggest that a cultural landscape "is profoundly sculpted by polyvalent relations of power, including politics, which, in turn, affect personal relations that are shaped according to conventions of race, class, and gender" (p. 177). The sort of all-encompassing history that Painter helped to initiate, both in her writing and by teaching some of today's leading historians, has become, if not the norm, at least the goal of a growing body of scholars. In a curious way, then, the success of her perspective makes this book less stunning than it might otherwise be.

If some parts of the volume seem less surprising than when Painter first wrote them, another part of her approach is particularly fresh. Incorporating psychology into the study of oppression and social construction is exceptionally helpful. Michel Foucault matters in these essays, but Sigmund Freud matters more. Painter's studies give insight into what it meant to be an individual, not simply what it meant to be part of a group with power.

TED OWNBY
University of Mississippi

LEIGH FOUGHT. *Southern Womanhood and Slavery: A Biography of Louisa S. McCord, 1810–1879*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 216. $32.50.

Louisa Susanna McCord, political theorist, essayist, poet, and book reviewer, was almost unique among antebellum southern women. Her published works fill two volumes and deal with subjects hardly touched by her female contemporaries. At the same time, she administered a plantation, supported her family, and—during the Civil War—was the hard-hitting superintendent of an army hospital. She was in many ways an emancipated woman.

Daughter of Langdon Cheves, known to historians primarily because of his brief presidency of the ill-fated Bank of the United State, Louisa was well educated and confident of her abilities. Yet her verbal devotion to "woman's place" was in sharp contrast to the way she lived her life.

From frontier beginnings, her father had made his way to the upper reaches of South Carolina society, partly through his own skills, and partly through an advantageous marriage. Louisa was one of fourteen children, eight of whom died before 1860. Her mother died young, leaving her responsible for the household and the younger children. Louisa herself married late: she was thirty and her husband, David McCord, was thirteen years her senior, a widower whose first wife had died after bearing thirteen children. With Louisa he had three more children before his death in 1855.

Cheves gave his daughter a plantation in her own name. During her fifteen-year marriage, she supervised the plantation as well as the education of her children and largely supported the family. Although she had begun writing before her marriage, it was only afterward that she began to publish. Her essays included a strong defense of slavery and a harsh attack on the idea of women's rights. She was an early and enthusiastic secessionist and a skilled polemicist.

Inspired by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's enthusiasm for McCord in *Within the Plantation Household* (1988) Leigh Fought, a literary scholar, undertook the daunting task of writing a biography for which there were few useful records covering the first forty-odd years of her subject's life. Fought searched the papers of contemporaries and read the recent secondary literature about southern women, antebellum South Carolina, and the Civil War and Reconstruction. She offers detailed analyses of many of McCord's writings, including her poetry, and warns the reader that where

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evidence is lacking she has relied on what she thinks must have been the case.

The absence of documents about her subject's early life leads to conjecture. Phrases such as "probably," "possibly," "would have been," "could have been," and so on abound, and Fought resorts to psychological analysis to explain why McCord, a woman of such obvious ability and intelligence, became such a dedicated defender of slavery and such a bitter critic of women who sought their rights. She first makes guesses about these matters and thereafter, assuming that she has proved a point, presents her speculations as fact.

Evidence is more plentiful for McCord's life after mid-century, for Cheves's miserable final years, and for the coming of the Civil War. At this point, Fought's narrative develops energy and speculations diminish. McCord's letters to her brothers, sisters and cousins are revealing, as are the recollections of her daughter, also Louisa, who appears to have been something less than circumspect in what she set down about her family. Three observant inhabitants of Columbia—Grace Elmore Brown, Emma LeConte and Mary Chesnut—provide vivid pictures of life in the South Carolina capital in those trying years.

Family deaths (father, two brothers, various other members of the extended family) in the late 1850s cast McCord into a depression from which she was lifted by the challenge of the war. Taking charge of the army hospital on the campus of South Carolina College, she impressed her contemporaries as intrepid; she had the courage, Chesnut once remarked, of the Jacksons, Andrew and Stonewall. McCord ran the hospital with an iron hand, and dealt firmly with northern soldiers. When General Sherman's army finally got to Columbia, her house was taken over for a time by General O. O. Howard. He offered her courteous protection, but her imperious demands must have tried his patience. Along with most South Carolinians, McCord firmly believed that Sherman had ordered his troops to burn the city.

The war ended. So did slavery. Although Louisa was able to settle a son-in-law on her plantation, he could not make it pay and retreated to the law, where he did very well. McCord herself wandered to Canada and then to Europe but was more and more depressed. An effort to honor her father's memory and the arrival of grandchildren raised her spirits. Just as she was settling into a peaceful old age, she fell victim to one of those nineteenth-century illnesses that so mystified physicians and died at sixty-nine, with the contradictions of her life and thought unresolved.

The term "cognitive dissonance" could have been coined to describe this achieving woman, who bitterly criticized any proponent of women's rights and wrote polemical and powerful defenses of slavery. Failing the discovery of some hitherto unknown records, the paradox will remain.

ANNE FIROR SCOTT
Duke University

GISELLE ROBERTS. *The Confederate Belle*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 245. $32.50.

Publications about Confederate women have proliferated in recent years, with a number of historians making significant contributions to the literature. Their provocative interpretations have revised accepted beliefs about gender, race, and class in the U.S. South. Now Giselle Roberts has expanded the scope by adding age to her perspective. Her exemplary book examines the lives and roles of young white female Confederates, ages fifteen to twenty-five.

The author confines her investigation to the states of Mississippi and Louisiana, which enables her to achieve a coherent study. Through imaginative use of diaries, memoirs, journals, and letters she creates a social, economic, and cultural synthesis of the changing world of elite white young women.

The volume consists of seven compact chapters with an introduction and an epilogue. Each chapter contains a nuanced account of a compelling topic. Among the recurring themes are family, slavery, patriarchy, and honor. Each theme receives considerable treatment from the interweaving of the young women's reflections on their socialization and preparation for courtship and marriage, which epitomized the "belle ideal" (p. 15). Although religious training and education occurred, they were always secondary to marriage.

The Civil War shattered the comfortable status of southern belles. Numerous excerpts from their writings suggest just how devastating the young women found the experience and how appalled they were to be expected to perform household duties. Far removed from the protection they had enjoyed, they now promoted survival as a primary goal. Describing their initial thrill at leaving the Union, Roberts presents an especially lucid insight: "The excitement and fanfare, however, was but a thin veneer of public unity, only temporarily masking the irreconcilable tensions upon which Confederate nationalism was built" (p. 37). This cogent observation summarizes the Confederate dilemma: the struggle to maintain fixed ideas against a tide of liberty and freedom.

Illuminating the widening gap between the Confederate ideal and wartime reality, numerous diarists recounted poignant but also amusing tales of necessity, sacrifice, and substitutions. Encounters with sewing and other household tasks often demanded skills never acquired but now attempted. Young women frequently displayed an understanding of the war more complex than that of their elders. Even female adolescents could separate the individual from the aggregate by focusing on a personal and family definition of honor in the face of inevitable defeat and ruin. Discrete acts of bravery comforted them as they anticipated approaching doom.

The collapse of the Confederacy brought with it occupation and emancipation. Roberts deftly portrays the predicament of young Confederate women, caught between the conventions of their upbringing and the

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risks and uncertainties thrust upon them. Passages from representative diaries and correspondence display the efforts undertaken by the young women as they endeavored to reconcile their attachment to the concept of male protection with their recognition that it was women who now had assumed new burdens within the household.

Through graceful expression and perceptive analysis of her subjects' writings, Roberts evokes paradox and persistence, continuity and change. She concludes that the young women often were more resilient and undaunted than their older counterparts. Faced with the dismantling of their culture and society, these young women somehow managed to accommodate to the Union forces and the end of slavery.

The composite portrait of young Confederate females demonstrates the degree to which they developed their own sense of self. Not autonomous but also not subordinated, they become transitional figures who displayed a surprising degree of flexibility in the face of profound difficulties. What is evident is their contrast with older females, who were dominated by the patriarchy. The mature Confederate woman appeared static, bound to her place and status, but the Confederate belle seemed more dynamic, able to react and respond to her environment and circumstances. This discovery implies a major rethinking of established assumptions about female roles in the Confederacy.

The fluent narrative reflects the author's distinctive ability to match a concept with an appropriate passage from a diary or a letter. Her accomplishment demonstrates a remarkable mastery of the material. She is to be congratulated for her sensitive awareness of her subjects. Additionally, her bibliography is comprehensive and annotated in a remarkable degree of detail. Her sources are extensive; her notes are confident and occasionally challenge customary views. The sweeping list of citations complements the vivid text. Together they complete a memorable presentation of a refreshing category of analysis, in which the element of age can alter findings.

The vision of researchers and commentators from outside the United States has often clarified the way in which we regard conspicuous issues; one thinks of the observations of Harriet Martineau. Roberts, an Australian scholar, belongs to this group.

Betty Brandon
University of South Alabama

Tara McPherson. *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 318. $21.95.

This book is a lively and thought-provoking investigation of the role of the South in the modern "national imaginary." Tara McPherson devotes particular attention to investigating "paradigmatic moments in which the South serves as a point of condensation for various regional and national narratives of place, race, and gender" (p. 5). To be specific, she offers extended analyses of Ken Burns's *Civil War* (1990) documentary, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* (1936), poet Rosemary Daniell's autobiography, Minnie Bruce Pratt's writings, the film *Steel Magnolias* (1989), the television series *Designing Women*, as well as more obscure expressions of popular culture, such as a late 1980s comic book *Captain Confederacy*, and portrayals of southern wedding traditions in *Mississippi* magazine. Indeed, only popular music seems to have escaped the author's capacious perspective.

McPherson deftly employs the metaphor of 3-D postcards to introduce her major analytical conceit, which she calls "lenticular logic." Although a 3-D postcard may contain two images, a viewer can only see a single image at a time. McPherson contends that a similar "lenticular logic" prevails in modern representations of the South, so that "histories or images that are actually copresent get represented so that only one of the images is visible at a time." This logic functions "covertly, repressing connections," separating whiteness and blackness so as to render the South's complex history and image simple (p. 249). By revealing the workings of this "logic," McPherson promises to "trouble the strategies of visibility" (p. 92) and to "shake representations of the South free" from traditional and repressive configurations (p. 11).

Each chapter in the book offers examples of how "lenticular logic" has impeded a more inclusive understanding of southern culture before concluding with an exemplary contemporary representation that imagines a new, alternative, even utopian South. In her treatment of contemporary representations of the Civil War, for example, McPherson briefly touches on the romance and nostalgia that permeates Civil War tourist sites, and then moves on to discuss the exclusionary ideology of "cyber-Confederates." She points out the erasure of southern white women or African Americans (of either gender) from the South that is defended on neo-Confederate websites. In addition to these willful silences, the websites vent white anger that serves, she posits, as an escape route for white guilt. McPherson acknowledges that Ken Burns's immensely popular *Civil War* documentary does not erase African Americans. Yet, according to her, Burns nevertheless privileges the romance of the white men's "war of brother against brother," thereby separating and diminishing the wartime experiences of blacks. She points to Ross McElwee's idiosyncratic documentary *Sherman's March* (1986) and the dystopian comic book *Captain Confederacy* as examples of revisionist interpretations of the Civil War that avoid mawkish nostalgia or bigoted ravings. Even a touchstone of regional identity like the Civil War, she suggests, may provide resources for modeling a new South.

McPherson intends her eclectic sampling of contemporary images of the South to promote both political and academic ends. She hopes that critiques of "southernness" can fire our imaginations to envision new identities that acknowledge the region's past without perpetuating "barriers to contact, intimacy, and alli-

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ance" (p. 253). She also aspires to reorient "southern studies" away from an obsession with well-worn tropes of southern distinctiveness. She hankers for a time when southern studies and subjects will be "less invested in policing the authenticity of regional tales" (p. 252).

This book is engaging and, on the whole, persuasive. McPherson's readings of cyber-Confederates, *Designing Women*, and Kara Walker's high-art cutouts are cogent and creative. Less successful is her implied, and sometimes explicit, critique of "southern studies." McPherson would have enriched her book, and could have performed a valuable intellectual service, by tracing the emergence of the vague subdiscipline of "southern studies" instead of critiquing seemingly random works that may or may not be canonical representatives of "southern studies."

I anticipate that this book will have no difficulty finding an appreciative audience within the ranks of southern specialists, precisely because they are less tradition-bound than McPherson would have us believe. Indeed, when read in conjunction with such recent collections as Richard D. Starns's *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History and Culture in the Modern South* (2003) and *Southern Heritage on Display: Public Ritual and Ethnic Diversity within Southern Regionalism*, edited by Celeste Ray (2003), McPherson's book inspires continuing confidence in the prospects for innovative work on southern regional identity.

W. Fitzhugh Brundage
University of North Carolina

Jim Weeks. *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 267. $29.95.

Jim Weeks asks important questions of Gettysburg, the Civil War battlefield, in this book. Around the world, heritage tourism has become an important source of income and a major source of information about the past. Its popularity raises issues about the clash between historical knowledge and belief, memorial play and commemoration, and the question of who decides what the interpretation and tourist experience should be. The role of commerce and "expert" clients at museums and historical sites bedevils historians, whose training does not include a marketplace of images and things, rather than ideas, for history.

Weeks looks at Gettysburg as a national shrine where a commercial component always had a role and the landscape constantly shifted in response to that component. He divides the history of the site into four sections. The first, "A Genteel Summer Resort, 1863–1884," explores the intersection at Gettysburg of memory after the battle and the market that developed to provide a sublime experience of rural landscape for genteel visitors.

The second section, "A Mecca for Patriots, 1884–1920," traces the development of the pastoral landscape into a park. By 1895, when the War Department took over control of the battlefield, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Foundation had "purchased 600 acres of land, constructed 17 miles of avenues, and supervised the placement of 320 monuments"(p. 61). The monuments, considered works of art as well as memory, vied for pride of place and size, distorting the original battle story as they expanded over the ground. The class of tourists apparently broadened considerably at this time; Weeks relies on old American Studies notions of the genteel and a general, developing mass culture, and it is not always clear how working-class people both black and white, veterans, and others who begin to tour Gettysburg fit into those categories. The railroad, the trolley, and the guides shaped the experience of tourists. Commercial interests combined sacred and secular forms such as an amusement park at Gettysburg differently from the battlefield's original "sublime" landscape.

"TV, Hot Bath, Cold War, 1920–1970" delineates changes in the landscape and the tourist experience at Gettysburg as automobiles became the primary means of transportation for those visiting. Weeks argues that these families demanded a different experience of the site, one filled with nostalgia for simpler times and an "authentic" place to visit. As he notes, "the paradox of searching for the authentic in the contrived, and the precommercial in the commercial, seemed to disturb no one" (p. 154). The National Park Service took over Gettysburg in the early 1930s and began restoring the battlefield to its period look. At the same time, popular tourist attractions such as the Electric Map of the battle and the National Civil War Wax Museum entertained and in Weeks' view, encouraged family bonding. But a more important power shift, from the interpretation created by the National Park Service and the popular culture of local entrepreneurs to that of what Weeks calls the "expert" consumer, also occurred during this period. Civil War buffs and the Gettysburg Battlefield Association pushed for exact restoration of the battlefield and the control or elimination of all non-battle-related activities in the area.

The Gettysburg of 2000 was different from the Cold War version. In "Heritage Gettysburg, 1970–2000," Weeks studies the emergence of "themed entertainment" that left Gettysburg "frozen as an antiquarian delicacy contrasting to the swill of the present" (pp. 172–73). Yet this was a return to the original meaning of Gettysburg retranslated through a Disney version of commercial culture, a move from history to heritage. "Image tribes," knit together not by kinship but by mass marketing, bonded people with shared interests into a group shaped by advertising and the media. The image tribes linked to Gettysburg—Civil War buffs, reenactors, wargamers, collectors—moved over time from consumers to constituents and then to stewards and to those who manufactured Heritage Gettysburg such as the Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg. Weeks sees the National Park Service as a key player in the making of this heritage landscape of

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private experience rather than collective memory, a sacred place frozen in the past.

Weeks raises issues that far too rarely receive attention in the historical literature, but this book lacks key elements to make it really useful. For one thing, it is a study of changing landscapes that includes no maps to enable the reader to follow those alterations on the ground. The author assumes a great deal of knowledge about Gettysburg, its structures like the tower, and the battle. His work would be more accessible if he had envisioned a wider audience and provided more complete general explanations. Most important, he supplies historic context for this site in such minute and repetitive detail that the broader issues sometimes get lost. But Weeks was brave to take on the image tribes at Gettysburg and others can perhaps build on his beginning.

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NANCY BERCAW. *Gendered Freedoms: Race, Rights, and the Politics of Household in the Delta, 1861–1875.* (Southern Dissent Series.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xviii, 279. $55.00.

Nancy Bercaw's book provides a case study of the coming of emancipation to the Mississippi Delta. More ambitiously but less successfully, it argues that changes in the relationships of power in black and white households offer the key to understanding that momentous transformation.

The delta is a good choice for a case study, because, as Bercaw notes, planters there lost effective command over slaves well before the Union army took control of the region. Three chapters on the war years trace the disintegration of the plantation household. Many black men ran off to join the Union army; most black women remained on the plantations, but, "building on fluid household structures" (p. 39), sought to redefine work and production around the goal of independence. Planter-class men lost the power over others that underlay their sense of masculinity; stripped of their mastery, many descended into "depression, vengeance, and mythmaking" (p. 78). Planter-class women, whose identity and authority rested "on their ability to maintain relationships" in the household, were left "adrift" (p. 53).

Four chapters trace changes during Reconstruction. Planters fought to restore their household authority through both law and violence. Black men and women resisted, both directly and by appealing to Freedmen's Bureau courts, in itself an assertion of citizenship. The final achievement of full citizenship by black men was a logical consequence of their conventionally assigned authority over their own households. The transformation of the African-American household involved a contest, not just between former masters and former slaves but also between former slaves and white Yankees and between black men and black women. Community norms mattered; thus, marriages, as distinct from less permanent relationships such as "taking up" and "sweethearting," were created as much by community affirmation as by legal contract. And even in marriage, gender relationships were flexible and women often retained more autonomy than white conventions called for. Although many of these specific points have been anticipated by others, including Noralee Frankel in *Freedom's Women: Black Women and Families in Civil War Era Mississippi* (1999), Bercaw's analyses of Freedmen's Bureau and U.S. Pension records add nuance and complexity to the story of the former slaves' struggle to establish new household forms. This, and the inclusive attention to both black and white households, make her book a fine addition to the history of emancipation.

Nevertheless, Bercaw's evidence does not sustain her larger claim that the "politics of the household" is the key to understanding struggles over labor, citizenship, and racial control during the years of emancipation. In part, this is a question of exaggeration. She writes that in antebellum Mississippi men needed "whiteness, manhood, and mastery" in order "to be assured of full civil and political rights" (p. 76), and that only in 1868 did conservative whites abandon "property as a qualification for political rights" or speak of "whiteness as the marker of freedom" (p. 169). In fact, Mississippi's 1832 constitution abolished property requirements for voting and office holding. Her reference to white women under *femme covert* as "the property of their husbands" (p. 63) is a great exaggeration even as metaphor, especially since wives in antebellum Mississippi could not only own property but also manage it and sign contracts independently of their husbands.

Bercaw argues that rural freedmen adopted nuclear household structures only after planters "worked to crush alternative African-American households" (p. 133). This bold claim rests in large part on a comparison of data from the 1870 census, when eighty-nine percent of rural black households were nuclear, with data from fifty-one labor contracts signed in 1865, of which just thirteen were signed by "nuclear families." But even if this tiny sample of contracts is representative, it is not a good source of information about household structure. The other thirty-eight contracts were signed by "individuals," and we simply do not know what sorts of households these individuals lived in. The dominating concern of planters was the supply of cheap and tractable labor. A black household in control of land might remain largely independent; a household without land, whatever its composition, would probably depend on members who worked for white landowners. The contest over household government was ultimately secondary to this contest over the control of land and labor. Bercaw's evidence gives us little reason to abandon the conclusions of Herbert G. Gutman and Orville Vernon Burton that black families preferred to live in nuclear households, although she does succeed in reinforcing the arguments made by Frankel and others that the internal dynamics of those

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nuclear families could be quite different from the white bourgeois norm.

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Kirt H. Wilson. *The Reconstruction Desegregation Debate: The Politics of Equality and the Rhetoric of Place, 1870–1875*. (Rhetoric and Public Affairs Series.) East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 276. $54.95.

Kirt H. Wilson has written a very fine book on one aspect of late nineteenth-century racial rhetoric. His study centers on the 1875 Civil Rights Act. This piece of legislation was one of the last gasps of Reconstruction, attempting to desegregate hotels, restaurants, stagecoaches, and railroads. The act is generally given short shrift by historians because of its compromises (schools were excluded), limitations (its provisions made enforcement very difficult), and consequences (the act did not do much to end segregation). It was declared unconstitutional in 1883. Wilson argues that historians should take the Civil Rights Act of 1875 more seriously because it was hugely important symbolically for African Americans, and because response to it tells us much about late nineteenth-century political culture.

Wilson discusses the legislative history of the act as well as the expedient arguments made for and against it, which generally revolved around whether desegregation of public facilities would in the long term help or hurt race relations. He also catalogues the constitutional arguments, which hashed out issues of nationalism versus federalism. What is most interesting in the book, however, is Wilson's discussion of basic political values. What was actually meant by glittering generalities like "equality" or "liberty"?

Wilson starts his analysis with Charles Sumner, who first introduced the bill in the Senate in 1867. Sumner, Wilson demonstrates, rhetorically combined the idiom of Christian prophecy with that of the Enlightenment's rights of man. But Wilson also shows that the congressional radicals who successfully pushed forward Sumner's bill added a layer of rhetoric not present in the oratory of the Massachusetts senator. Unlike the old abolitionist, these radicals, a generation younger, presented an African-American population far more active in history. Sumner had seen blacks as victims, people who had to be saved from their fate. But egalitarians in 1875 saw black Americans as contributors to their emancipation and to the nation's growth. The white representative Benjamin Butler was deeply moved by his experience with African-American soldiers during the war. Never again, Butler told the House of Representatives, should they be denied the rights they bravely fought for. James Rapier, an African-American representative, stressed how much black Americans had done to build the country in the past two centuries. Black sweat and labor were pillars of the U.S. commercial empire. Robert Elliott, another African-American House member, by his very presence and speech in the House of Representatives enacted a refutation of racist claims of black inferiority.

On the other side, Wilson also traces the evolution of conservative thought in the 1870s. To be sure, old-line racists continued to declare that blacks were only a step or two above animals. But these fire breathers were declining in numbers. Increasingly important was a more nuanced and insidious sort of conservatism. In the mid-1870s, this was associated with people Wilson terms moderate Democrats, such as Alexander Stephens or Lucius Lamar. These congressmen argued that all men should have the legal and political equality guaranteed in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. But they also thought there should be a distinction between "civil" and "political" equality, on the one hand, and "social" equality on the other. The first two were about equal treatment by the state, the last about relations between private citizens. From this perspective, there was no good reason to mandate that whites and blacks share stagecoaches, railroads, hotels, or restaurants.

As Wilson well notes, such an argument was tied to very racist assumptions. God had made races different, these Democrats argued, and African Americans did not measure up to white standards. So although blacks should be able to own property or to move around the country, and while qualified African Americans should be able to vote (what "qualified" meant here is of course another story), whites should not be forced to mix in public arenas with blacks. Wilson notes that, before the war, Abraham Lincoln used a version of this argument (so, too, I would add, did Horace Greeley). In other words, what had been a mainline but not abolitionist Republican claim morphed by the 1870s into one of the most important ways to stop social integration. In the context of the 1870s, Wilson argues, this rhetoric had a "progressive conservative" ring to it, taking the Civil War amendments as given and rejecting the more overtly reactionary rhetoric of those opposing all rights for blacks.

Wilson has written a careful, inventive book. He adds complexity and detail to this moment that is not there is more broadly reaching works such as Eric Foner's *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988) or Rogers Smith's *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (1997). Scholars interested in the history of American political thought will do well to consult this excellent study.

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Richard F. Hamm. *Murder, Honor, and Law: Four Virginia Homicides from Reconstruction to the Great Depression*. (The American South Series.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2003. Pp. xi, 263. Cloth $49.50, paper $18.50.

Richard F. Hamm's book is more than a detailed look at four murders. It is an ambitious attempt—and a

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successful one—to analyze media coverage of the trials, to explore aspects of Virginia law, and to describe the unique aspects of southern values and culture. In addition, the author provides a detailed overview of societal forces shaping Virginia society at the time of each trial.

In many ways, the thesis of this text frames the debate as an "us versus them" tale pitting northern values against southern ones. Hamm's argument is an interesting one, but his choice of crimes and trials does not always neatly fit that thesis. The murders Hamm studied included an 1868 ambush of Richmond's most controversial journalist, the 1892 murder of a Danville abolitionist minister, the 1907 murder of the son of a local sheriff, and the 1935 murder of an Appalachian backwoodsman. Each is fascinating, and the first three clearly fit the title of the book as it applies to honor. Hamm's final example—a schoolteacher accused of killing her father—illustrates more the budding women's rights movement than a case based in honor. The result is an interesting chapter, but one that lacks the underpinning of the first three.

Hamm's analysis of the trials, however, is first rate. In each chapter, he provides background about the time period as well as the major societal forces at work. He then relates the characters involved and the crimes, followed by the trial and ultimate outcome. Throughout the book he provides an in-depth evaluation of the media's role in each crime—including the national as well as local media (when appropriate). What emerges is an interesting view of southern attitudes about honor as well as northern attitudes about that subject.

Hamm's research is impressive throughout. For example, his account of the Henry Rives Pollard murder in 1868 is prefaced by a lengthy discussion of how Reconstruction was implemented, and viewed, in the South as a whole and particularly in Virginia. In the case of Baptist minister and abolitionist John R. Moffett, Hamm delves into attitudes about abolition, race, and politics and, in so doing, paints a rich portrait of key issues in 1880s Virginia. In reconstructing the 1907 murder of Theodore Estes by former judge W. G. Loving, the author explains how journalists romanticized the Old South, perpetuating old ideas about honor and sensationalizing the trial from beginning to end. Hamm's reportage of the H. T. "Trigg" Maxwell murder and the trial of his daughter Edith evaluates in detail the involvement by persons active in the cause of women's rights. As with each of the trials, Hamm also underscores how outsiders criticized either Virginia society or its legal system and how "Virginians rebutted the images disseminated in the national press" about those two entities.

What some readers may find disconcerting is Hamm's tendency to write in a pedantic style. The book might have benefited if the author had put more emphasis on narrative and less importance on what at times can be an excruciating amount of tangential detail. This is particularly noticeable when Hamm endeavors to provide background information. By contrast, his narratives leading up to the murders and the events that transpired during the trials are written in a lively fashion, and the characters come to life.

Even when Hamm provides important information, what could be riveting stories are sometimes lost in the detail or, at other times, in a lengthy preface. For example, honor is crucial to his thesis, but at times the reader must wade though a sea of introductory material to reach the core of a particular story. A welcome element of the text, however, is the use of pictures. Although they are few, they add enormously to the book by putting a face on the players in these four historical dramas.

In conclusion, at the core of Hamm's study are the concept of socially accepted crime, how the South and the North held opposing views regarding that subject, and how newspapers in each region generally supported the views of their constituencies. The author is unquestionably successful in giving the reader what the book promises in its title.

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George B. Kirsch. *Baseball in Blue and Gray: The National Pastime during the Civil War.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 145. $19.95.

George B. Kirsch's book on mid-nineteenth-century baseball has a sharp focus that encompasses the Civil War years and the half-decades preceding and following the war. Readers of the title and viewers of the dust jacket's period illustrations (baseball games in an army camp and in a prisoner-of-war camp) should be sure to note the book's subtitle. Kirsch provides extensive detail not only about ball-playing soldiers but also about baseball developments away from the battlefields. As Kirsch explains in his preface, he sets out (and succeeds) to narrate and analyze "the growth and transformation of baseball in the United States during the Civil War" and to examine "the relationship between the sport and American nationalism during that tumultuous time" (p. ix).

The book is valuable to baseball scholars and readable for the general public. In its 145 pages, Kirsch provides—without notes but with an ample bibliographical essay, fifteen period photos and prints, and a good index—a clearly organized set of developments in the growth of baseball. The book's six chapters will probably hold varying degrees of interest to different readers. For instance, chapter one, "The Rise of Baseball," discusses the rule differences between "the Massachusetts game" and "the New York game" and how the latter gradually came to constitute the enduring pattern for modern baseball. By contrast, chapter two, "Battlefront," documents wartime baseball among soldiers and prisoners and cites journalistic efforts to link baseball and the war effort. One period commentator wrote that the traits of a good baseball player "are such as go to make up the first-rate soldier.

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Indeed, the practice of base ball is an admirable preliminary school for attaining many of the most important qualifications of a soldier" (p. 30). Chapter four, "Players and Clubs," introduces several largely forgotten players of the period, including ill-fated Jim Creighton, "baseball's first legendary character" (p. 67), and the martyred Octavius V. Catto, the Philadelphia African-American ballplayer and civil rights advocate who was assassinated at age thirty-two. This chapter also documents the development of college baseball teams; the first intercollegiate baseball game, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in July 1859, saw Amherst beat Williams 73–33! Each chapter concludes with a summary paragraph that can direct a reader to a preferred starting place.

Several features of this book are particularly pleasing. First, in his preface Kirsch provides a succinct accounting of baseball's now-disproved "Doubleday-Cooperstown creation myth" as promoted by Albert G. Spalding and solidified in 1907 by the Mills Commission; both apparently wished to connect baseball's origins with the Civil War. Second, the book provides ample evidence that today's issues have been with us since the beginning. Reports of widespread gambling and "fixed" baseball games preceded the Black Sox scandal by half a century; fears that wealthy owners would create a competitive imbalance by "buying" the star players predated our George Steinbrenner/Alex Rodriguez era by more than a dozen decades; the segregation of African-American players and teams began some eight decades before Jackie Robinson and Branch Rickey finally initiated its breakdown; and the participation of women as players and fans was evident back in the 1860s. Third, scattered throughout Kirsch's narrative are fascinating details such as the lavish postgame dinners to which early host teams treated their visiting opponents; the silver baseball trophy often presented to the winner of a key game or series; the presence of President Andrew Johnson at an 1867 baseball game; barnstorming tours in the late 1860s by the Washington, D.C. Nationals and the Cincinnati Red Stockings; and the fact that for some years Thanksgiving Day marked the end of the baseball season.

Most important, however, Kirsch provides persuasive evidence that early baseball exponents worked hard to identify baseball as The American Game or the National Pastime, and that they succeeded in part because "the creation of baseball coincided with an intense wave of political and cultural nationalism that swept the country during the middle decades of the nineteenth century" (p. 16). Kirsch's frequent and well-chosen quotations from period newspapers lend the narrative a constant echo of the admonitory and chauvinistic voices linking baseball to gentlemanly virtue, national pride, and cultural identity. The book is a pleasure to read, and deserves numerous votes for the current literary All-Star Game.

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JAMES M. O'TOOLE. *Passing For White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820–1920*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 284. $34.95.

James M. O'Toole has written a fascinating account of one family who defied overwhelming odds to become educated and respected members of society. Well researched and engagingly written, his book tells the story of the nine Healy children, who achieved considerable success in the Roman Catholic Church and the military in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century America. Born in antebellum Georgia to a slave mother and a white, slave-owning father, three brothers entered religious life: one became a bishop in Maine, another the rector of the cathedral in Boston, and a third the president of Georgetown University. Of the two sisters who entered religious life, one became a major superior of her order. A younger brother achieved success as a captain in the U.S. Coast Guard. O'Toole believes it was the powerful connection with the Catholic Church that paved the way for these mixed race children to "pass" as members of white society.

Michael Healy was an Irish immigrant who owned land and slaves in Georgia in the early nineteenth century. Around 1829 he began "living together" with Eliza Clark, one of his slaves, and over the next two decades they had ten children together. One died in infancy. Based on Georgia law, the children were slaves because their mother was a slave. To avoid this stigma, Healy sent the children north to be educated and raised by whites, including the Catholic bishop of Boston, John Bernard Fitzpatrick, whom Healy met on one of his business trips. By 1850, five children were safely out of Georgia when both parents unexpectedly died. An older brother, Hugh, returned surreptitiously to Georgia to bring his younger siblings north.

O'Toole argues that their connection with Catholic religious life and education put older brothers James, Patrick, and Sherwood on the path to the priesthood and provided "cover" for their siblings as well. Three sisters—Martha, Josephine, and Eliza—also joined religious orders, although Martha left after a few years and married a white man. Hugh became a successful businessman but died young, and Michael became an officer in the U.S. Coast Guard. Only Eugene, the youngest, floundered and disappeared early from the story, never seeming to find himself. Since Bishop Fitzpatrick knew the Healys' "secret," he played a major role in paving the way for many of their successes. Although O'Toole admits that the Catholic position on slavery was ambiguous at best, he posits that anti-Catholic bigotry, the desire for converts, and the need to serve the fast-growing Catholic population gave Fitzpatrick an incentive to ignore the Healys' racial identity. The author contends that this was a dangerous gambit since "biracial people were threatening because they challenged the clarity of [racial] understanding . . . all the more important for society to prevent them from perpetrating racial deception" (p.

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223). The Catholic Church's insularity and its closed system of religious preparation and education provided the perfect alternative to mainstream institutions that might have rejected the Healys.

Although O'Toole makes some strong points to support his analysis, I struggle with his interpretations concerning two issues that are critically important to his story. O'Toole states early that "white men of all classes took advantage of enslaved black women" and that "the dynamics of power between female slaves and their masters had always been fundamentally unequal" (pp. 15–16). Yet, O'Toole describes the relationship between Michael and Eliza as a "marriage." Eliza became pregnant with their first child when she was sixteen and Healy thirty-three years of age. Simply because Healy never chose to marry a white woman does not prove that he was "devoted" to Eliza. I might be more convinced of Healy's "love" had he freed Eliza, which, according to O'Toole, he never did. Age, race, slave status, and gender created a huge power differential between the two that makes it difficult to accept O'Toole's more positive interpretation of the union.

The second issue of concern deals with the agency attributed to the Healy children. These children were very young when they were sent north. James, at seven, was the oldest. Since they were removed very early from any black or slave contact and raised by whites, they may have never identified themselves as either black or slave. O'Toole writes that the Healy children had to find "sustenance in other individuals and institutions . . . they almost never spoke of their parents" (pp. 24–25). Consequently, one has to wonder if they consciously "passed for white" or simply never considered themselves anything but white, taking on all the racial prejudices and stereotypes of their mentors. Likewise, many white Americans may have never questioned the Healys' racial identities, since, based on the few surviving photos, their skin color and features were ambiguous.

Despite these concerns, I believe O'Toole has accomplished an important task by presenting this revealing account of race, racial identity, and religious tolerance (or intolerance) in nineteenth-century America. With the continued blurring of racial categories and more recent nuanced definitions concerning the social construction of racial identity, the Healy story provides some thought-provoking insights into contemporary debates about race and racial identity in America. Although I may disagree with some of O'Toole's interpretations, he has brought the lives and activities of a fascinating family into the larger contexts of Catholic history and American life.

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CLAUDIA NELSON. *Little Strangers: Portrayals of Adoption and Foster Care in America, 1850–1929*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. 212. $34.95.

With this book, Claudia Nelson has added significantly to the growing scholarship concerning the history of children. Her focus is not on children themselves, however, but "on the rhetorical purposes" by which adults have used them in behalf of larger social agendas. By interpreting "representations of adoption and foster care in writings produced between 1850 and 1929" (p. 2), Nelson provides a notable reminder that changing and competing adult needs have shaped policies and perceptions regarding dependent children in foster care, institutions, and adoptive families. Her premise is that "each generation—including our own, of course—constructs its vision of the displaced child according to its own principles and needs" (p. 176).

Nelson has researched deeply in secondary and primary literature. She moves her narrative chronologically, showing how fiction and nonfiction reflected social and cultural changes that influenced the care of children. She starts with James Whitcomb Riley's 1885 poem, "Little Orphan Annie," and concludes with a discussion of the origins, in the 1920s, of Harold Gray's popular comic strip, *Annie*. In between, she examines fiction ranging from familiar classics such as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (1850) to lesser-known works such as Annie Fellows Johnston's orphan-train novel, *Big Brother* (1893). For her nonfiction examples, Nelson examines a variety of child-savers' writings, from Charles Loring Brace's *The Dangerous Classes of New York* (1872) to turn-of-the-century publications by social service workers and mass-circulation journals.

Throughout the book, Nelson sets the literature within the context of changing perceptions of dependent children and debates over how to care for them. "The dependent child typically becomes a metaphor that may be used either to critique or to support a variety of social institutions," she writes. "It is the social criticism that gives such rhetoric its energy, but it is the figure of the child that gives it its appeal" (p. 5). Nelson's study provides yet another reminder of how policies concerning children invariably have had less to do with their needs than with adults' hopes, fears, and anxieties.

Nelson knows a great deal about nineteenth-century literature; she has, for example, published books on fatherhood in Victorian periodicals and on British children's fiction and the feminine ethic. For this book, however, she has immersed herself not only in American fiction but in the growing body of historical work concerning orphanages, adoption, and foster care in the United States. She has read widely in the conference proceedings of social workers as well as contemporary writings concerning such topics as heredity, gender roles, child labor, and the status of the American family. Her handling of historical themes is well informed and insightful, and her straightforward discussions of fiction avoid heavy theorizing or literary jargon.

Nelson's complex arguments nevertheless implicitly underline the problems of trying to identify trends and

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distinguish eras. Sometimes the distinctions that she makes are confusing. Nelson notes that "the radical antidomesticity of canonical writers such as Twain is in fact a hallmark of the period" (p. 50), for example, but then says that "in other Gilded Age orphan fiction . . . domesticity is often presented as the happy ending" (p. 53). Part of the difficulty in this respect is inherent in the diversified material itself. As Nelson observes, "trends in one body of writing do not necessarily reflect trends in all" (p. 5). Waifs often fared better in nineteenth-century fiction than nonfiction, and, by the turn of the century, fiction typically treated them as agents—rather than as targets—of reform. A strength of Nelson's study is that she shows the disjunctions that often existed between fictional and nonfictional handling of displaced children. Yet such disjunctions, and their mixed messages, complicate efforts to find general patterns or characterize eras.

Despite the sometimes unwieldy material, Nelson deserves much credit for tackling a difficult subject creatively and perceptively. She finds, for example, that the celebrated nineteenth-century cult of domesticity was problematic in much of the writing about dependent children. She is attentive to issues of class and gender. She skillfully demonstrates that, in debates over institutional care as well as eugenics and environmentalism, Progressive reformers used children "as a rhetorical stalking horse" (p. 92). She has a strong chapter on how "displaced children were not simply the vehicle through which women critiqued society, but frequently also the vehicle through which society critiqued women" (p. 114). And her prose, although obscure in places, includes some nice phrasing elsewhere, including a description of the orphan trains as "a cross between a horse fair and a musicale." Ultimately, as Nelson argues so effectively, debates that featured children as saviors of society or, conversely, as representatives of social problems were essentially about "the reshaping of America's understanding of itself" (p. 4).

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Theda Skocpol. *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. (The Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecture Series, number 8.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 366. $29.95.

In 1874, women from around the country and from different economic and social positions met in Cleveland, Ohio, to launch the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and fight drunkenness among men. By the early 1900s, membership in the WCTU ballooned to over one percent of all women in America, and their activities had become organized into a well-articulated federated structure of national, state, and local units that were geared toward influencing government policy. That a small meeting of volunteers might lead within a few decades to a large, hierarchically structured organization might seem to be an extraordinary anomaly. But it is not. Since the eighteenth century, fifty-eight voluntary associations with active memberships of over one percent of men, women, or adults in the United States have formed and drawn into their ranks a wide spectrum of Americans: farmers, craft and industrial workers, white-collar workers like doctors and lawyers, and business owners.

Theda Skocpol uncovers the history of large membership voluntary associations in an important and readable book that is equally aimed at historians, social scientists, policy makers, and the broad public. Skocpol—today's preeminent macrohistorian actively working within the social sciences—deftly combines extensive and original primary historical research, original synthesis of existing research in history and the social sciences, and thoughtful engagement with the larger public. Her book, which grew out of a distinguished lecture series at the University of Oklahoma, makes three powerful contributions. First, Skocpol offers a cogent institutional and political model of "social capital." Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Renewal of American Community* (2001) contributed to the renewed interest in the decline of citizen engagement and connectedness within communities. For Putnam, Americans had become couch potatoes glued to their televisions; they were no longer joining bowling leagues, parent-teacher asociations, and a host of other associations as had their parents and grandparents. Instead, as Putnam's title would have it, they bowled alone.

Putnam focuses on citizens and asks, what's wrong with them? Skocpol largely accepts Putnam's prognosis (with some notable differences) that Americans today join voluntary associations less often than in the past but pinpoints as the cause the strategies of political and civic leaders to advance the power and positions of themselves and their members. The engine of vibrant civic life, according to Skocpol, is "raucous conflict," attempts to grab power and leverage, and the interchange of government (at multiple levels) and federated voluntary associations. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, large voluntary organizations like the Grand Army of the Republic, the Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and others formed to promote government programs and were in turn encouraged and sustained by these programs. Today, Americans are less engaged in their communities and in the country's political life because the "Rights Revolution" of the 1960s punctured old social barriers. In addition, political and organizational elites shifted their strategies: instead of directly mobilizing and indirectly encouraging large-scale citizen involvement, professionally managed advocacy groups focus on communicating through the mass media and fund raising among the middle and upper classes.

Skocpol inserts a fresh and valuable perspective into the debate over "social capital" and civic life, one that decisively reintroduces the contested struggle for power, position, and status in government and politics

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into the life cycle of voluntary associations. Skocpol emphatically rejects the past century of "neo-Mugwamp" reforms that gutted mass-mobilizing political parties, challenges conservative assertions that the development of a modern welfare state suffocated civic life, and chastises the leading voices in today's civic engagement debate (Putnam among them) for propagating "an amazingly apolitical and locally minded notion of [civic life] ... [that is] largely innocent of conflict or aspirations for political power" (pp. 255–56). Instead, Skocpol calls for a new movement to "*get broadly organized groups of people into politics*" in order to prevent the continued "tilt toward the rich and those with advanced degrees" and to defend against an "oligarchically managed civic world" inhabited by "manipulated spectators" (emphasis in original; pp. 282–83, 292). For Skocpol, mass mobilization and political conflict over the scope and nature of government are essential (rather than inimical) to a vibrant civil society.

Second, Skocpol draws on her expertise as an analyst of institutional change to identify two interrelated themes in the organizational development of very large voluntary associations in the United States. Large voluntary associations often included local, state, and national chapters. This "translocal" structure effectively connected mass-membership voluntary associations to politics and government policy, which in turn cycled back to instill a sense of political efficacy among their members and encouraged further group effort and solidarity. The structured connections between associational life and politics sent a clear message: it pays to join. This "translocal" organization coincided with a second feature: many of the very large voluntary associations were socially integrated. They incorporated higher and lower income and status groups in a vast and diverse nation that instilled a common purpose, expanded social understandings and civic skills, encouraged "fellowship" and a shared appreciation of citizenship, and built politically valuable cross-class coalitions. Skocpol's focus on translocal and socially integrated organizational structure substantially expands on her earlier work, including her widely acclaimed *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers* (1992), by studying a fuller range of associations, tracking them from the eighteenth century to our own time, and connecting their origins and development to the heated contemporary debate over civic engagement.

This book challenges the interpretation that America into the nineteenth century consisted of vibrant but isolated "islands" of local communities. Skocpol shows that these communities were vibrant precisely because they were connected to state and national offices, transporting citizens and their views into politics and government and instilling in citizens and federated associations a credible sense of efficacy. By contrast, today's efforts to revive civic engagement "urg[e] Americans to turn toward local endeavors detached from politics." This fixation on local social life is disconnected from national government and political battle; it effectively abandons civic life to "[t]he most privileged Americans ... [who can then] organize and contend largely among themselves, without regularly engaging the majority of citizens" (pp. 256–57,178). The shriveling of mass mobilizing federated associations helps to explain, in Skocpol's view, the disaffection of citizens from politics and the extraordinary levels and growth of economic inequality.

Although it trumpets large federated civic organizations for demonstrating the importance of participatory mass democracy and cross-class collaboration, Skocpol's book is not a Pollyannaish plea to return to some golden past of organizational egalitarianism and unity. It unflinchingly identifies the racism, nativism, and intolerance that stalk the history of voluntary associations and makes it clear that the associations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries cannot and should not be revived.

Third, Skocpol forcefully inserts historical methods, evidence, and theories of change into today's debate over civic engagement. In doing so, she offers a valuable model for cross-level historical analysis. This book charts both the thinking of "ordinary" people, using the tools and historical sources of a social historian—gauges of everyday life from membership badges and tombstones to diaries and songbooks—and aggregate patterns and elite decisions through biographies, memoirs, official records in state historical archives, and an elaborate mapping of the origins and development of voluntary associations. The results demonstrate the value and interconnections of institutional and social historical research.

Historians and social scientists may well dispute parts of Skocpol's book. Some may raise questions about its judgment that gender, racial, and ethnic partitioning of civic life is an ugly legacy but one that should not overshadow the contributions of large voluntary associations to avoiding "class-segregated associational worlds" (e.g. pp. 66–67). Specialists on particular regions and social and economic organizations may yearn for greater detail than is provided by the big story this book offers. But this is one of those volumes that transcends the usual disciplinary boundaries and speaks to a broader audience of scholars and concerned citizens. It does not bring the debate on the origins and development of civic life in America to a close. To the contrary, this book deserves a wide readership because its bold new perspective on the history and future of civic life in America raises questions of the first order for debate and further analysis.

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JEAN V. MATTHEWS. *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women's Movement in America, 1875–1930.* (The American Ways Series.) Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2003. Pp. 211. $24.95.

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The history of middle-class American women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries generates a deluge of publications. Every year new monographs and articles enrich the literature. Jean V. Matthews's compact synthesis capitalizes on this outpouring. Matthews's subject is the development of the women's movement from the 1870s through the 1920s. Her book conveys the wide range of activities among middle-class women who turned from primarily domestic roles to public life. Topics include education, employment, the professions, organizations, ideologies, suffragism, and the significance of the vote.

Matthews's brief survey is apparently a sequel to her earlier book, *Women's Struggle for Equality: The First Phase, 1828–1876* (1997). The two books, each with seven short chapters, are similarly organized; both are unannotated, and both seem geared to the general reader or to the classroom. The volume considered here is cleverly conceived, unpretentious in tone, and engaging in style. Matthews does not break new ground. Rather, she sums up the state of the field. Commendably, she presents what she has to say with clarity, coherence, and dispatch.

Matthews adapts her mode of synthesis to the subject at hand. In chapter two, for instance, "The New Women and the New Politics," she sweeps briskly through a gamut of topics, including women's entry into higher education, drooping marriage rates among women college graduates, women's relations to the professions, the growth of women's professions, the world of white-collar work, women's link to progressive reform, the settlement house movement, several women's organizations, and women's "significant public role in the creation of the modern welfare state" (p. 52). I especially appreciated her discussion of women and the professions and her summary of protective labor laws. Chapter three, "Thinking About the Woman Question," illustrates another mode of synthesis. In this chapter, Matthews slows down to consider selected aspects of intellectual history. The topics she discusses include Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her animosity to religion; the impact of Darwinism on ideas about sexual difference; Charlotte Perkins Gilman and her role as a feminist theorist; and the contributions of early twentieth-century women social scientists to an understanding of gender. Each segment of the chapter relies heavily on other publications. Chapter five, on the woman suffrage movement, demonstrates a third synthetic approach. This chapter is more of a narrative history; it follows the suffrage movement from its floundering decades in the late nineteenth century to its triumph in 1920 and explains how victory finally came about. Two final chapters consider the impact of woman suffrage, a contested area; the conflict over an Equal Rights Amendment in the 1920s; and the amendment's eventual fate six decades later.

Matthews's conclusions are not upbeat. All of the activism she describes, she says, in a rare moment of interpretation, culminated in a postsuffrage settlement that "did not reach its fullest realization until the 1950s" (p. 181). The new arrangements made women "more serviceable in general." They could fill niches in the professions; they had more social freedom and "formal equality of citizenship." The postsuffrage settlement "did not really disturb the ultimate dominion and control of men in politics or the economy, but it did provide, as all long-lasting colonial regimes learn to do, a few opportunities near the top for the exceptionally talented, deferential, and ambitious of the subaltern class, thus drawing off possible sources of discontent and rebellion" (pp. 181–82). Equality, in Matthews's view, remains a difficult-to-define and problematic concept that has evoked conflict among feminists for over a century.

This book does not offer new theories or present original research, nor does it purport to do so. The scholarship is derivative; Matthews depends on other surveys of women's history and on a wide range of recent books and articles, all cited in a lively bibliography. Generalization is minimal; so is analysis, save that which filters in from other studies that the author consulted. The bare-bones approach has both debits and assets. No preface gives the reader a clue as to what the book is about, what the author's intentions are, or who the intended audience is. Historians will miss footnotes. General readers might well miss illustrations; photographs abound in this area of women's history and would have enhanced the narrative. However, brevity is a virtue. Matthews presents a great deal of information, makes it easily accessible, and moves at a rapid clip. Her book's success rests on its concision, cogency, verve, and pace.

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SHIRLEY HUNE and GAIL NOMURA, editors. *Asian/Pacific Islander American Women: A Historical Anthology*. New York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 426. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.00.

This collection of monographs, in the words of its editors, seeks to "reframe history about Asian/Pacific Islander American women by considering them as historical agents actively engaging in determining their lives and those of their families, communities, and larger entities, albeit within multiple and complex constraints" (p. 1). The editors also hope to establish a new foundational text for courses in Asian-American Studies and to "showcase new research" that reflects the editors' agenda relative to the recentering of women in the histories of Asian-American communities (p. 4). In pursuit of this goal, Shirley Hune and Gail M. Nomura have assembled a somewhat eclectic group of twenty-four essays, the final two of which are bibliographic in nature, arranged in eight sections. Together, they comprise a generally successful attempt to "present a new history of Asian and Pacific Islander American women 'on our terms'" (p. 16).

The book's first section consists of three chapters

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aimed at exploring new ways that the development of women-centered histories is influencing both scholarship and community self-image. Chapters four through ten, which comprise the next three-and-a-half sections, examine a variety of Asian-American women's histories that come out of the Chinese—and the non-Chinese by association—exclusion era (1882–1943). The next section-and-a-half (chapters eleven through fifteen) relate in some way to World War II and Cold War influences on the lives of Asian-American women, from Shirley Jennifer Lim's study of beauty contests as a means of demonstrating Asian-American patriotism, to Ji-Yeon Yuh's investigation of community building among Korean-American military brides, to Sucheng Chan's assessment of Hmong-American and Cambodian-American women's struggles of adjustment and empowerment as refugees. Sections six and seven contain chapters sixteen through twenty-two, which share a common theme of Asian-American women demonstrating agency in response to institutional change, whether economic, as in Rhacel Salazar Parreñas's "Asian Immigrant Women and Global Restructuring"; familial, as in Charlene Tung's "Caring Across Borders: Motherhood, Marriage, and Filipina Domestic Workers in California"; or political, as in Vivian Loyola Dames's "Chamorro Women, Self-Determination, and the Politics of Abortion in Guam." The final section offers two pedagogically directed chapters: a concise bibliography of useful monographs and texts by Hune, and a similar look at video resources by Nancy In Kyung Kim.

Like many anthologies, this one suffers from a few significant flaws. First, the chapters lack scholarly coherence, ranging from presentations of original research, to encyclopedic summaries, to reports on promising methodologies. Indeed, little ties them together other than their most basic subject matter (all of the chapters are about Asian-American women) and the insertion of obligatory references to female "agency" in the respective concluding paragraphs. Thus, one must approach each entry with a different set of expectations, which can prove a frustrating liability for the kinds of classroom applications that Hune and Nomura hope to inspire. Second, most of the pieces of scholarly substance—at least in terms of historical research—either appeared in earlier publications, albeit in somewhat altered form, or were about to be released as part of larger manuscripts. This characteristic limits somewhat the anthology's usefulness, although it is well-suited to introductory settings.

Perhaps most disappointing, the editors have chosen to self-regulate their own "presence" in the book. After producing insightful and well-articulated separate introductions, Hune and Nomura fade a bit too far into the background, with the exception of Nomura's informational piece about the promise of journal-writing workshops as a means of recovering Filipina history and Hune's bibliographic presentation. By assuming such overly passive roles, they miss some opportunities to strengthen the book's value, in terms of both establishing connections between works and synthesizing their respective styles into a more consistently crafted volume.

Chapters two through five, which establish the groundwork for a fascinating debate on the importance of legal restrictions to the history of Chinese female immigration to the United States, illustrate the potential worth of editorial overlays between connected monographs. In the second and third chapters, Kathleen Uno ("Unlearning Orientalism: Locating Asian and Asian American Women in Family History") and Sucheta Mazumdar ("What Happened to the Women? Chinese and Indian Male Migration to the United States in Global Perspective") argue that restrictive legislation played a minimal role in contributing to the long history of gender imbalance in Chinese-American communities. Indeed, they appear to regard concerns about the negative impact of such legislation as stemming from misguided "Western" notions of family and "Orientalist" overemphasis on Chinese patriarchy. Conversely, Erika Lee ("Exclusion Acts: Chinese Women during the Chinese Exclusion Era, 1882–1943") and Jennifer Gee ("Housewives, Men's Villages, and Sexual Respectability: Gender and the Interrogation of Asian Women at the Angel Island Immigration Station") focus their research skills and analytical energies on explaining the harm that gender-specific immigration laws inflicted on Chinese-American community development. No doubt, these four scholars share common ground as well as what seem to be contrasting theoretical perspectives, but introductions to the book's respective sections and/or a reflective concluding chapter would have done much to stimulate both classroom discussion and subsequent research. Therefore this worthy project would have been better served if the editors had "recentered" themselves more directly as essential interpreters of their book's significance and message.

Such shortcomings notwithstanding, Hune and Nomura have produced a much-needed anthology that will contribute in a substantial way to introductory courses in their field. Like a number of similar works that have fostered the growth of agency-centered women's history over the past fifteen years or so, the book also does much to elevate Asian-American women beyond the secondary roles to which they too often have been relegated in male-dominated texts. For this service alone, all of us who teach and seek to understand further the Asian-American experience owe them our gratitude.

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VIRGINIA SCHARFF. *Twenty Thousand Roads: Women, Movement, and the West*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 239. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

In this book, Virginia Scharff chooses the freedom to move about unhindered as the defining ideograph of

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the American psyche. She traces the many roads of six women: Sacajawea, Susan McGoffin, Grace Raymond Hebard, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, Jo Ann Robinson, and Pamela Des Barres. Some are well known to readers; others Scharff rescues from historical anonymity.

The restless nature of the American has been remarked many times. We are familiar with stories of Daniel Boone, who would not live close to the smoke in a neighbor's cabin, and of runaways Benjamin Franklin and Huck Finn. Even *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) contains the story of Eliza, the fugitive, crossing the ice-filled river ahead of Simon Legree. But for the most part, journeys that belong particularly to women have passed with little notice save as they were drawn into the aggregate of wagon trains on the Overland Trail.

Scharff has written before about western women on the move, most notably in *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (1991). In her new book, the first of the traveling women discussed is Sacajawea, that known-and-unknown guide who took part in the famous Lewis and Clark expedition. Scharff is an elegant stylist who writes that Clark referred to Sacajawea only as Toussaint Charbonneau's "Snake Indian wife." "Declining to utter Sacagawea's name, he blurred her trail as surely as if he'd thrown a bucketful of sand across her moccasin tracks" (p. 21).

But even a skilled historian and graceful writer cannot follow where the trail ends. Sacajawea may have died in 1812, or in 1884. Her name may have been Bird Woman, or Otter Woman, or Porivo. We do not know why this pregnant teenager joined the expedition in the first place or just how her life ended. We do not know her legacy; tribes who were experienced hunters and gatherers taught Sacajawea survival skills that helped the expedition succeed, but those were hardly skills she passed on to American women, and so she, even more than the others, is snatched from our eyes and passes into historical mystery.

Scharff rescues Susan McGoffin from the "editorial intervention" of at least one overly zealous editor and offers readers a clear history of the lady's journeys. With her husband, McGoffin crossed the Southwest when it was still a wild and turbulent country. Husband and wife were caught often between fear and optimism, believing sometimes they would be murdered by Indians, sometimes toasting their escape with cake and champagne. In the end, McGoffen succumbed to the complications of childbirth that "killed mothers and children with chilling regularity, [and] with greater frequency than men died in war. [Susan] died in 1855, after giving birth for the fourth time" (p. 62).

In contrast, Grace Hebard was a spinster with a doctorate in political science. At the turn of the century, she was an academic jill of all trades at the University of Wyoming, teaching law, sociology, money and banking, labor problems, railroad organization, children's literature, and library science. Considering the time and place, her institutional contacts were spectacular; she counted herself a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames, of the American Assocation of University Women, the National Business and Professional Women's Club, and the National Association of Women Lawyers. Scharff writes that Hebard's personal triumph came in 1920 when she established a permanent memorial to Esther Morris, "First Woman Justice of the Peace, Author of Female Suffrage in Wyoming."

Fabiola Cabeza de Baca was a rural school teacher in New Mexico and a federal home extension agent, traveling over wretched roads by automobile, bringing information about health and education where "poverty, hunger and ignorance ruled." Automobiles broke down, there was little companionship or roadside assistance, and there were times when she skirted disaster. Jo Ann Gibson Robinson was a southerner born to a "landscape of arrested motion." With other African Americans, she worked to organize the Montgomery Alabama bus boycott during the civil rights movement of the 1950s, hoping to introduce freedom of movement to a people locked into place. Pamela Des Barres, the most eccentric of the group, joined rock bands like the GTOs (Girls All Together) sponsored by Frank Zappa. She "zigged and zagged through this landscape with a vengeance" (p. 169).

Scharff's selection of women—Native American, Hispanic, African American—and her inclusion of a civil rights activist and a rock and roll groupie suggest choices that serve the historian's wish for objectivity, but there are questions unanswered. Were these women representative of an era or group of women? Did their western journeys pursue dreams or ambitions that women held especially dear? A Brooklyn colleague suggests that the imprint of all American lives should be *moveo ergo sum* and that this holds true for those who arrived at Ellis Island and who continue to arrive via La Guardia or JFK. We live in a world on the move, and women move along with the rest.

At the end of her book, Scharff wonders whether the West as a region is inimical to the idea of home and permanence. "The West is pocked with ghost towns that testify to the difficulties of sticking in a tough country" (p. 184). Those who masterplan suburban communities in Colorado may be in business to fabricate a homeplace, to construct a facsimile of home even as we load up the moving van and prepare to move on. In *Far From Home: Families of the Westward Journey* (1989), I wrote that Americans have trouble staying put. We know the landscapes of heartbreak and loneliness and desperation, even as something of the perverse goads us on. Census data for Albuquerque in the 1960s and 1970s, shows that in-migration was exactly equal to out-migration. Whether or not the instinct to move on is part of the American psyche, whether it has a particular significance to women, perhaps all of us suspect, like the weary travelers in

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Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, that when you reach the Pacific, the only place to go is back to New Jersey.

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KATE PHILLIPS. *Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. x, 370. $34.95.

With this definitive and eminently readable biography, Kate Phillips reminds us that despite over two decades of impressive achievement by feminist scholars, work remains to be done to resurrect the reputations of important but still-neglected American women writers.

Among the first American women writers to be a self-supporting professional, Helen Hunt Jackson (1830–1885) was a literary star in the two decades after the Civil War and remained a famous author for almost five decades after her death, disappearing from the canon as literary studies became increasingly institutionalized in the 1930s and male critics began dismissing her, mistakenly, as a sentimental writer. With the encouragement of the influential Thomas Wentworth Higginson, her intimate friend and literary mentor, she dedicated herself early in her career to poetry and earned the acclaim of Ralph Waldo Emerson and others. A poet of decidedly conventional verse, she nevertheless recognized that Emily Dickinson, her childhood friend (both born in 1830 in Amherst), was "a great poet" (p. 145). She first begged and then badgered Emily to publish.

A woman of letters, Jackson was accomplished in multiple genres and prolific in all. Averaging throughout her career three publications a month in the major periodicals of her day, Jackson earned popularity for her essays on domestic life, perpetrated one of the century's great literary mysteries as the determinedly anonymous author of the widely popular Saxe Holm stories, and distinguished herself in her travel essays and novels as one of the first American regionalists, celebrating the attractions of rural New England and especially Colorado and California. Jackson criticized the devastation being wrought on the land and the people of rural America by industrial expansion. Late in her career, she became a passionate defender of Native American rights and deployed her considerable literary talents in their defense. She excoriated U.S. government's treatment of Native Americans in her ground-breaking historical study, *A Century of Dishonor* (1881); became a government agent investigating the deplorable state of Indian affairs in California, producing *Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California* (1883); and, in a final effort to generate public sympathy for Native Americans, decided to imitate the contribution of Harriet Beecher Stowe to the abolitionist cause and write a propagandistic novel in support of Native American rights, *Ramona* (1884). The tale of the doomed love of a long-suffering, virtuous, and thus entirely sympathetic half-Indian, half-Scottish orphan girl, *Ramona* offered "an almost unmitigated denunciation of U.S. imperialism in California" (p. 29), with both Indians and Hispanics suffering misery at the hands of California's new masters. The first novel about southern California, *Ramona* created a dystopian vision of paradise lost that would become a standard trope for the region (in novels such as Nathanael West's *The Day of the Locusts* [1939] and in films such as *Chinatown* [1974]).

Phillips thus makes a persuasive case for Jackson's prominence in nineteenth-century American literary culture and her importance as a voice of protest against post-Civil War industrialism, imperialism, and racism. To her great credit, however, Phillips does not allow her desire to resurrect Jackson's reputation to cause her to make of Jackson the one-dimensional heroine that Jackson so often celebrated in her lesser fiction. Ironies abound. Moving restlessly from one boarding house to another, from the East Coast to the Rockies and back, for years a widow with no surviving children who had hated housework since adolescence, a totally self-reliant woman and a no-nonsense professional, Jackson nevertheless consistently praised home, marriage, and motherhood as the highest attainments of womanhood and vehemently opposed the women's rights movement. She extolled the still pristine landscapes of the mountains of New Hampshire and Colorado and denounced the destructive encroachments of industrialization, but she succeeded only in accelerating the loss she lamented by enticing readers to visit these sites. She wrote the second most powerful propaganda novel of the century in order to generate public support for Indian rights only to have most readers so fixated on the tragic love story that they ignored the message. Ultimately, her work on behalf of Indian rights did have an impact, for she is given credit with helping create the political climate that made possible the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, but she would have bitterly denounced the destructive effects on Indian culture wrought by the assimilationist government policy instituted by the act.

Phillips crafts a fascinating personal story of Jackson's life and career while centering that account brilliantly within the larger narrative frames of social and literary history. That this definitive biography will inspire greater literary and historical attention to Jackson's achievement is without question. Finally, to her great credit, Phillips provides the reader with a thorough set of notes, a complete list of references, and a highly detailed and useful index.

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JEFFREY NICHOLS. *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847–1918.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 247. $34.95.

Jeffrey Nichols maintains that religious conflict defined debates over prostitution throughout Utah's

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territorial period in this fine treatment of prostitution in Salt Lake City. As with all aspects of life in Utah, the tension between Mormons and non-Mormons made concerted action on prostitution all but impossible. Mormons accused non-Mormon men of patronizing brothels; non-Mormons accused Mormon polygamists of indulging themselves in similar ways while disguising their lust by calling it a new form of marriage. To each side, the other seemed hopelessly hypocritical.

In such an atmosphere, prostitution flourished alongside plural marriage. Nichols's study is the first scholarly treatment of the topic; it combines meticulous documentation with clear sympathy for the "women [who] sold sex" (p. 49). As Nichols pieces together the shards of prostitution's history in Salt Lake City, a fascinating (if largely familiar) picture emerges. By the late 1860s, prostitutes were present and earning profits in the city. Like other western cities, Salt Lake City's prostitutes were predominantly cribworkers or streetwalkers; parlor houses provided a safer harbor for more fortunate women, and a few even rose to the rank of madam. Police generally treated madams and the inhabitants of their brothels with far more consideration than women of lower status, especially those of African or Asian ancestry. Equally important, Nichols finds that prostitution was commercially viable, and that madams developed property and took out loans from Salt Lake City banks. In this way, they created a downtown prostitution district—complete with elegant brothels—"which thrived for decades" (p. 57).

Nichols is less specific about patrons, due largely to the fact that prostitutes were far more likely to be prosecuted or even arrested than their customers. He does note that the vast majority of men who patronized prostitutes were non-Mormons; but he also provides a detailed account of the fiasco perpetrated in 1885 by long-time Salt Lake City official Brigham Y. Hampton, a loyal Mormon, who masterminded a scheme to entrap "the Government Office Holders that are prosicuting and persicuting [sic] the servants of God for keeping his laws of [polygamous] Marriage" (p. 33). Federal officials dismissed the prosecution of a U.S. deputy marshal caught in the scheme; Hampton and his confederates were convicted of keeping a house of prostitution. Nichols also documents the profligacy of Frank Cannon, a member of an elite Mormon family who patronized a well-known parlor house regularly in the late 1880s but was protected by the Mormon-controlled city police force. Chance references in diaries indicate that other Mormons may also have visited brothels, but the evidence is spotty at best. Nichols does establish conclusively that Mormon businessmen as well as non-Mormons invested in prostitution, and that the business of sex contributed significantly to the economic development of Salt Lake City.

After the Mormon Church formally abandoned polygamy in 1890, and especially after the denomination began to discipline members who entered new plural marriages, Mormon and non-Mormon interest in prostitution coalesced rapidly. Most city officials apparently preferred regulation to moral reform; in 1908, they created a special district known as "the Stockade" to contain and concentrate the sex trade. The district was managed by a notorious and successful madam whose working name was Belle London. After London was harassed and eventually prosecuted by opponents of the new regulation scheme, she closed the Stockade, ending the protection that regulation provided without offering "a realistic alternative to prostitution" for the women who earned their living there (p. 167).

As Nichols tells the story, the coalition of reformers who fought regulated prostitution in the early twentieth century represented a lasting reconciliation between Mormons and non-Mormons. The coalition moved on to target rowdy drinking and dancing, revealing at base "a strong element of social control" particularly noticeable in the build-up to Prohibition through the 1910s (p. 183). However much proponents of social purity might congratulate themselves that they had "abolished" prostitution, Nichols maintains, the rapprochement between non-Mormons and Mormons came at the expense of prostitutes, whose work continued and who "had to bear the burdens of prostitution" without meaningful protection from its many risks (p. 216).

This admirably and sympathetic treatment of prostitution in Utah's biggest city is a welcome addition to the literature. Nichols has given us a well-documented business and labor history of the sex trade for his period. Additional work rounding out the historical treatment and building on path-breaking work on prostitution outside the West (including recent studies by Patricia Cline Cohen and Amy Dru Stanley), and beyond the very traditional heterosexual trade discussed exclusively by Nichols (found, for example, in D. Michael Quinn's *Same-Sex Dynamics among Nineteenth-Century Americans: A Mormon Example* [2002]), will enrich our understanding of how sex and prostitution functioned in nineteenth-century Utah.

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Allison Fuss Mellis. *Riding Buffaloes and Broncos: Rodeo and Native Traditions in the Northern Great Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 266. $34.95.

Over the past decade, scholars have created a body of work that reexamines the federal government's efforts to assimilate Native Americans since the late nineteenth century. This work has explored how indigenous people themselves responded to, resisted, and subverted assimilation by using the very institutions and practices meant to undermine tribal sovereignty. Many studies have focused upon boarding schools created for American Indian children that were intended to teach them Anglo-Protestant values and identities. Allison Fuss Mellis makes a significant contribution to this scholarship with her cultural history of Native

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American rodeo among the northern Great Plains tribes.

Unlike other studies of assimilation among Native Americans, Mellis's book explores a practice that is not directly connected to the boarding school experience. Instead, the growth of rodeos is more a product of another federal policy intended to promote assimilation: the concentration of indigenous Americans on reservation lands. Mellis writes about the role of rodeo among three major tribes—Crows, Northern Cheyenne, and Lakota—that forcefully resisted the "Peace Policy" of President Ulysses S. Grant to confine Native Americans to designated reservation lands. Her book commences largely after the military battles had ended, but as the cultural battles over identity had begun. On reservations, the federal government intended to use policies such as allotment to promote individualism, farming, and a sedentary lifestyle for Native people who had lived nomadic lives on the plains.

Rather than accept or reject government programs outright, however, Mellis argues that the Crow, the Northern Cheyenne, and the Lakota engaged in what she calls "selective adaptation" to "reinforce their tribal affiliations and even forge pan-Indian ones via the very instruments of control used by a consciously hegemonic white culture" (p. 4). Mellis argues that rodeo became a new cultural tradition that served to maintain Native traditions within institutions created for the purpose of assimilation. Mellis does a remarkable job demonstrating this, focusing upon the social and cultural history of Indian rodeo.

As a sport, rodeo grew from the regular practices of cowboy workers on cattle ranches and required skills developed through extensive experience working with horses. Federal reformers encouraged Native Americans to pursue cattle ranching, along with farming, in their new lives on reservations. Northern plains tribes preferred cattle ranching, according to Mellis, because it corresponded more with their hunting traditions than did farming. As government agents promoted farming through agricultural exhibitions, northern plains tribal members gravitated toward the ranching programs at these shows, and this is where they learned the craft of competitive rodeo. In other cases, tribal members learned rodeo skill while participating in wild west shows that toured the United States and Europe, performing their cultural identities for white audiences but preserving them as well, much to the chagrin of federal agents hired to promote assimilation.

Some tribes actually took control of wild west shows introduced by whites, transforming them into their own annual rodeo events like the Crow Fair in Montana and the Banff Indian Days in Canada. Federal agents complained that Indians were spending potentially productive farming time roaming from town to town participating in rodeos. Mellis, however, recognizes that such celebrations provided a context for northern plains tribes to continue traditional annual gatherings that had typically marked the summer months before the reservation era.

Mellis draws on a wide range of archival sources, including letters, newspaper articles, government documents, and a wonderful collection of photographs. She divides her book into five main chapters after her introduction, dealing with the rise of rodeo during the period of intense federal assimilation (1880–1920): the institutionalization of rodeo among the Crow and Lakota during the 1920s and early 1930s; the growth of rodeo between 1933 and 1945, during the reform era of John Collier's reign as head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; the development of a separate, all-Indian rodeo circuit between 1945 and 1970; and the continuing celebration of rodeo communities to the present day.

Mellis has written an engaging and thorough account of Indian rodeo history focusing on the grassroots participation of families and individuals. She is able to demonstrate the direct relationships between contemporary rodeo and northern plains Indian history that make the sport meaningful and important. This book is of interest to scholars of Native American history, but it also addresses broader issues connected to sports and popular culture as meaningful sites for mapping identities within the context of power struggles that emerge out of conquest and occupation.

JOHN BLOOM
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DON GRAHAM. *Kings of Texas: The 150-Year Saga of an American Ranching Empire*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 2003. Pp. xiii, 289. $24.95.

The history of ranching and livestock raising in America does not lack for chroniclers. There are many and they are a diverse group: foreign language professors, sociologists from Norway, writers of novels, museum directors, archivists, and professional photographers among them. Clearly, they are not all historians and they are not all from the American West. Most of them produce good, solid, institutional studies. Some of them write ranch histories that border on triumphal romanticism and folklore that honor the rancher, the cowboy, and their large cattle herds.

Don Graham takes a different tact. In this book, he presents a revisionist, not particularly friendly history of America's largest ranch, a study that almost celebrates flaws in the huge institution's founder and current board of directors, in its operations, and in its treatment of its neighbors. Nonetheless, if Graham is right, the book represents a significant corrective to many earlier studies that glorify the King Ranch and its celebrated traditions.

Richard King, founder of the ranch, comes across as a tough, rough-edged, and poorly educated but intelligent young man with ready wit and much common sense. Orphaned as a youth, King became a steamboat pilot at the early age of sixteen. He understood the

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value of political and economic "connections" and used them to secure government contracts along the Rio Grande during the U.S.-Mexican War. After the war, he also used his connections to keep competitors from effectively challenging his operations. He and his partner, Mifflin Kenedy, made a lot of money in the steamboat business.

King used the money to buy land and cattle in the Nueces Strip, the land between Rio Grande and the Nueces River. With partners, such as Kenedy and William W. Chapman, he bought both large and small pieces, documented the purchases as best he could, and did not sell his land. He went to Mexico in 1854 to buy cattle and ended up buying a whole town, Cruillas, getting nearly all its residents with their possessions, and the cattle, to come to the King Ranch. The people of Cruillas and their descendents became the *Kinenos*, King's employees and their families.

Graham portrays King as a willing participant in the Rio Grande border troubles of the post-Civil War period. In the 1860s and 1870s, King lost thousands of cattle and horses to cross-border thieves, including the Mexican-American Juan N. Cortina, and he wanted the raiding stopped. Thus, he welcomed the ruthless actions of the Texas Rangers, provided the Rangers with good horses and equipment, raised his own extralegal militias, and did not complain about murderous attacks against cattle and horse thieves.

After King's death in 1885, his wife, Henrietta Chamberlain King, with her son-in-law and King Ranch attorney, Robert J. Kleberg, took over management of the ranch. Kleberg was an excellent manager, but his actions as ranch attorney in an 1879 lawsuit, *Helen B. Chapman v. Richard King*, came back to haunt the ranch. The suit is complicated and involved, but essentially Kleberg served as a lawyer for Mrs. Chapman, wife of one of King's former partners, while he was on a legal retainer with Richard King. Although settled in favor of the Kings in 1883, the case, as Graham put it, "flamed [back] into life" (p. 225) in a new lawsuit in 1995 when descendents of Mrs. Chapman brought suit on grounds that the 1883 judgment resulted from a King-Kleberg conspiracy. The case, which threatens oil-rich lands on the ranch's Santa Gertrudis division, had not been settled when this book was published in 2003.

Nearly three-fourths of the book covers the years up to Richard King's death. The ranch was a livestock operation at the time, with cattle, horses, sheep, and goats dominating production. Much of the remaining quarter, covering the years 1885 to 2003, outlines the 1995 lawsuit, including the people involved. Robert Kleberg, Jr., receives some attention for his years as ranch manager, as does Tio Kleberg, the last member of his family to run the giant operation. Tio's story, however, centers on his being fired in 1998.

Although it still produces cattle and horses, the ranch today is far more than a large, family-owned livestock operation. Run by a board of directors in Houston, King Ranch is a far-flung corporate business. It has property in Florida and elsewhere. Many of its employees are farmers, raising cotton, sod, and other farm-related products. The ranch offers hunting leases for income, and oil revenues represent a major part of its earnings.

Graham's book has much to recommend it. It is compellingly written and fun to read. But its underlying tone, its hidden message, is a bit troubling. It seems to suggest that the famous ranch and its owners, particularly the board of directors, are at long last getting what they deserve: a breakup of the valuable and much cherished Santa Gertrudis property. I hope I am wrong.

PAUL H. CARLSON
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JONATHAN W. SINGER. *Broken Trusts: The Texas Attorney General versus the Oil Industry, 1889–1909*. (Kenneth E. Montague Series in Oil and Business History, number 12.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2002. Pp. 344. $49.95.

Everything is supposed to be bigger in Texas, but as this book demonstrates, when it comes to the oil business, Texas has had a history of deep ambivalence about the super-sizing of petroleum operations. Long a state that has embraced and even revered the wildcatter, Texas tried to break up the growing oligarchy of oil firms during the era in which the U.S. government was, at least rhetorically, committed to trustbusting but often, on the ground, not enforcing antitrust legislation to the degree that some of the states were attempting to do.

The story that Jonathan W. Singer lays out in this copiously detailed book follows the fate of the Waters-Pierce firm and its ties to Standard Oil following the passage of Texas's 1889 antitrust law. In a series of high-profile cases, the Texas attorney general's office went after the firm aggressively, not only in civil trials but also, as a grand finale, in a criminal trial for perjury against executive Henry Pierce in 1909. Although Pierce escaped conviction, the state of Texas did, in fact, achieve notable success in prosecuting Waters-Pierce for antitrust violation; indeed, in a 1909 opinion, the Supreme Court resoundingly supported the state's efforts to oust the firm from doing business in Texas and require it to pay a fine of well over a million dollars. The amount was "more than the federal Justice Department had recovered in all of its antitrust actions since 1890 combined," as Singer notes (p. 154).

Singer acknowledges that this victory for the Texas attorney general was not the end of the story and that "[t]o a certain degree," when viewed from a longer historical range, Texas antitrust litigation "was largely ineffectual" (p. 218). It did not take long, for instance, for Pierce to be back in business in a new partnership. But Singer's book seeks to give nuance to such a pessimistic assessment, noting that state legislators and the attorneys general were genuinely dedicated to trying to control the increasing girth of big business.

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Moreover, Singer seeks to correct historians' focus on the failures of federal antitrust activity during this time in order to see that, in fact, some states had willingly taken up the torch, and he rightly points out that similar action on the part of the states is well in evidence today.

Book reviewers should always be cautious in suggesting that the author might have written a different book, and in making the remarks that follow, I want to note that this book ably recounts the events in the legal battles. Singer is extraordinarily careful in detailing the narrative of the courtroom dramas. He never shies away from the intricacies of the cases, and by providing a glossary of terms at the end of the book, he helps the nonspecialist reader to understand the facts. Singer frames the substantive chapters of the book so narrowly, however, that nonspecialists—those readers who are not specifically interested in the historical relationship between antitrust enforcement law and oil corporations—will find this book slow going. The author has a tendency, for instance, to recount the trials on a day-by-day basis and to describe the depositions of fairly minor characters in his story. Although it is understandable that, as an attorney himself, Singer would relish the details of the litigation, the excessive nature of those details often makes it difficult to follow the larger trajectory of the story and to understand the broader implications of this period of Texas trustbusting.

Of course, this is another way of saying that Singer has trouble seeing the forest for the trees, but what precisely is the forest that he might have kept in view? In his introduction and epilogue, he briefly points to a wider landscape of questions that his book addresses, framed primarily by scholars' conclusions regarding the effectiveness of antitrust litigation during the Progressive period. (Singer's response, as noted above, is that the Texas example shows that it both is and is not effective.) But given his interest in the actual trials, Singer might have pursued paths that would have taken him beyond the venue of the courtroom. He notes at the outset, for instance, that like other states Texas had a handful of options for trying to rein in big business, antitrust law enforcement being only one of them. Relying on the structures of the courts and the form of the trial itself surely must have had profound influences on how Texans thought about big business, and it would have been fascinating to see how Singer explored such territory. The adversarial nature of the law, the rhetorical devices of the lawyers, the reliance on historical precedent, the formal procedures involved in trying to convict the firm: these are very different forces than, say, the administrative processes of antitrust regulation. Were such forces at the heart of the distinctive political—perhaps even cultural—flavor of antitrust ideology in Texas? One can hope that Singer will seek to answer such a question in his future work.

KAREN R. MERRILL
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THOMAS RALPH CLARK. *Defending Rights: Law, Labor Politics, and the State in California, 1890–1925*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2002. Pp. 297. $39.95.

How did the remarkable hostility shown by courts toward workers and their unions at the turn of the twentieth century shape the history of the United States labor movement? Thomas Ralph Clark focuses on this question in his fine book. Historians have long agreed the labor injunction provided employers with one of their most formidable tools for containing the expansion of the labor movement in the United States during the decades between 1890 and 1930. In the early 1990s, however, important works by William Forbath (*Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement* [1991]) and Victoria Hattam (*Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States, 1806–1896* [1993]) argued much more ambitiously that judicial hostility explained the relatively conservative and antistatist evolution of U.S. labor politics. In their view, constant injunctions discouraged labor activists from seeking political solutions to their problems. Clark frames his study as a test of Forbath's and Hattam's arguments, noting that their studies ignore the state and local levels: that is, the realm where most workers actually encountered the courts. Based on careful research into labor politics in California, Clark demonstrates that the relationship between labor politics and the law was far more complex than Forbath and Hattam suggest. He argues, in fact, that "the need to defend rights of collective action pushed the California labor movement into politics with greater urgency" (p. 14). Forced by judicial hostility into political engagement, California activists worked to enact a broad set of social reforms that required more extensive state intervention. Although their efforts to pass anti-injunction legislation ended in failure, California activists did develop a careful defense of workers' rights, which "anticipated the New Deal transformation of both labor law and labor politics" (p. 15).

Clark explores these issues through a fascinating comparison of labor's fortunes in California's two major cities. He demonstrates persuasively that judicial hostility and police intervention pushed labor activists into experiments with third-party politics, most notably in San Francisco where the Union Labor Party (ULP) rose to power. Curbing police power remained the ULP's only positive contribution to labor relations, and corruption charges and its own incompetence soon brought about the party's demise. Yet the party's very successes regarding the police nudged employers toward a more aggressive use of injunctions. By the 1910s, activists turned their attention to drafting anti-injunction legislation, and transformed their political strategies to focus on lobbying and coalitions with other reformers.

Next Clark turns to the impact of World War I and its aftermath, showing how, as Progressivism waned in

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California, labor activists found themselves losing familiar allies even as judicial hostility intensified at the local level. Unions continued to fail in their efforts to pass anti-injunction legislation, yet their positive view of politics and the state's role did not wane. Rather, Clark argues, "organized labor increasingly looked to the federal government as the most likely guarantor of labor's rights" (p. 26). In a concluding chapter, Clark builds on his findings to argue that labor activists of the Progressive era, in their positive regard for politics and state intervention, can help us understand the emergence of broader social unionist goals in the 1930s.

Historians demonstrated many years ago that labor activists at the state and local levels perceived the state more positively than did their counterparts at the national level (for example, see Gary Fink, *Labor's Search for Political Order: The Political Behavior of the Missouri Labor Movement, 1890–1940* [1974]). More recently Julie Greene (*Pure and Simple Politics: The American Federation of Labor and Political Activism, 1881–1917* [1998]) and Gwendolyn Mink (*Old Labor and New Immigrants in American Political Development: Union, Party, and State, 1875–1920* [1986]) have shown how deeply and energetically the national leaders of the American Federation of Labor engaged in political activism. While building on the work of all these historians, Clark makes an important contribution through his emphasis on the courts and careful attention to the continuities linking labor's vision in the New Deal era to that of the Gilded Age and Progressive era. Also noteworthy is Clark's nuanced argument regarding the language of labor activists: he suggests that California unionists developed a "rights-based" language and that this coexisted with and sharpened class consciousness rather than blunting it, as critical legal historians have typically argued. Clark's study will be essential reading for any scholar interested in the history of the law and labor politics.

Julie Greene
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George I. Lovell. *Legislative Deferrals: Statutory Ambiguity, Judicial Power, and American Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 290. $65.00.

George I. Lovell's careful analysis of the legislative history of labor laws and the relationship between Congress and the judiciary will interest political scientists, historians, and legal scholars. His reappraisal of interest group activity surrounding the Erdman Act, Clayton Act, Norris-LaGuardia Act, and Wagner Act and the motivations of lawmakers who enacted those statutes provides a significant contribution to labor's political history. Lovell also draws general conclusions about the interaction between Congress and courts. Lovell argues that Congress often delegates policy making to judges without formulating a precise intent about how courts should deploy that power. Although he claims that this insight brings into question traditional methods of interpretation, his conclusions are compatible with most current legal thinking about statutory interpretation. Nonetheless, this book is important to legal scholars because it provides a well-researched example of legislative delegation to courts.

Lovell offers a fascinating description of the legislative deliberations surrounding enactment of the labor laws. He persuasively argues against the traditional depiction of labor history from 1898 to 1935 as a period of radical prolabor legislation that was undermined by a hostile judiciary, heedless of congressional wishes and too solicitous of the owners of capital. He demonstrates that, with the exception of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, Congress intentionally adopted provisions that courts could interpret in ways that hindered labor's agenda. He describes drafting history to prove that Congress did not inadvertently enact open-textured language, and that legislators had a good idea of the way judges would decide cases. He concludes in his assessment of the Clayton Act that the American Federation of Labor's (AFL) problem was not that unelected, conservative judges gutted a prolabor law but rather "that the AFL could not find a majority in the divided Congress that would enact stronger legislation that better secured the AFL's policy goals" (p. 156). The AFL leadership put the best spin on the legislation that it could, contending that Congress had accepted their goals, but the reality, Lovell maintains, is that labor's top priorities were seldom embraced by Congress.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act, often characterized as the response of an angry Congress irritated by judges who disregarded legislative wishes, was passed in a different political environment and was supported by a coalition including "political and economic elites who were otherwise unsympathetic to the goals of labor and labor organizations" (p. 211). Furthermore, Congress was not unequivocally supportive of labor in passing this act; instead, legislators also hoped that it would "defeat labor radicalism" (p. 215). This new political reality encouraged legislators to enact specific language reducing judicial discretion, but Congress reverted to vague text in the Wagner Act when it delegated substantial policymaking authority to the National Labor Relations Board and courts.

Lovell's conclusions are less satisfying for legal scholars because he does not appreciate that many theorists of statutory interpretation have a sophisticated sense of institutional interactions. Particularly when they consider regulatory statutes, legal scholars have long understood that Congress can choose to delegate to agencies or to courts, and they have pointed out various statutory techniques to effectuate such choices, including relative vagueness and ambiguity. For example, *Chevron v. Natural Resources Defense Council* (1984), where the Supreme Court instructed judges to defer to reasonable agency interpretations of ambiguous statutes, was justified in part because expert and accountable agencies are

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more suited to determine regulatory policy than judges. Implicit in this case, and explicit in scholarship analyzing it, is that Congress can choose between agencies and courts when it delegates the power to make policy through interpretation. Legal scholars also understand that Congress can use ambiguity to pass controversial statutes. A majority may vote for unclear language, intending to punt to the courts and allowing interest groups to move their battle to a different institution.

Lovell also attacks what he terms the "legislative baseline framework." He contends that judicial interpreters cannot interpret unclear statutory text according to what Congress would have intended, because legislators often have no specific intent. Instead, legislators are purposefully delegating the details of policy making to judges. Again, Lovell mischaracterizes the nuances of intentionalism, the method of interpretation which uses the legislative baseline. Legal scholars distinguish among different kinds of legislative intention, such as the broad legislative purpose and the particular intentions legislators may have had with respect to the statute's application. There is certainly awareness of the difficulties in discerning specific intentions in numerous cases. Furthermore, many legal scholars and judges would rather disregard legislative intentions entirely, relying on other sources of interpretation, such as a construct of what reasonable legislators would have intended or the clear meaning of the statute as revealed by dictionaries, linguistics, and canons of interpretation.

The most frustrating aspect of Lovell's presentation is his failure to provide a different baseline against which to evaluate judicial policy making. He dismisses this concern because he says his "deferral perspective" "makes questions about how judges decide particular cases recede in importance, while making questions about how judges end up in a position to decide policy issues seem much more important" (p. 263). On the contrary, once Lovell convinces us that Congress often delegates to courts without providing much guidance, it becomes even more important to ascertain how judges wield this power. Lovell neither describes how judges decide what policy to adopt in the absence of a real legislative baseline, nor does he offer a view about how they should exercise discretion when Congress has purposefully left the question unanswered. This is an inquiry to which Lovell could productively contribute, using his broad knowledge of the institutions responsible for labor policy.

ELIZABETH GARRETT
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JON C. TEAFORD. *The Rise of the States: Evolution of American State Government*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 120th series, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. 272. Cloth $55.00, paper $21.50.

This is a fine book with a bad title. In contrast to other observers who discern violent zigs and zags in twentieth-century federalism, Jon C. Teaford sees no earlier decline and hence no late-century renaissance of state authority and creativity. His thesis is that "previous reports of the states' death and rebirth have been exaggerated" (p. 5). Far from languishing in the shadow of a dominant Washington, he argues, the states "were consistently major actors in American history" (p. 6). There was no "rise of the states" because there was no fall.

A contrarian case requires a robust central logic, and Teaford provides one. He concedes that the first three-fourths of that tumultuous century—featuring wars hot and cold, economic booms and busts, and rapid cultural change—might have been expected to favor the centralizing thrust within America's endless argument over national versus state primacy. But he identifies two factors that safeguarded the states' vital role. One factor is conventional (though no less valid for being conventional): the durable American aversion to strong national authority. The other factor is more complex, more novel, but (as Teaford explains it) entirely plausible. Efficiency, rationality, and "scientific management" were leitmotifs of the twentieth century from its start, and the states, Teaford argues, were better positioned than the fettered giant in Washington to partake of the experimental spirit of the age. He sees a steady ferment of pragmatic innovation at the state level, frequently obscured from view, but not stifled, by the noisy drama of national and global politics.

An uneven but widespread growth of professionalism in the state capitals, he suggests, was the public-sector counterpart of the Fordist transformation of private industry. "In the industrial era, state government needed to operate like an efficient machine, and rubes, party hacks, and part-time solons could not be trusted with the controls" (p. 11). Teaford traces this rationalizing impulse across a range of policy areas including governmental structure, business regulation, labor law, highway construction, and higher education. A curious omission concerns secondary schooling, which Teaford treats only briefly. The state-led expansion of high schools was among the most consequential public initiatives in the century's first half.

Teaford neither denies nor defends the rogues' gallery of scoundrels and incompetents that gave the states a racist or retrograde image for much of the century. Rather, he asserts such "malfeasance was the exception to the rule" (p. 208) and backs up the assertion with detailed, diverse examples of deft professionalism in policy design and implementation. Since he dismisses the common view of federal preeminence prior to 1975, Teaford's treatment of the late twentieth century is also perforce revisionist. What others hail (or denounce) as signs of a sea change in American federalism (the 1996 block-granting of welfare; a sequence of governors-turned-president; a series of Supreme Court judgments bolstering state

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sovereignty) he views as second-order details—interesting, to be sure, but just fragments of a dense historical tapestry. Indeed, contrarian to the end, Teaford's discussion of post-1980 federalism is mostly restricted to a six-page epilogue that emphasizes counter-arguments to the conventional wisdom of the states' late-century resurgence.

George Washington famously likened the U.S. Senate to a "saucer" for cooling the fervent certainties of policy debates through dispassionate deliberation. Historians can perform an analogous service for the social sciences and the popular press, each equally avid (though for different reasons) for vivid narratives that feature sharp plot reversals. The historian reminds us that reality is complicated, that change is usually incremental, that opposite trends often operate simultaneously, and that bold generalizations tend to be wrong. With this book, Teaford commendably serves a calming role for the caricature-prone conversation over the states' place within American governance.

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WALKER RUMBLE. *The Swifts: Printers in the Age of Typesetting Races*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 233. $30.00.

I still remember checking out a book from the children's library about John Henry, the steel-driving man. John Henry drove steel faster than the steam-powered railroad drill but then dropped dead from exhaustion. It did not occur to me then, as I held that book, that typesetters might once have staged their own heroic struggles against machines. Not that any man could best the typesetting machines that began to transform their work in the 1880s, but just as hand typesetting was beginning to disappear, the fastest of the typesetters, "the Swifts," took to racing against each other before crowds of shop floor comrades and fans from a curious public.

Walker Rumble documents the last hurrah of the faster typesetters. Although technologies of printing and paper making had changed a great deal since the days of Johannes Gutenberg, typesetting in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was still a task performed by men and women standing over cases filled with small pieces of metal. The fastest of the men worked for daily papers, setting lines and lines of tiny type, often working through the night. They worked long hours at a tedious task, drank hard, and died young from the occupational diseases likely to afflict those working with lead in poorly ventilated shops. But the best of the typesetters were skilled journeymen, proud of their craft, protective of their shop floor culture, and well organized as members of the International Typographical Union (ITU). Some highly skilled women worked as compositors, too, most of them for book printers. In the mid-1880s, a few women even managed to organize as a segregated women's affiliate within the ITU.

All this labor history is background to the strange stories of a series of remarkable typesetting races held in dime museums in the late 1870s and early 1880s. "Almost everyone has forgotten typesetting races" (p. 22), Rumble writes, and indeed few now recall George "The Velocipede" Arensberg, the fastest Swift of them all. According to Rumble, especially fast compositors like Arensberg became genuine working-class heroes who astounded their friends with feats of composition. It is hard to imagine fingers and arms moving over type cases with the speed and accuracy Arensberg and his friends achieved. But it is also hard to imagine audiences riveted by contests won by most lines set with the fewest typos and the best word breaks.

To explain the Swifts' exploits and the appeal of their performances, Rumble weaves together accounts of the broad social changes that transformed the cities and workplaces of the nineteenth century. He touches on the history of technology, tracing the uneven and unsteady developments of the typesetting machines that finally made the speed of the Swifts obsolete. He looks at the careers of women who seemed to threaten the positions of male typesetters, "feminizing" the workplace and setting type for lower wages. He describes the rise of popular urban entertainments, visiting the venues where racing typesetters performed alongside minstrel singers and animal acts. And he reminds us that something more than simple entertainment was behind "type racing." "When Arensberg became a famous Swift, he launched a quickly accelerating series of typesetting races that reinforced connections among speed, skill, and masculinity" (p. 63). Women and machines pushed the journeymen Swifts to set type faster and faster. They were fast typesetters, but being fast only meant they were extremely good at something that was quickly becoming entirely useless. Rumble's account ends with printing plants dominated by machines and hand typesetting confined to a small corner of the book world where artists, rather than artisans, dictated the look of a page, and beauty, not speed, was the mark of a great typesetter.

Rumble has a good, if eccentric, story, and he tells it well, without exaggerating the significance of type racing. He captures a moment lost in the headlong rush to mechanize the print shop and reminds us of the complex relations of work, gender, and technology in the printing industry. We catch a glimpse of women who developed skills without moving through an apprentice system. We see them setting type by hand and operating some of the early typesetting machines. But technology and gender played out differently when the messy Mergenthaler Linotype machine that cast a single line of type of molten lead finally solved the problems of mechanized composition. Linotype made the skills of the Swifts irrelevant, but the filthy machines also chased women from the print shop. This world, too, has taken on a glow of nostalgia, the

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machines now bested at their own game by our clean world of electronic type.

ANN FABIAN
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ROBERT P. SWIERENGA. *Dutch Chicago: A History of the Hollanders in the Windy City*. (The Historical Series of the Reformed Church in America, number 42.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2002. Pp. xx, 908. $49.00.

Robert P. Swierenga has researched and written an important book that contributes to the understanding of multicultural America. It is important for several reasons; as the author correctly writes in the introduction: "Chicago's Dutch have remained invisible people to historians and journalists for 150 years." Part of the reason is the Dutch immigrants were a " polyglot nation" wherein one-fourth of the migrants were Catholics, Jews, socialists, and Lutherans who intermarried and "Americanized rapidly" (p. xviii). Hollander culture survived best in the Reformed Church, but today that religious body accounts for only 23,000 members or ten percent of the quarter million Chicagoans of Dutch linked ancestry (p. xix).

This large book about the Hollanders in the Chicago metropolitan area covers in great detail the subjects of religious similarities and differences, culture, occupations, and socioeconomic adjustments as well as the differences in assimilation among religious denominations. The Reformed Church and the Christian Reformed Church were the largest groups, although, as Swierenga points out, there were also some Roman Catholics and Jews among the Dutch immigrants. (Among the Catholics was the founder of St. Ignatius College, which later became Loyola University.) The book offers a richly detailed history of the Reformed Church and the Christian Reformed Church, including where and when they were founded and their continuing role through the twentieth century. Religion played an important role in shaping Dutch-American occupations, culture, and urban behavior: Dutch-born immigrants and Dutch Americans had lower crime rates than those of any other race or ethnic group. For example, of the 20,000 Dutch Americans in the city of Chicago in 1908, "not more than 10 ever came in contact with the police," and of the 300 Chicago-area prisoners in the Joliet Penitentiary, "only one was of Dutch ancestry" (p. 495). The power of the church and the Christian Reformed schools showed in the continued low crime rates from 1915 to 1924.

Swierenga also assesses the role of religion in the assimilation and "Americanization" process. Christian Reformed church members and their parochial school attendees remained unassimilated for five to six generations (p. 40). By contrast, those in the Dutch Reformed Church attended public schools and assimilated more rapidly. The 1900 U.S. census reported that ninety-five percent of Dutch males above age fourteen and eighty-five percent of Dutch females could speak English. World War I also played a role in anglicizing immigrants; by 1922 the main Sunday morning Dutch church services were conducted in English, as was also the case with German Lutherans.

Church schools and colleges played a role developing high literacy rates for the Dutch immigrants and promoted a religious work ethic that helped to raise occupational levels. Many of the newcomers in the mid-nineteenth century were carpenters, cabinet makers, blacksmiths, farmers, and gardeners. Yet workers profited from economic development during the Civil War, as measured by the fact that the average value per Dutch household doubled between 1860 and 1870, when one half of the Dutch work force in Chicago was self-employed and only five percent worked in factories as laborers. Building contractors, teamsters, and skilled craftsmen were a large part of the work force as Chicago's population began to double nearly every decade, with resulting demand for new construction.

Hundreds of early Dutch immigrants in the nineteenth century were known for their ability to farm the swamplands and muck soils on the fringes of the city because of their experiences in high-water Holland. The book has several pictures of Dutch farms and their horse teams transporting agricultural and dairy products to downtown Chicago markets. Many were known as "truck farmers" who continued their businesses into the 1940s and 1950s and then moved to the western Great Plains states because of marketing problems. Many of the truck farmers and teamsters hauled food into town and hauled garbage out, some of it scrap food for hogs. The scavenger service increased greatly after 1905, when Chicago laws and ordinances made it unlawful for the public to dispose of waste into sewers, alleyways, and streets. Teamstering and waste removal would bring "Dutch economic prosperity" (p. 577), and by the 1930s the Dutch monopolized the waste hauling business in the Chicago metropolitan area. Peter Huizenga, a third-generation Dutch scavenger, would become the founder and leaders of the Waste Management company, "one of the largest waste disposal corporations in the world" (p. 631). The fact that the "Dutch prized cleanliness next to godliness; [whereby] everything inside and outside was kept spick-and-span" may have some value in explaining Dutch dominance of the sanitation and waste disposal business.

The book also covers Dutch political history, showing that they did not organize politically to run their own candidates for public office as did the Irish and Germans; urban political machine corruption and crime put off Dutch voters, who saw city politics as "dirty business" (p. 715). However, even though a majority of Dutch Americans were Republicans, they broke ranks with the GOP in 1912 to support a presidential candidate of Dutch ancestry, Theodore Roosevelt, who ran on a third-party Progressive ticket that year. Another prominent Hollander was physician Cornelia De Bey, who offered medical treatment to immigrants at Jane Addams's Hull House, helped push

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through a state law that made kindergarten a mandatory part of the public school curriculum, and in 1903 helped get the first child labor law passed in Illinois.

This book is filled with rich details on religion and ethnic identity, education, business, occupations, and Dutch movement to and from various parts of the city and metropolitan area. It is very well researched and readable. Both scholars and the general public will learn much about an important chapter in the nation's ethnic and immigrant history. Chicago's Dutch are no longer "an invisible people to historians and journalists."

MELVIN G. HOLLI
University of Illinois, Chicago

YOUNGSOO BAE. *Labor in Retreat: Class and Community among Men's Clothing Workers of Chicago, 1871–1929.* (SUNY series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 295. Cloth $78.50, paper $26.95.

To Progressive-era leftist and liberal social reformers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW) signaled the beginning of a new unionism more to their liking than the craft-oriented business unionism of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The Jewish and Italian socialists who led both organizations advocated industrial unionism as the way to undermine capitalism. Their members seemed to epitomize engaged, militant, and class-conscious proletarians. Yet by 1928, Selig Perlman argued that the even the ACW had become a business union that had "in practice turned its efforts not to fighting capitalism in its industry, but to securing a thorough-going job control."

Youngsoo Bae began his research on American needle trades unions inspired by militant Korean unions of the 1970s and 1980s. But he ended up essentially agreeing with Perlman about the ACW and perhaps the trajectory of Korean unions as well.

In this case study of the ACW in Chicago in the 1910s and 1920s (despite the title, little of the text goes back before 1910), Bae argues that clothing workers' militance depended on the confluence of two social forces: the ways a highly competitive and seasonal industry fostered intensely exploitative and arbitrary organization of work, and the ways tightly knit ethnic working-class neighborhoods fostered communalism. Social change undermined both sources of militance, however.

As large firms like Hart, Schaffner and Marx captured an increasing market share in the men's clothing industry, Bae argues, they found that unstable labor relations interfered with their capacity to meet contract deadlines, and intense competition threatened the profit margins they hoped to reap through economies of scale and reorganization of work processes. Such firms gradually worked out a labor relations system with the ACW that addressed these problems: minimum standards of working conditions and wages that undercut sweatshops and small firms who could not match them; arbitration of shop-floor conflicts that defused workplace class polarization; and preferential union hiring that turned union and company into labor market collaborators. Preferential union hiring stabilized union organization despite the unpredictable fluctuations of the industry, but it also fundamentally altered the relationship between union leaders, who now controlled access to the best-paying and most dependable jobs, and union members, for whom union membership increasingly represented a prerequisite for a good job rather than an ideological commitment.

These changes in the labor relations system coincided with changes in working-class communities that also undercut militance. As immigrant workers and their children acculturated and prospered, they moved out of the old, tightly packed ethnic tenements into row houses and single-family dwellings. As they did so, they entered a consumer culture that altered older forms of ethnic communalism. One indication of this cultural change, Bae analyzes effectively, was the transformation of ethnic burial and mutual insurance societies from organizations based on an obligation of moral responsibility for members of a community to organizations which jointly administered individual entitlements calculated on an actuarial basis. Bae uses this analysis of spatial diffusion and cultural change not only to explain why Chicago clothing workers became less militant but also to make the case for the importance of spatial analysis as a methodology. In an appendix, he provides a short review essay on theories of spatial analysis. I am not sure, however, that his book is the appropriate venue for that essay, which might have worked better as a journal article.

I found this analysis of Chicago's clothing workers thought-provoking and learned. Bae ably uses a wide range of secondary reading in U.S. labor history to supplement his methodical research. I do not know whether the story shows us that Perlman was right or that Korean unions will inevitably follow the ACW down the path to class collaboration, but this book will force readers to think about how and why unions change.

RICHARD OESTREICHER
University of Pittsburgh

JAMES B. LAGRAND. *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–75.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 284. $34.95.

On September 7, 2003, I had the opportunity to participate (however tangentally) in a celebration commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the American Indian Center of Chicago (this country's oldest, continually operating urban Indian organization). Accompanied by American Indian blues music, celebration goers could sample fry bread, watch hoop dancers, speak with representatives of educational and social

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service organizations, and mix with Indians and non-Indians from across the city and across the continent.

This celebration illustrates the central drama of James B. LaGrand's study of Chicago's American Indian community from World War II through expressions of self-determination during the 1970s. LaGrand sets out to describe the origins and development of Chicago's American Indian community, factors contributing to its growth and stability, and evolving and complex relationships between urban dwellers and reservation relatives. But more than that, LaGrand is interested in what it *means* to be urbanite and Indian, and he suggests that his book be understood as an exploration of the "important and symbiotic relationship between Indian urbanization and concepts of Indian identity" (p. 2).

From the early years of the twentieth century, geography and federal Indian policies made Chicago an attractive location for many American Indians, including the physician and political activist Carlos Montezuma, and important community organizations, notably the Grand Council Fire of American Indians (f. 1923, renamed the Indian Council Fire in 1933). Even so, it was not until World War II that the city's Native American population really took off. Attracted by jobs and military service, Indians from the Midwest to the Great Plains migrated to Chicago, where they formed the backbone of an urban community whose numbers swelled following implementation of the Indian Bureau's controversial (and now largely reviled) "relocation" program.

Like many policy initiatives, relocation combined hostility to Indian political and cultural sovereignty with high-minded appeals to justice (defined in assimilationist terms) but produced more complex outcomes. In Chicago as in other urban centers, Native American "relocatees" struggled to find their moorings. Unaccustomed to the pace and demands of city life, often lacking marketable skills, betrayed by an Indian office that promised a better life but failed to offer much in the way of assistance, urban Indians sought support from those in like circumstances. It is here, LaGrand argues, that one detects not only the origins of Chicago's Indian Native community, but the genesis of an urban Indian identity, that, while not divorced from reservation home and culture, was more generic, more "pan-Indian" than tribal-centric.

At the center of these activities lay community organizations, which LeGrand identifies as this community's lifeblood. Although the American Indian Center of Chicago (AIC), founded in 1953, rightly occupies a particularly prominent place in this study, the author devotes considerable attention to the many others that functioned as employment clearinghouses, cultural centers, educational services, and conduits between city and reservation. From the AIC to the Chicago Indian Village, and including Father Peter J. Powell's St. Augustine's Center for American Indians, the politically conservative Urban Indian Development Association, and Native American Educational Services (NAES) College, the nation's only private, degree-granting, Indian-controlled institution of higher education, LaGrand's Native Chicago is one defined by organizations, rather than a distinct neighborhood, a fact that sets Indian Chicago apart from the city's other ethnic neighborhoods.

This book is at its very best when documenting the fascinating histories of these organizations and their significance for an understanding of the historical and contemporary experiences of the more than fifty percent of American Indians who live away from the reservation. But although LaGrand makes clear his intention to write a social history of Native Chicago, and not one defined by theories and theorizing, he undermines this purpose by repeatedly invoking the concept of "Indian identity" without engaging the rich literature on the subject. "Indian identity," in Chicago and elsewhere, is a rather complex phenomenon. For a useful contrast, readers may want to consult Rachel Buff's *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home* (2001), which deals effectively with questions of Indian identity in an urban setting. Having said that, LaGrand's study remains an important contribution and should be useful for specialists and in some undergraduate seminars.

BRIAN HOSMER
University of Illinois, Chicago

PATRICK J. CARROLL. *Felix Longoria's Wake: Bereavement, Racism, and the Rise of Mexican American Activism*. Foreword by JOSÉ E. LIMÓN. (History, Culture, and Society Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 270. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

The case of Felix Longoria is familiar to most people conversant in Mexican-American history. Longoria, a native *tejano*, was born in 1919 and grew up in Three Rivers, a small south Texas town situated at the confluence of the Atascosa, Fria, and Nueces rivers about eighty miles upstream from Corpus Christi. Longoria led a largely uneventful life until he decided to volunteer for service in the U.S. Army in late 1944 (despite the forebodings of friends and family), in what turned out to be the last months of World War II. After six weeks of basic training, Longoria was shipped off to the combat zone in the Philippines. In June 1945, while on patrol on the island of Luzon, Private Longoria was shot and killed by a Japanese sniper. Of course, in all of this, Longoria's tragic experience was not much different than that of the thousands of other American soldiers who lost their lives abroad. But what occurred to Longoria's remains after the war ensured that he would become much more famous after his death than he had ever been while alive. In this arresting study, Patrick J. Carroll follows the sad tale of the long journey of Longoria's body from the Philippines back to south Texas.

Although surviving family and friends had started to pull their lives together after Private Longoria's de-

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mise, when word came from the army in late 1948 that Longoria's remains had been located in the Philippines and would be returned to Three Rivers, his widow, Beatrice, hastened to make appropriate arrangements at the town's only funeral home. But after consulting with the mortuary's owners, Mrs. Longoria was told to make other arrangements, because, as the town's undertaker put it, local "white [people] would not like it" (p. 56). While this kind of discrimination was not at all uncommon in Texas at the time (the town's cemetery actually had a fence dividing the "Mexican" from the "American" sections), the mortician's refusal to allow a wake for a decorated American soldier set off an international incident and a storm of protest in the Mexican-American community that eventually involved the local populace, Mexican government officials, the American G.I. Forum (a newly established Mexican-American civil rights organization), and Texas's junior U.S. senator, Lyndon B. Johnson. When all was said and done, Longoria was finally laid to rest not in his birthplace along the Nueces, but in a quiet place of honor along the Potomac at Arlington National Cemetery.

Carroll skillfully unravels this complex tale, exploring the intricate ways in which the dispute over Longoria's wake combined with the exigencies of time and place to act as an agent of social change in South Texas. In some ways echoing the complex plot line traced by Natalie Zemon Davis in *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1984), Carroll uses the controversy as a focal point to explore the ways this act of racial violence after death not only galvanized Mexican-American protest and activism, but also helped to expose both the obvious and the subtle workings of apartheid in the United States at mid-century. Using a compelling organizational style to move the analysis backward and forward in time, the author provides historical context to the event and new insight into the ways the Longoria affair served to revivify one form of Mexican-American activism during this critical period—and how Mexican Americans' subsequent political aggressiveness finally forced at least some "mainstream" politicians (like Johnson) to respond to their civil rights concerns.

To his credit, Carroll also tackles some of the more difficult dimensions of the politics of the Longoria affair, particularly the question of Mexican-American service and loyalty to the American nation in the face of crippling, ongoing, domestic violence and discrimination against them. While the author recognizes that Longoria's decision to enlist, and his supporters' subsequent insistence on being afforded the dignity due American citizens, were both important and freighted decisions in themselves, he also acknowledges that this was but one point of view among ethnic Mexicans in Jim Crow Texas. That some Mexican Americans and settlers from Mexico disagreed and were impatient with such stances—and grew increasingly so over time—is both acknowledged and addressed in this balanced study. In an era in which Mexican Americans and other Latinos are currently making similar sacrifices, and debates over the posthumous awarding of U.S. citizenship to Latino and other non-citizen soldiers are becoming all too common occurrences, Carroll's timely study offers much food for thought and reflection on these and other issues.

David G. Gutierrez
University of California, San Diego

Dana L. Robert. *Occupy Until I Come: A. T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World.* (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2003. Pp. ix, 322. $32.00.

The nineteenth century is remembered as the great age of evangelical Protestantism in the United States. An enthusiasm for missions is usually assumed to have been an integral part of this evangelical ethos, but, as Dana L. Robert points out in her biography of Arthur Tappan Pierson, the passion for foreign missions came rather late in the century. According to Robert, prior to 1870, there had been only about two thousand missionaries from the United States in the field, roughly ten percent of whom had engaged in work among Native Americans. The great age of foreign missions actually began in the 1880s and accelerated into the twentieth century. Robert contends that an important catalyst for the propagation of foreign missions was the work of Pierson.

Pierson, named for the controversial abolitionist Arthur Tappan, was born in New York City, in 1837. His father was an employee and friend of Tappan, and both his parents were thoroughly immersed in the evangelical reform tradition of the pre-Civil War urban North. After graduating from Hamilton College in the "burnt-over district" of central New York, Pierson entered Union Theological Seminary just as the revival of the late 1850s was beginning to sweep urban America. His theological training and the revival deepened Pierson's commitment to Christian work. After graduating from Union, he accepted the pastorate of the First Congregational Church in Binghamton, New York. Over the next thirty years, he ministered to Presbyterian congregations in Waterford (New York), Detroit, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia. In 1889, he left Bethany Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia, to devote himself to the promotion of mission work, a cause that had consumed an increasingly large part of his time even as he pastored congregations in the Midwest and Northeast in the 1870s and 1880s.

Pierson was a prolific writer, producing more than fifty books as well as hundreds of articles and sermons. In addition, in 1887, he became coeditor of the *Missionary Review of the World*, an important vehicle for the advocacy of and reporting on mission work. His published writings, along with extant correspondence and journal entries, provide much source material not only for Robert's discussion of his advocacy of missions but also for her analysis of Pierson's journey

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from an optimistic, mid-nineteenth-century evangelical postmillennialist to a pessimistic, late nineteenth-century holiness, dispensational premillennialist. The story of his pilgrimage was not unique. Contemporary American and British Protestants were wrestling with the question of the relevance of their faith in a world altered by industrialization, urbanization, immigration, secularization, materialism, and shifting paradigms, resulting from the new intellectual currents running through much of the Western world. American Christians' responses ranged along a broad spectrum, from that of those who sought to embrace and Christianize modernity, to that of those who accepted material progress but rejected the cultural and intellectual changes that were its corollaries.

Pierson did not wholly eschew the modern world, but ultimately rejected the notion that it was in any way a harbinger of the millennium. Over time, he became convinced that the Kingdom of God would come only after Christ's return. Evangelicals must prepare the way for the Lord by preaching the Gospel to every nation. The world would not be converted, but believers would be gathered together in preparation for the Second Coming. To achieve the goal of evangelization, Pierson not only promoted denominational mission work but also encouraged ecumenical and parachurch efforts, such as the Student Volunteer and "faith missions" movements. He sometimes found himself the center of controversy, as when he advocated sending women and laity to the foreign mission field as a means of propagating the Gospel more quickly, but he was well known and widely respected in conservative evangelical circles in both the United States and Britain as a biblical scholar, a champion of ecumenism, an apostle of Keswick holiness, and a proponent of missions.

After his death in 1911, Pierson slipped into relative obscurity. Robert's biography is a commendable effort to recover his role in the world of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Anglo-American evangelical thought and practice. The book is uncritical and, because of its intentional orientation toward Pierson's public rather than private life, leaves the reader wondering about the personal and psychological dynamics that underlay the several spiritual crises that represented turning points in his career. Nevertheless, Robert presents a readable and persuasive case for Pierson's significance as not only an apostle of missions but one of the fathers of twentieth-century fundamentalist theology.

ROBERT F. MARTIN
University of Northern Iowa

EDWARD T. BRETT. *The U.S. Catholic Press on Central America: From Cold War Anticommunism to Social Justice*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 265. Cloth $45.00, paper $22.00.

American Catholic opinion toward U.S. policy in Central America changed dramatically in the 1960s. Where most North American Catholics supported the overthrow of leftist regimes such as that of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in Guatemala in 1954, little more than a decade later mainstream Catholic publications described him as a reformer and a victim of American aggression.

Edward T. Brett traces the evolution of U.S. Catholic views on Central America as reflected in a representative sample of publications, from the liberal (*Commonweal*, *National Catholic Reporter*, to the centrist (*America*, *Our Sunday Visitor*) to the conservative (*Crisis*) to denizens of the farthest reaches of the right (*The Wanderer*). In the 1950s, a reflexive anticommunist consensus wedded the Catholic press to a largely uncritical embrace of American meddling in Central American nations, with only occasional dissent registered in the pages of *Commonweal* or, less predictably, the *Sign*, a monthly magazine published by the Passionists. The anticommunism promoted in these periodicals was in tune with Catholic attitudes, which in turn differed little from those found in the broader political culture.

Beginning in the early 1960s, however, developments within Central America as well as the worldwide church found Catholics on the leading edge of fundamental changes in worldview concerning U.S. involvement in the region. Facing a shortage of priests and religious and concerned with both communist and Protestant evangelization, Central American bishops turned to the U.S. church for trained personnel. In 1961, a representative of Pope John XXIII urged American religious orders and congregations to send ten percent of their staffs to Latin America in the coming decade. While that figure was never achieved, a large number of North Americans became eyewitnesses to the brutal repression of the poor and the elimination of critics of various regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Many of these missionaries doubled as journalists for U.S. Catholic publications at a time when the secular press largely ignored the region. The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) and especially the council's final document, *Gaudium et Spes*, dramatically reoriented the church's response to claims of oppressed peoples throughout the world. Within months of the council's adjournment, missionaries in Central America began to view ruling oligarchs, not leftist insurgents, as the root of social sin. The unveiling of a "theology of liberation" at a 1968 conference in Medellin, Colombia, was another landmark event whose significance, writes Brett, "cannot be overestimated" (p. 45).

By 1980, a year that saw four American churchwomen murdered by members of the U.S.-backed Salvadoran military, the mainstream American Catholic press collectively "called on its readers to join grassroots religious-based organizations dedicated to convincing the public that U.S. foreign policy was immoral and therefore needed to be changed" (p. 82) Brett shows that this goal was relatively easy to achieve with respect to El Salvador and Guatemala, where the

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local church encouraged reform, but more difficult in Nicaragua, where the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) clashed with Cardinal Miguel y Bravo Obando and other prominent clerics. Yet American Catholic journalists remained generally supportive of the Sandinistas until 1985, when a more even-handed approach to human rights abuses on all sides began to prevail. During this entire volatile period the conservative Catholic press, so influential on other topics, found its credibility on Central American issues undermined because its coverage was "almost identical to mainline Catholic press" treatment of the region in the 1950s, a stance long discredited by official church bodies including the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (p. 156).

While this is not the detailed history of American Catholic engagement with recent Central American political and religious life that is sorely needed, Brett provides useful background on the region's transformation since 1945. A survey of journalistic dispatches from Central America and editorial comment provides a significant if limited perspective on the dramatic change in North American Catholic attitudes. And this is indeed a broad survey. An entire book might be written, for example, on the implications of Ivan Illich's essay, "The Seamy Side of Charity," published in 1968 in the Jesuit weekly *America*. Illich sought through "shock techniques" to disarm North Americans of their paternalistic views of Latin American culture. Brett might have applied Illich's critique to journalists whose perspectives changed so quickly in the 1960s and 1970s that they rarely were able to examine enduring assumptions about the role of religion in movements for social change. They did, however, offer highly meaningful eyewitness testimony from Central America, of which numerous samples are presented in this valuable book.

JAMES T. FISHER
Fordham University

BRYAN F. LEBEAU. *The Atheist: Madalyn Murray O'Hair*. New York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 387. $29.95.

When people stop believing in God, G. K. Chesterton once said, the problem is not that they will believe in nothing but rather that they will believe in anything. Madalyn Murray O'Hair would have scoffed at that remark, but Bryan F. LeBeau's serviceable biography of America's most prominent atheist arguably confirms the truth of Chesterton's assertion. Besides providing a case study in the history of American unbelief, LeBeau demonstrates—rather despite himself—that belief in one's self can be the grandest and saddest of illusions.

Apart from James Turner's *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America* (1985), historians have pretty much ignored American unbelief. Eager to provide O'Hair with a respectable pedigree, LeBeau traces that history from the "free thought" of Ethan Allen and Thomas Paine, to the classic Victorian atheism of Robert Ingersoll and Felix Adler, to the "secular humanism" of Corliss Lamont, Paul Kurtz, and the American Humanist Association.

Never popular in the West's most religious nation, American atheists were a proud but marginalized crowd, and as hair splitting and fractious as religious sects. ("Windbags and blowhards" was O'Hair's summary description.) O'Hair entered this maelstrom after a hard and desultory life. Drawing liberally and well upon diaries she kept throughout the 1950s, LeBeau examines her itinerant and religiously indifferent upbringing; her difficulties with men and employers, not a few of which stemmed from her famously irascible personality; and the bitterness she felt at the tenuousness and shabbiness of her circumstances as a single mother of two sons. (LeBeau is wisely nuanced in attributing her atheism to these hardships.)

In considerable (and often unnecessary) detail, LeBeau follows O'Hair through the triumphs and tribulations of her godless evangelism. Her notoriety began with the *Murray v. Curlett* (1963) Supreme Court decision that banned Bible reading and prayer in public schools. She enjoyed her raucous heyday in the 1960s as the country's celebrity atheist, whose pamphlets, books, and television appearances made her "the most hated woman in America." In the 1970s and 1980s she engaged in unedifying roadshow "debates" with a hair-sprayed evangelist straight out of central casting, and witnessed the conversion of her oldest son to Protestant fundamentalism. In the last decade of her life, she endured not only obscurity but financial distress and fiscal chicanery in her organization, American Atheists, which culminated in her 1995 murder (along with her youngest son and granddaughter) by her former office manager.

The manifest strength of this biography is LeBeau's vivid rendition of O'Hair's abrasive manner. A perfectly mediagenic unbeliever, O'Hair was unafraid to insult opponents and seize the limelight. Yet while O'Hair's life was undoubtedly colorful and turbulent, LeBeau seems unsure about her lasting significance. He lavishes inordinate space on O'Hair's "positions" on a wide range of issues, when it seems clear to this reader that her high-decibel invective obscured an utterly banal and lightweight intellect. If O'Hair's career demonstrates anything, it would be that, defanged and assimilated into the culture of celebrity, even atheism can become a bore.

While LeBeau's exposition is lucid, the book suffers occasionally from slipshod editing (O'Hair "illicited [*sic*] hate and fear") and from a small number of howlers ("there was little fundamentally new about American culture in the Cold War era"). Still, LeBeau offers an informative and melancholy portrait of self-promotion and folly.

EUGENE MCCARRAHER
Villanova University

RICHARD L. PACELLE, JR. *Between Law and Politics: The Solicitor General and the Structuring of Race, Gender,*

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and Reproductive Rights Litigation. (The Presidency and Leadership, number 14.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 342. $50.00.

Political scientist Richard L. Pacelle, Jr., brings overdue attention to the office of solicitor general in this engaging, well-researched book. The solicitor general's basic duties, Pacelle reminds us, are important for American legal development. These include full control over deciding which of the cases the government lost in the federal courts will be appealed, and the provision of amicus curiae briefs in others. The Office of the Solicitor General (OSG) is given great respect by the Supreme Court; its amicus briefs carry greater weight than those from other sources, and the Court sometimes asks for guidance from the OSG.

Pacelle does not attempt to adjudicate between different theoretical traditions and/or test hypotheses about the phenomenon in question. Instead, he simply announces that he will adopt a "new institutionalist" approach (p. 13), which he uses as an interpretive framework for understanding the OSG. This means that he treats seriously the ways that formal and informal rules constrain and enable strategic actors within the OSG. Pacelle uses quantitative methods where the data consist of OSG briefs in order to extrapolate trends, and also interviews with an impressive array of former solicitors general and staff members. These interviews show how the OSG approached its institutional position and strategy making. Pacelle was able to obtain interviews with former solicitors general Robert Bork, Archibald Cox, Drew Days, and Kenneth Starr.

Pacelle's primary argument seems to be a descriptive mapping of the OSG's delicate position "between law and politics." This mapping forms the bulk of part one of the book. The OSG is political because the solicitor general is appointed by the president (confirmed by the Senate) and answerable to the president. The president expects the OSG to formulate the administration's agenda in arguments to the Supreme Court. If the president does not like the solicitor general's performance, the president can bring in a replacement. But the OSG is also legal, and thus expected to be in some sense "above" politics. The Supreme Court relies on the office to shape its docket to help stabilize doctrinal development.

The OSG's strategy, Pacelle argues, is constrained by legislation, judicial doctrine, precedent, and deference to administrative agencies. All the while, the OSG balances its legal duties before the Court and the agenda of the White House. Pacelle elaborates on this by outlining solicitor general goals, both personal (e.g. maintain position, "preserve future employment opportunities," win a place in the history books) and institutional (e.g. "maintain office independence," "protect Supreme Court," "maintain relations with agency") (p. 14). Pacelle also provides an interesting framework for understanding varying OSG roles, which include that of "Tenth Justice" when the United States is a party in a case, "Attorney General" when supplying an amicus brief, and "Fifth Clerk" when invited to participate (p. 20).

Part two of the book examines race litigation in the 1945–2000 period. This part consists of three chapters, each corresponding to different phases. These include a "litigation" phase, from 1945 to 1963, where the OSG acted without Congress's assistance. The next phase was one of "administration," from 1964 to 1980, where Congress and the president aided the struggle for civil rights. Finally, from 1981 to 2000, the OSG was in a "redefinition" phase, where the issues were focused on the meaning of civil rights and some rollback of the federal involvement. Cases include school desegregation, public accommodation, employment, and voting. Part three, equally engaging but less cleanly organized, examines gender and reproductive rights, with chapters devoted to their emergence (Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, and Jimmy Carter's administrations) and their redefinition (Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush). This part examines constitutional rights to equal protection and privacy and statutory rights in employment and equality in education.

The quantitative evidence serves to confirm that the OSG in Democratic administrations overwhelmingly supported rights claimants while Republican OSGs were split in their support. The interview evidence traces the strategic decisions of OSG actors. These interviewees emphasize the drama, righteousness, and importance of their various roles and decisions. These sometimes very illustrative quotations are much more prevalent in parts one and two than in part three. Sometimes sounding self-serving, the insider accounts are also often fascinating, especially as the issues enter "redefinition" phases. For example, Pacelle can recount conflicts between conservative appointees, who viewed staff members as "instransigent holdovers," while those same careerists viewed appointees as "social revolutionaries with no regard for the law" (p. 148).

The story sometimes drags a bit when Pacelle is simply recounting the OSG's arguments and the Supreme Court's responses. This clearly written and informative book's greatest contributions may be its explication of the OSG's working in the latter half of the twentieth century, which should interest historians studying any legal issues, and its insights into the "black box" of the state during a tumultuous period of rights development and retrenchment.

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MIRACLE. Produced by Mark Ciardi and Gordon Gray. Directed by Gavin O'Connor. Written by Eric Guggenheim. 2004; color; 135 minutes. Distributed by Walt Disney Pictures.

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On February 22, 1980, a young American ice hockey team stunned the Winter Olympics and the world with an upset victory over the heavily favored Soviets en route to a gold medal. As the last seconds ticked off the clock, television announcer Al Michaels shrieked gleefully: "Do you believe in miracles? Yes!" The upset now looms large in American sporting culture. Thousands of web sites link to the phrase "Miracle on Ice": everything from e-stores selling autographed pucks, to "eyewitness" accounts (the number must now be at least five times the capacity of the Lake Placid Olympic Rink), to multiple eulogies for team coach Herb Brooks, who died in a car crash in August 2003.

With this feature film Disney joins a long line of those hoping to cash in on Miracle-mania. *The New York Times* sports staff set a publishing record with a compilation of stories, *Miracle on Ice*, that appeared on store shelves within weeks of the victory (March 1980). *Sports Illustrated* anointed the team's members as "Sportsmen of the Year." Journalist Tim Wendel followed with a solid insider's account, *Going for the Gold*. In 1981, Karl Malden starred in a made-for-tv movie, *Miracle on Ice*. In 1984, Boston Globe writer John Powers co-authored *One Goal: A Chronicle of the 1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team* with Arthur Kaminsky, a well-known agent who represented many of the players as they turned pro.

And then the memory faded somewhat until 2000, when ESPN rated the event the "greatest game of the century." A year later, HBO ran "Do You Believe in Miracles?" produced by Ross Greenburg, who also is an executive producer of the Disney feature. Even a casual glance at this 2001 documentary suggests that it was the basis for the latest dramatic version of the saga.

Two themes make this story so gripping. The first is social and political, and it is featured in the only (at least to my knowledge) scholarly article on the subject: Craig Nickerson's "Red Dawn at Lake Placid," *International Journal of History of Sport* (May 1995). The games occurred in a winter of great discontent. Long gas lines and high inflation had triggered a national "malaise" that tortured President Jimmy Carter. The Iranian hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan would bury him. And yet for a short, splendid moment, Americans felt strong and mighty on the backs of a few heroes and their feisty coach, who answered Carter's locker room phone call with: "it's a great win for the American people, sir . . . Just shows that our way of life is the way to carry on."

The second theme is a simple David and Goliath narrative. The Americans were college kids, "real" amateurs representing a country whose international hockey fortunes had been generally dismal since another gold medal upset in 1960. The Soviets were a "big-red machine," stocked with "state" amateurs, who trained year round as hockey players, who had relentlessly romped to world and Olympic championships, and who had even embarrassed Canada's best professional players.

Disney has chosen to focus on the team-building story, leaving symbolic victory in the background—a montage of news clips, a scene in a long gas lines. The film takes the viewer inside a miraculous coaching performance. In only seven months, Brooks transformed a collection of college players, representing bitter rivals, into a unified team that played a style of hockey fundamentally different from what any of the players had known before: the weaving, puck-control game so clearly associated with the Soviets. In short, he beat the Soviets at their own game.

By all accounts, actor Kurt Russell gives a masterful performance, capturing Brooks's intensity and his manipulation of player psyches. The practice and game scenes are staged with real players who graphically convey the speed and skill of high-level hockey performance. At the same time, the movie contains some major distortions of the record. The first, and worst, involves the national tryout in July 1979. Brooks's biggest problem was overcoming regional hostility between eastern and western college programs, the feeders to Olympic teams. Brooks carefully and skillfully employed coaches from both groups to help him select the team. The movie, however, depicts him summarily dismissing the selection process on the first day of the national camp. The film fabricates a fight between a player from Boston and one from Minnesota. There are other fictions used to dramatize the transformation of player allegiance from regional alma mater to national team.

Miracle also appeals to the sense that we will never see such pure "amateurs" again. In the last two decades, the Olympics have opened the doors to professionals, the Dream Teams of highly paid and highly pampered stars from the National Hockey League or the National Basketball Association. Unfortunately, the members of Brooks's team were not pure amateurs. As Wendel noted in his book, they were each paid $7,200, roughly $1,000 per month, enough to keep them from accepting minor league contracts.

For all its minor flaws, however, *Miracle* is truer to the past than many accounts that inflate the symbolic importance of the victory. The team and the game had little impact on world or domestic affairs. Carter lost the presidential election despite basking in the team's glow at a White House ceremony. The Ayatollah Khomeini ruled for years, inflation was cured only by draconian interest rates, and the mujahideen took a long time to drive the Soviets from Afghanistan. They didn't use hockey sticks.

Miracle has nonetheless released the symbolic genie from the bottle. As a Google search will demonstrate, people want a more redeeming past than a story of team-building. Collective memory is a funny thing. It ebbs and flows, twists and turns, seems to dry up, then suddenly bursts back to life—not unlike the action in a tightly played hockey game—sometimes just like a miracle.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

SELWYN R. CUDJOE. *Beyond Boundaries: The Intellectual Tradition of Trinidad and Tobago in the Nineteenth Century*. Wellesley, Mass.: Calaloux Publications; distributed by University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst. 2003. Pp. xi, 393. Cloth $70.00, paper $19.95.

Trinidad and Tobago are islands, the emerged peaks of a mountain system that runs out into the Caribbean from Venezuela. Together they make up the nation-state Trinidad and Tobago, which achieved independence from Britain in 1962. They were first amalgamated, for imperial fiscal simplicity, in 1889, and united as a single colony in 1899. Earlier, Tobago had been tossed between European nations until finally falling into British hands in 1802. Britain took Trinidad from the Spanish in 1797. For almost the whole of the nineteenth century, then, Trinidad and Tobago were separate British colonies, with distinct identities and trajectories. Tobago was the smaller, poorer place. They were joined together without much enthusiasm.

Although Selwyn R. Cudjoe finds his focus in the metaphor of the boundary, he does not outline this political history. Rather, he plunges straight into the murky waters of the intellectual histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, calling up those grand figures of the literary tradition, V. S. Naipaul and C. L. R. James. It is the latter's wonderful *Beyond a Boundary* (1963), using cricket as its intellectual starting point, that provides the inspiration for Cudjoe's title. As he rightly argues, it is often thought that the literary tradition of the West Indies had its beginnings in the twentieth century. It is equally common to argue that what went before was not prologue but simply a void in the landscape of the plantation world. Naipaul, in particular, has promoted this interpretation. Cudjoe's mission is to rescue from oblivion the writers of the nineteenth century. He sees his book as "an act of solidarity" with these precursors and "expresses a profound respect for the faith they showed in their society" (p. 6). It is his aim to reveal the richness of the literary and intellectual work they performed.

The broad objective is achieved. Cudjoe shows that, throughout the nineteenth century, there were people living in the islands who crafted substantial and significant works of literary expression. In order to demonstrate his argument, however, Cudjoe casts his net wide, understanding literature as part of the broad stream of ideas. Introductions are provided to accounts of trials and political pamphlets, poetry and histories, geographies and descriptive literature. Cudjoe sees the publication in 1838 of E. L. Joseph's *Warner Arundell* (reissued in an excellent new edition in 2001 by the University of the West Indies Press) as the beginning of the period when "the building blocks of the society's literary heritage were put in place" (p. 117).

The boundaries are pushed somewhat arbitrarily by including as literature the social letter writing of the leisured classes while ignoring the correspondence of commerce that was often equally flowery. Cudjoe also provides parallel discussions of the verbal and the pictorial, as in Richard Bridgens's *West India Scenery* (1837) and Michel Cazabon's *Views of Trinidad* (1851), opening up perspectives on the visual imagination that invite further exploration. Equally interesting is the way Cudjoe links the oral and the written, particularly in his analysis of the wordiness of Carnival which found its way into the documentary record and provides an abiding memory of the sound of the creole language as calypso.

The historical context supplied by Cudjoe is not always adequate. Readers learn little about demographic, social, and economic change. Similarly, historians may find his analysis of debates somewhat outdated, as for example in his discussion of differences between the severity of the slavery practiced by the English and the Spanish. His main objective is always to ask the literary questions, and it is in this way that he sees the works he studies.

Cudjoe introduces the reader to many substantial and attractive individuals and many little-known literary works. All of them seem to have been concerned with Trinidad, however, and Tobago hardly appears. This is odd, not simply because it makes Cudjoe's title an anachronism but because it upsets his claim "to demonstrate how all the writers are associated with and contributed toward a collective enterprise called Trinidad and Tobago literary and intellectual thought" (pp. 2–3). Initially, he talks consistently of "Trinidad and Tobago" and makes much of the concept of the "Trinbagonian writer," but this is soon forgotten. By ignoring the differences between the two islands, he misses an opportunity to explore the contexts that were capable of supporting literary cultures and the important comparative questions that arise. Whether Tobago can be shown to share even part of the nineteenth-century literary culture developed by Trinidad seems unlikely. For the moment, its status as appendage remains secure.

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DAVID A. LUPHER. *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America*. (History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. vi, 440. $59.50.

This monumental work by a student of Greek drama about sixteenth-century (mostly) Iberian scholars' comparisons of the ancient Romans and their victims to the Spanish conquistadores and theirs begs for superlatives. It is sprawling and sweeping, yet disciplined and consequential, elegantly written and enormously erudite, but approachable and relevant. David A. Lupher's thrust is clear. He means to portray these past scholars' often negative views about the impact of Spain on American cultures by comparing that impact to what the Roman conquest had done to Iberia's own

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pre-Latin culture a millennium and a half earlier. Thus Lupher's work is ultimately as much about an emerging Spanish identity in Europe as it is about the creation of America's own native and creole identities.

In the first of six rich chapters, the author follows the emergence of the notion that the Spaniards were in fact greater warriors than the Romans, if for no other reason than that Spanish military victories were accomplished at such a greater remove from their homeland. Next comes an introduction to the famous "controversy of the Indies" as it developed after 1535 in the classrooms of Salamanca and Alcalá. This is followed by a study of the "Roman model" as it was employed in the famous debates between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda at Valladolid in 1550–1551, which addressed the question of whether native Americans were natural slaves or not (a query which, if answered in the negative, brought into question the justice and legitimacy of the Spanish conquests). Chapter four examines the same controversy as it developed outside the universities in the immediate wake of Valladolid. In chapter five, Lupher provides the documentation these scholars used to describe the "horrors" of the ancient Roman imperial occupation of Iberia. Scholars did this, Lupher says, to make Iberian readers commiserate with the sufferings of the Amerindians at the hands of their own countrymen. Finally, the author lays out the often startling evidence presented by his sources for the claim that, all in all, the achievements of American civilizations were comparable or even superior to those of the ancient Romans.

Before he passes in review relevant works of the several authors who addressed these questions, Lupher with due care first engages in source criticism of their works, determining the date of each and whether it was published or remained unpublished at the time, as well as providing the historiographical background to each authorial claim. As a result, questions of mutual influences are authoritatively addressed. These sources begin with Francisco de Vitoria, whose pro-Roman views became the butt of attacks by his students, among whom were Domingo de Soto, Alonso de Vera Cruz, and Melchor Cano. Also important to Lupher's account are conquest eyewitnesses like Bernal Díaz del Castillo and especially the historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, upon whose intellectual and observational stature Lupher rightly insists. But before all, it is the genius, innovational curiosity and intellectual tenacity and ruthlessness of Las Casas that most shines through the author's various analyses. It comes as no great surprise that this towering figure in sixteenth-century history ridiculed the "superstition" of Roman religion, but the great Dominican was also capable of explaining, if not fully defending, something as "unnatural" as Aztec human sacrifice—not just because the Romans (and Spaniards) had also practiced it, but because human sacrifice was so eminently "rational" an offering for all these peoples to make to their Gods. See Abraham and Isaac.

It must be said that readers will find limited social analysis in this work, which only compares "Spaniards" to "Natives" and Romans. Nor could the author find much evidence that, apart from mere slogans, the "Roman model" discourse involved anyone but scholars. However, Lupher does highlight courageous comparisons, especially by Las Casas, between the native and Catholic religions, although he rightly recognized that Protestant polemicists led the way in criticizing the Roman church. Finally, reading this work often evokes several other discourses in European history of this age. One thinks of the Baron Thesis, regarding the Florentine debate of the early fifteenth century over whether empire or republicanism (Caesar or Brutus) was the superior model of governance; the Fast Sermons in England during the 1640s, in which preachers cited the tales of the Old Testament prophets to legitimate the actions of the Parliament; Giorgio Vasari's assertion that his artists had surpassed the ancients; and, perhaps most relevant, the debates between sixteenth-century Frenchmen about the comparability of "Brazilian" to French cannibalism and human sacrifice during the Wars of Religion. Lupher has hastened the day when this age's comparative modeling across space and disciplines can be assayed.

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LAURA A. LEWIS. *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 262. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

The "hall of mirrors" in Laura A. Lewis's title refers to an inversion of Mexico's colonial caste hierarchy within the domain of witchcraft, a realm of unsanctioned, supernatural, Indian-associated power that mirrored the sanctioned political and juridical power of the Spanish elite. Lewis focuses in particular on the roles of blacks, mulattoes, and mestizos as mediators between the social poles of Spaniard and Indian in both the sanctioned and the unsanctioned domains. She uses case records from the Mexican Inquisition as her principal window into the unsanctioned domain; although Indians were exempt from prosecution, they were frequently involved as suppliers, mentors, collaborators, or bewitchers of plaintiffs or defendants.

Sanctioned Spanish power simultaneously exploited Indians, through various mechanisms including tribute demands, forced labor, usurpation of political offices, rape, and property destruction, and offered them, through a reasonably effective and respected judicial system, some protection from its own excesses. Spaniards typically deployed these exploitative mechanisms indirectly through mestizo, mulatto, or black (slave or free) middlemen; these intermediary castes gained social legitimacy and authority by pursuing alliances of kinship and patronage with Spaniards. The bellicose

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nature ascribed to persons of African descent made them seem especially well suited to the role of enforcer, while the passive, feminized nature ascribed to Indians cast them as helpless victims. When Indians litigated against their ill treatment, as they frequently did, the non-Spanish middlemen were the immediate targets of their complaints, while Spaniards were somewhat shielded from prosecution.

Lewis suggests that Indian witchcraft was the flip side of Spanish exploitation. The power that Spaniards exerted over Indians was inverted in a supernatural regime wherein Indians, whose traditional magical arts were amplified by the diabolical power that Spaniards ascribed to them, were thought capable of bewitching Spaniards. Members of the intermediary castes, often women, sought out Indian magic sometimes in service to their Spanish patrons but also in pursuit of their own ends, as a shortcut to the freedom and mobility enjoyed by Spanish men. In this domain, then, the intermediary castes formed alliances with Indians against Spaniards. Moreover, the healing ability ascribed to Indians, by which they were believed able to undo the effects of their own witchcraft, paralleled the palliative function of the Spanish court system. Thus, in the sanctioned domain Spaniards exploited Indians, often indirectly through members of the intermediary castes, but also offered them the "magic" of judicial redress; in the unsanctioned domain Indians bewitched Spaniards, often indirectly through members of the intermediary castes, but also offered them redress through their powers of healing.

This Indian power was itself a by-product of Spanish colonial discourses that identified Indian religion with diabolism and Indian "weakness" with a feminine susceptibility to demonic influence. Thus, Spaniards inadvertently limited their own power by creating a space within which Indians held power against them, in a kind of reverse colonialism, even while the identification of that power with the devil indicates an overarching Spanish cultural hegemony: Indians held power only to the extent that they were perceived (whether or not they perceived themselves) as having pacts with the devil.

Viewing it through the prism of Inquisition records, Lewis perhaps exaggerates the threat posed by this Indian power, which may have haunted the Spanish imagination and stoked the hopes of various subalterns but did not effectively constrain Spanish domination. Yet her cases do document the seriousness with which various non-Indians viewed the magical capabilities of Indian practitioners.

At the end of the book, Lewis relates her study to comparisons between Spanish, early modern colonialism and later colonial enterprises built more explicitly upon racial assumptions, arguing for continuity between later formations and the intercaste conflicts evident in her witchcraft data. The intermediary castes, caught between the Spanish and Indian worlds, became increasingly differentiated. Mestizos identified more strongly with the Spanish side than did blacks or mulattoes; the latter castes were more likely to deploy Indian witchcraft against Spaniards. African ancestry became a liability as a racialized discourse of exclusion threatened the flexible strategies of alliance and lineage through which early colonial blacks and mulattoes had sought to improve their places in the social order, and blackness came to be suppressed in favor of a mestizo identity.

The particular strength of this absorbing book is its linkage of actual witchcraft cases to larger social issues: gender, caste, and race; the nature and limits of Spanish power and hegemony; the interpenetration of Indian and non-Indian social worlds; and the strategic practices of the black, mulatto, and mestizo actors so long underrepresented in colonial Latin American historiography.

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CLAUDIA GUARISCO. *Los indios del valle de México y la construcción de una nueva sociabilidad política, 1770–1835*. Zinacantepec, Mexico: El Colegio Mexiquense, A.C. 2003. Pp. 289.

Claudia Guarisco provides an interesting example of the internationalization of research on Mexican history. Guarisco uses a theoretical and historiographic framework derived largely from Europeanists' consideration of the profound political changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, yet she combines this framework with significant empirical research on a decidedly non-European locale, the Valley of Mexico. The result is an extremely interesting book.

After an introduction that carefully lays out the theoretical and historiographic context of her work, Guarisco turns to political sociability in colonial Mexico. In much of the first half of the book, the author goes over ground that will be familiar to Mexicanists. She describes the ethnic and social composition of the valley's population, showing how that population was distributed among indigenous villages, market towns, and large estates. She also delves into the social and political structure of indigenous villages. The result is a tightly written and useful survey of the situation before independence, but Guarisco never effectively explains how these institutions and issues look different when they are considered from the perspective of political sociability. The most interesting part of this section considers how Indians took part in what one might call the politics of commerce, forming alliances with other valley residents to shape the implementation of fiscal policy.

In the center section of the book, Guarisco looks at the 1810s, describing the ways in which the Constitution of 1812 changed political sociability. Here she provides a great deal of new data on how the municipal system was set up in the valley and who participated in municipal politics. Some municipalities were wholly or

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largely indigenous, while others combined Indians with other social groups. It is not always clear that Guarisco understands the significance of the data at hand, however. For instance, she reports that in the parish of Ixtacalco all the elected municipal officials were married men who were more than fifty years old, but she moves on to other matters without commenting on how that fit with an indigenous political culture that valued age and required those seeking high office to first serve in a series of lower posts. Still, it is easy to agree with Guarisco's basic thesis that during the 1810s, and indeed thereafter, the political sociability of the valley represented a kind of syncretism of newer and older forms. Moreover, she very intelligently points out that even after the constitution was abolished in 1814, newer forms of sociability continued to make inroads through the militia and tax mechanisms necessitated by the continuing fight against the insurgency.

The third and shortest section of the text looks at political sociability from 1821 to 1835: in other words, from the beginning of independence to the end of Mexico's first federalist period. Here Guarisco continues to use data on the size and composition of municipalities to argue for a kind of syncretism between newer and older forms of political sociability. Again, this is a very believable thesis, and the author provides a great deal of new data, mostly in the form of charts and tables. Yet at times she seems to lose the thread of her own argument in the mass of the data.

Overall, this is an extremely interesting and useful work, and specialists in early nineteenth-century Mexico will welcome it. Nevertheless, it is at the same time slightly disappointing. The focus on political sociability is a bit too narrow, and one wonders how Guarisco's perspective on sociability might have changed if she had delved a bit more deeply into indigenous political culture and also, perhaps, the political and social struggles of the era. Moreover, the indigenous villages presented here at times seem quite monolithic, and one never develops much of a sense of how politics operated inside communities.

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MICHAEL SNODGRASS. *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey: Workers, Paternalism, and Revolution in Mexico, 1890–1950.* (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 88.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 321. $70.00.

As a key railroad hub, site of the impressive Cuauhtémoc Brewery, and host to Latin America's first integrated steel mill (the Fundidora Iron and Steel Works), Monterrey was known to many of its habitants as "Mexico's Chicago." Indeed, Monterrey residents (dubbed *regiomontanos* after the mountains that surround the city) had reason to be proud. During the late nineteenth century, Monterrey's industrial productivity surpassed that of the much more populous Mexico City.

Regiomontano economic dynamism led Mexico well into the twentieth century. In part, the secret to Monterrey's success lay in a closely managed paternalistic labor regime that emphasized hard work, local independence, and employer benevolence. Workers who cooperated with the system reaped significant benefits. Those who sympathized with more militant forms of industrial unionism often found themselves in direct conflict with the industrial elite

Michael Snodgrass provides us with a superbly in-depth study of labor relations in Monterrey. Adding to the current wave of postrevisionist studies that focus on the dynamics of civil society/state negotiations in revolutionary Mexican urban contexts, Snodgrass combines his analysis of Monterrey's uniquely northern corporate culture with an account of changing national labor laws, shifts in political administration, and evolving economic trends. The author closely examines four of Monterrey's key industrial operations: the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO), the Fundidora Iron and Steel Works, the Cuauhtémoc Brewerey, and its glassworks subsidiary, Vidriera Monterrey. Analysis of each provides for a nuanced consideration of contrasting work regimes, management styles, and public relations.

In the significantly pro-union context of revolutionary Mexico, management at Luis G. Sada's Cuauhtémoc Brewery articulated probably one of the most effective forms of company paternalism in the Americas. Drawing on labor traditions of mutual aid and cooperation, brewery management incorporated workers into the system through the founding of the "Cuauhtémoc Society" (SCYF). Allegedly initiated by workers known as the "Group of 22," the SCYF had a board of directors to which laborers campaigned for biannual elections. Additionally, monthly meetings, weekly dues, and regular social and recreational events all contributed to a perception that the SCYF functioned as a union for workers. Snodgrass describes how, for both management and labor, "common membership in the cooperative helped bridge the social and economic gap between production workers, office clerks, and supervisory personnel" (p. 65). A biweekly magazine titled *Work and Savings* promoted community identification with the cooperative's core values. Reflecting the conservative views of Cuauhtémoc's owners, magazine editors did not shy away from criticizing local, state, and national government officials.

Just as powerful as the pro-company, conservative discourse of the SCYF were the many "fringe" benefits afforded workers, including assistance with housing, healthcare, education, recreation, and free beer! (Unique in Monterrey's booming industrial context as well as the adult beverage industry at large, the company hired unmarried women workers.) These incentives combined with a persuasive repertoire of supervisory efforts so successfully that the company

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managed to discourage virtually all attempts at independent union organizing.

In contrast, workers at the ASARCO smelter proved—despite also receiving various "benefits of paternalism"—to be the most militant of Monterrey's laboring groups. Here, Snodgrass ably explains how a combination of factors, including ASARCO's vulnerability to global economic crisis as well as the fact that the company was American owned, contributed to the smeltermen's radicalism. A violent 1932 sit-down strike eventually left dozens wounded after federal troops were called in. That incident would serve as a prelude to a series of strikes during the hotly contested years between 1934 and 1940 when the administration of Lázaro Cárdenas took an unprecedented interventionist position in mediating labor relations. As Snodgrass recalls in vivid detail, the advent of Cardenismo polarized Monterrey like never before. Those who backed the city elite's paternalistic programs (including a fascist organization known as the Gold Shirts) gave rise to organizations such as the National Civic Action and the Independent Unions of Nuevo Léon. Opposing the conservatives were laborers who associated with the newly created Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM) and its state affiliate, the Nuevo Léon Workers Federation (FTNL), in February 1936. In the ensuing struggle, Monterrey saw a passionate series of labor mobilizations, street protests, and violent conflicts take shape over the course of a decade.

While Cardenismo clearly exacerbated the political polarization in Monterrey that had been developing since the revolution, various forms of company paternalism created by the city's captains of industry persisted. As Snodgrass carefully details, Monterrey's unique history of labor relations reveals a complex and important conservative resistance to the Mexican Revolution not previously examined. Making effective use of a wide range of documentation and oral history interviews, this well-written and impeccably researched study contributes significantly to international labor, urban, and Mexican political history.

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STEVEN PALMER. *From Popular Medicine to Medical Populism: Doctors, Healers, and Public Power in Costa Rica, 1800–1940*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 329. Cloth $69.95, paper $22.95.

This well-written and thoroughly researched study of Costa Rica fits into the growing historiography of medicine that argues very effectively against the whiggish tone characteristic of the field until relatively recently. Early works in the history of Latin American medicine were largely written by physicians who, because of both their training and the cultural values of the elitist society to which they belonged, often regarded popular medicine as superstitious, ineffective, and downright dangerous. These authors routinely portrayed the introduction of scientifically based medicine as a totally positive advance that rescued patients from the uneducated and untrained healers (*curanderas*) who had been until then virtually the only source of remedy for pain and suffering. Thus, the coming of modern medicine in Latin America has often been portrayed as a struggle between science and superstition, effective treatments and hocus-pocus.

In the case of Costa Rica and, as Steven Palmer extrapolates, the rest of Latin America, the picture is far from that simple. Rather than representatives of two diametrically opposed traditions warring with each other, he shows that each contingent tolerated the other to a large degree, often exchanging ideas and even methods of treatment. Different types of practitioners borrowed liberally from each other well into the twentieth century, at the very same time that professional health care providers were trying to promote biomedicine over the traditional ways. The verbal battles of science versus tradition certainly occurred, but, in reality, traditional healers continued to practice openly alongside the biomedical physicians. Some roles were co-opted into new models, as the traditional midwife (*partera*) became an educated obstetrical nurse and the herbalist became a pharmacist, but the old ways were never totally abandoned, particularly in the less-populated regions of the country.

These interactions among practitioners were effectively mediated by the national government, which, despite laws theoretically limiting the power of the *curanderas*, allowed the continuation of traditional methods and remedies alongside the growing influence of the scientifically trained physicians. The government consistently tried to train and reward any provider who, despite a lack of formal medical education, demonstrated basic conventional techniques, especially in the field of public health. At the same time, much of the credit for prevention of overt conflict between the two health care factions can be given to the many types of popular healers who, rather than entrenching their methods in traditional practices, adapted and adopted many elements of clinical practice into their own procedures. As a result, the Costa Rican picture demonstrates a bilateral attempt to work, if not together, at least not against divergent groups. By looking beyond rhetoric to actual practices, it thus presents a far more workable model for the introduction of scientific medicine in Latin America than the former rigid concept of traditional folk medicine in conflict with a colonizing European-based medicine founded on the germ theory and scientific advances.

Palmer makes a very convincing argument for the development of a comprehensive health care system in Costa Rica integrating both folk practices and modern scientific medicine. However, his argument that this model can be used throughout Latin America is premature at best. He suggests that Costa Rica can be regarded as a valid example for all of Latin America because of the original clash of native and colonizing

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cultures, the economic boom cycles it has experienced, and the development of a liberal oligarchy. While these factors do appear in many Latin American countries, Costa Rica does not seem representative of all Latin America for a number of reasons: to name a few, the physical size of the country, the size and demographic makeup of the population, the level of poverty, the highly integrated network of schools and the relatively high educational level of the general population, and the percentage of urban population. Palmer's model appears to be an excellent one, and hopefully with more research in other countries, its applicability will become evident. In particular, it will be extremely productive to compare the Costa Rican experience to areas of active nineteenth and twentieth-century colonization and expansion such as the Brazilian Amazon, the pampas of Argentina, and the montaña region of the Andean countries. In the meantime, the case of Costa Rica, while not necessarily representative throughout Latin America, does offer a welcome challenge to older theories and presents a significant addition to the history of Latin American medicine.

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NEIL L. WHITEHEAD, editor. *Histories and Historicities in Amazonia*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 236. Cloth $55.00, paper $25.00.

In recent years, the distinction between peoples with and without writing has come under fire: it can no longer simply be asserted that the latter have neither history nor historical consciousness. This slim collection of essays, originally presented at a special session of the American Society for Ethnohistory and edited by Neil L. Whitehead, advances the case further by taking the reader to what is perhaps the "last frontier for the study of history": Amazonia (p. vii). As Whitehead points out, Amazonia has suffered in comparison to colonial Peru and Mexico; the great imperial states that Spaniards encountered there overshadowed the smaller polities of the Amazon basin. Many Amazonian peoples had limited or no contact with European colonial powers and did not fall under a tributary state; consequently there are far fewer written records left behind by colonizers.

As Whitehead outlines the research problem confronted by the ten contributors, it is that there is a disjuncture between *histories*—the fact that people recall different pasts—and *historicities*—particular understandings of time, knowledge, and being that make the past differentially meaningful. It is in making the past meaningful that history is truly created because, as Whitehead reminds us, history is not simply waiting in the archive, Rankean style, "to be discovered" (p. ix). The challenge, then, is more extensive archival work, probing nontraditional sources, but also a commitment to "practice the ethnography of historical consciousness" (p. x).

Whitehead's contribution is instructive. He is concerned with landscape as a mnemonic device among the Patamuna. But rather than permanent or singular features, for the Patamuna, it is varieties of fauna that trigger historical memory. One species of tree recalls a brave fighter who was killed in intertribal warfare in the 1920s; another represents a vanquished and now vanished foe; and a single dead tree becomes a metaphor for the perils of development. The landscape then forms a kind of indigenous historicity, a "consciousness of the past, how it is recounted, how it is made relevant to the present" (p. 60).

Loretta Cormier's study of the Guajá people of Brazil demonstrates how their concept of the past as a place rather than a time allows them to "reverse acculturation and to preserve ethnic identity" (p. 123). A language without a past tense supplies a past that is coexistent with the present, but in this other concept of time/space all non-Guajá people are simply written out of the script; in effect, the Guajá have decolonized themselves and their history. Likewise Mary Riley finds that the Makuski people of Guyana perform instructional cultural plays. The ones performed for other Makuski people are attempts to revitalize cultural practice, while the performances for mainstream Guyana audiences play on the popular stereotypes held about Makuskis. Distinguishing between public and hidden "scripts" allows the Makuskis to maintain themselves as a distinctive people while denying the official melting pot rhetoric of the Guyana state.

Franz Scaramelli and Kay Tarble turn to material culture, specifically archaeological remains of drinking bottles, to confirm anecdotal archival evidence of changes in drinking habits among native peoples under the colonial regime in Venezuela. Echoing earlier scholars that drinking to forget is a Western construct, they argue that colonized natives drank to remember their history. Colonial practice changed the nature of drink; *aguardiente* became payment for labor and a means of enticing natives into missions. By the time of independence, these changes in the meaning of drink, a change of historicity, led to the disappearance of local ethnic groups who, Scaramelli and Tarble suggest, were probably subsumed into an emergent mestizo class.

Perhaps because these essays were originally conference papers, they sometimes leave much unexplored. Domingo Medina's article on map making among the De'kuana in Venezuela is told primarily from the vantage point of the Venezuelan NGO that is assisting the De'kuana (and for which Medina works)—a somewhat problematic stance in a book dedicated to revealing native accounts and interpretations. Silvia Vidal, who also addresses map making, but among Arawak people of Venezuela, mentions in passing that some anthropologists were asked by Arawaks to assist them in obtaining information central to guaranteeing their land rights. Vidal does not specify if she was involved in gathering the information. For both Medina and Vidal, perhaps, consciously putting themselves into their accounts would have made these less discordant

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with their aims. Joanne Rappaport's *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History* (1994) points to how a sympathic and interested historical anthropology can be written on this theme.

At the same time, however, the Medina and Vidal essays reminded me of Gary Urton's *The History of a Myth, Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (1990), which revealed that native informants in early colonial Peru manipulated official history for their benefit to obtain higher status under the Spanish regime than they had enjoyed under the Inca. That suggests another difficulty; the work here is sometimes ethnographically thin. Is there no dissenting view among these peoples of Amazonia? Do all Makuskis interpret their cultural plays in the same way? Do Guajá people uniformly experience their religion as a historical cleansing, removing non-Guajá? A recent article by Frank Salomon ("Unethnic Ethnohistory: On Peruvian Peasant Historiography and Ideas of Autochthony," *Ethnohistory* 49:3 [Summer 2002]: pp. 475–506) highlights another concern. Salomon discovered that highland Peruvians in the department of Huarochirí, while maintaining many aspects of the social organization of indigenous life, simply did not think of themselves as Indian. Indeed, in their reconstruction of history they believe that a mass suicide among Indians in the colonial period freed the land for them. One wonders if Scaramelli and Tarble would find anything similar if they questioned the current, apparently mestizo residents of this Orinoco region. How do they remember their history?

But these are questions for future volumes and more in-depth studies. In the meantime, Whitehead and the other contributors are to be congratulated for forcing us to reexamine our ideas of what constitutes history and historical consciousness and to continue to insist that lack of literacy does not make a "people without history."

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Barbara Ganson. *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 290. $65.00.

Perhaps the most stereotypical image of colonial Spanish missions in frontier areas is that of the Jesuit missions among the Guaraní Indians of the southern cone. Long before they were portrayed idyllically in the film *The Mission* (1986), they were depicted as a "vanishing Arcadia" and a "lost paradise," self-sufficient, utopian communes where paternalistic fathers ruled benevolently over pliant natives. Although historians have chipped away at these ideologically laden images, Barbara Ganson's book is the first comprehensive synthesis in English to provide a complex analysis of Guaraní/Spanish interaction that highlights indigenous agency. In this respect, Ganson follows trends of the last two decades that aim to place Indians center stage; she does this with the judicious use of Jesuit, administrative, and judicial records in Argentine, Paraguayan, Brazilian, and European archives, as well as Guaraní texts. Her main argument is that the Guaraní maintained many distinctive elements of their culture under Jesuit missionaries, using a range of adaptive and resistant strategies. Ganson details processes of transculturation "by which these colonized peoples selected and invented new traditions from the materials or elements introduced to them by a more dominant European culture" (p. 12). The author posits that these processes were uniquely reciprocal in the milieu of mutual cultural borrowings that found the Guaraní accepting aspects of Christianity, changes in the gendered division of labor, and shifts in modes of subsistence and production at the same time that the colonizers adopted *yerba mate* (Paraguayan tea), other dietary and material practices of the Guaraní, and their language.

Stories of cultural resiliency among native peoples of the Americas are not new; in fact, we have many new studies of frontier areas that bear resemblance to and comparison with the Guaraní case in patterns of cultural contestation. What stands out here is Ganson's deft and sentient use of rich ethnographic detail (enhanced by illustrations) to render the nuances and particularities of Guaraní history. Her portrayal of subsistence and religious practices among these agricultural/hunter-gatherers who inhabited border regions of modern-day Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil sets the stage for their initial encounters with Spanish *encomenderos* and slave raiders. Early demographic decline due to disease and exploitation (concurrent with the growth of a mestizo population resulting from Spanish intermarriage with Guaraní women) was followed by the establishment of Jesuit missions in the Paraná and Uruguay river areas in the seventeenth century. The mission culture that evolved over the next century was no Eden as Jesuits imposed new rules of social control, requiring many Guaraní to build new villages and contribute their labor to mission crop and livestock production as well as the export of *yerba mate*, often a key to mission economic viability. Men were forced to take on traditionally female agricultural tasks, and women's sexuality became more tightly controlled through monogamous marriage and shelters that confined unmarried women.

Not a paradise, the missions nonetheless provided refuge from raiders and slavers, and they did have features distinguishing them from other Spanish mission areas like the Mexican north. For one thing, their environmental niches tended to foster economic success. Also striking, the Guaraní (trained by Jesuits) were Spain's militias in this area of ill-defined boundaries between Spanish and Portuguese holdings. Ganson describes other features that made the Guaraní instrumental in protecting their own interests and lands. Hereditary chiefs maintained their positions as *corregidores* and officials in the missions, and indigenous elites used mission *cabildos* to negotiate with Spanish authorities through petitions detailing their

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claims and complaints. Native literacy in Guaraní and Spanish was unusually high for mission populations, and the aesthetic achievements of the Guaraní in music and art were remarkable. Through practices of gifting and exemption, the Jesuits rewarded artisans and others who cooperated in village government, thus fostering social differentiation within communities.

Ganson devotes considerable attention to the Guaraní War and its historiography. She highlights the independence of the Guaraní in protesting the Treaty of Madrid in 1750 and petitioning Spanish authorities not to violate the "moral economy" achieved in the mission regime. When attempts to frame their arguments within the system failed, many took up arms, only to suffer defeat at the hands of the two colonial powers. The rest of the book details (with supporting demographic statistics) the denouement of this watershed event and the subsequent expulsion of the Jesuits, a story in which dislocation, disease, and gradual loss of communal lands were tempered by Guaraní agency in devising strategies of flight, migration, voluntary labor in Portuguese and Spanish enterprises, and marital exogamy. We have long recognized that features of the hybrid colonial material culture forged in and out of the missions exist today in Paraguay, but Ganson's well-crafted study explains how they evolved in sympathetic and shrewd, personal and mundane exchanges.

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John Fisher. *Bourbon Peru: 1750–1824.* (Liverpool Latin American Studies, number 4.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 224. $26.95.

At 144-densely packed pages, plus six detailed appendixes on Peru's last viceroys and audiencias, this book is a primer on late colonial Peru and a synthesis of a life's work in the imperial archives of Spain and Peru. John Fisher is among a distinguished group of British and Spanish historians who in the 1970s began systematically to reexamine the political, financial, and commercial legacy of the late eighteenth-century "Bourbon Reforms." They soberly revised received wisdom about the impact on American colonies of Spanish measures to restructure and reinvent a flagging transatlantic colonial authority. The Viceroyalty of Peru remains the least studied of these cases, eclipsed by the dramatic growth of New Spain (Mexico) during the eighteenth century.

Fisher's own body of research has concentrated on mining, political reforms, and imperial trade, and has also brought social history to bear on old-time administrative and political history. The "revisionism" found here is not heady stuff: the Bourbon reforms were not smooth or cohesive but contradictory and "inconsistent" processes, especially when historians look beyond imperial rhetoric to actual consequences on the ground (pp. 26–27). A secondary thesis is that late colonial Peru actually saw some modest growth (in terms of diversifying population, commerce, or finances), unlike the bleak picture of Spanish abandonment and dismemberment painted by leading creole colonials. Not surprising to specialists, this approach is a still useful reminder for younger historians, many of whom are dimly aware of the painstaking scholarly progress of the 1970s and 1980s, or who themselves have become enamored (via the linguistic turn) of "rhetoric" over grounded realities.

The topics considered here are essential but unevenly developed. The survey opens with a sixteen page preface, which a few readers may savor as an autobiographical romp through the life of an Andean specialist, followed by a brief introduction to major themes of the period, wherein Fisher grapples with the aptness of his own post-1750 periodization. Background chapter one on the Viceroyalty of Peru prior to 1750 deals with trade, wars, and high politics of the early eighteenth century. Chapter two addresses governance, defense, and the church, topics well-researched in earlier Fisher works. Chapter three, about economics, demography, and finance, is the strongest, given the emphasis on these topics by historians of Fisher's generation. Chapter four presents ten pages on "Society, Ethnicity and Culture" but is overwhelmingly about Peru's racial composition (Indian, mestizo, and black). Chapter five summarizes published research about the era's dramatic underclass revolts, such as Cuzco's Tupac Amaru movement of 1781. Chapter six on "Royalism, Rebellion and Independence," combines acute observations about the shifting politics of interpreting Peru's reluctant independence (finalized in 1824) with a detailed archival account of royalist efforts to retain sovereignty. The book ends with a brief epilogue on the Bourbon legacy for what is now called "post-colonial" Peru.

A survey such as this, built on Fisher's own prodigious research, is quite useful to those unfamiliar with pre-1990s historiography—if they can navigate through its logjam of run-on thoughts and sentences. But this is also the book's main limitation: it does little to engage historians working today on the Andes (as the bibliography itself shows). A great variety of new work has emerged in "subaltern," "postcolonial," ethnohistorical, local, transatlantic, and cultural history, the best of which tries to reshuffle the late colonial era into a longer transitional era crossing the divide of independence. Fisher's geographic notion of a Bourbon "Peru" is also questionable: Andean historians have returned to mapping larger social spaces crossing Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and northern Argentina rather than focusing narrowly on national boundaries formed after 1825. As a specialist on the nineteenth century, I did not find compelling Fisher's idea of a "Bourbon" period per se stretching to republican 1850. Rather, given the region's politically chaotic post-1820 fragmentation, it makes sense to sort out longer messy struggles between zones and actors of Bourbon (statist modernizing) and pre-Bourbon (i.e. Hapsburg, Andean) mentalities, interests, ideologies, or sociology

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throughout the nineteenth century. This solid if dated survey does not roundly develop these long-term issues of Andean society and culture.

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LINDA LEWIN. *Surprise Heirs*. Volume 1, *Illegitimacy, Patrimonial Rights, and Legal Nationalism in Luso-Brazilian Inheritance, 1750–1821*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xxix, 214. $55.00.

LINDA LEWIN. *Surprise Heirs*. Volume 2, *Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1822–1889*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xxx, 397. $60.00.

The will of a beloved and propertied patriarch is read. Its contents include an unforeseen disclosure: the name of a formerly unrecognized heir, a child born of an illicit union, who is called to succession. News of the surprise heir produces shock, feelings of betrayal, and anger that the established family's patrimony will be diminished. Linda Lewin's learned and illuminating two-volume history of Luso-Brazilian inheritance law traces the rise and fall of this surprise heir and his or her "juridical alter ego," the *quaesito*, from menacing potential to tragic powerlessness. As Lewin compellingly demonstrates, in Brazil the history of the *quaesito* is the history of changing attitudes about family, of thought about law and society, and of economic transformation.

Social historians have for some time mined legal documents such as dowry contracts and wills for the information they contain about society, economy, and "mentalities." However, Lewin argues, much social history of Brazil is not based on sound understandings of these documents, their instrumentality, their language, or the ways in which they constitute strategic self-representations in the evolving context of the law. Thus, Lewin begins by correcting a series of misunderstandings about the Luso-Brazilian legal tradition that potentially mar the work of social historians. First, wills should be read in the context of *ab intestato* succession. While in the Anglo-American tradition intestate indicated a failure to write a will, in Portugal and Brazil a will was unnecessary because "the rules of forced heirship" defined the division of estates. Wills, therefore, addressed exceptional circumstances, such as the absence of necessary heirs. Second, and perhaps most fundamentally, in contrast to the Anglo-American tradition, the Luso-Brazilian tradition did not bifurcate legitimacy and illegitimacy. As Lewin explains, "individuals born outside wedlock occupied a continuum ranging from quasi-legitimacy to bastardy, while the law generously offered several ways for them to be legitimized" (1, p. xiv). More specifically, children identified as "natural" were not illegitimate and should not be confused with children identified as "spurious." Spurious children were the products of "damnable and punishable unions"—incest, adultery, sacrilege—while natural children were the products of unions that might have occurred within marriage but did not because of, among other reasons, canonical impediments and parental reluctance to transgress social and racial boundaries. Once recognized, often within wills, natural children enjoyed equal succession rights, although the legitimization of those of noble parents had to be done by the crown. Within this framework, the *quaesito*, the child of a publicly unknown father, emerged as only potentially illegitimate. He or she might remain a maternally natural heir, or "If illicit paternity was revealed or judicially established, he or she ceased to be spurious and, as a natural offspring, was called to *ab intestato* succession with legitimate heirs" (1, p. 86). The potential impact of these features of inheritance law was great. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, thirty-five percent of Brazilian children were born out of wedlock, with another five percent recognized at baptism as foundlings. Many of their parents, including clerics, devised strategies for maximizing inheritance, from postponement of marriage and fosterage to naming spurious offspring as universal heirs in their wills.

Lewin also surveys the legal tradition from which these practices emerged. By the mid eighteenth century, a complex reception of Roman and canon law gave way to legal nationalism (*direito pátrio*) and the affirmation of national positive law in the Law of Right Reason (1769). Legal nationalism's juridical clarification then laid the ground for the assertion of inheritance rights of nonlegitimate individuals by affirming toleration of customary marriage. The consequences of legal nationalism for the political culture of the independent empire were also significant. Because the legacy of legal nationalism enshrined the principle of juridical equality over corporate privilege, Lewin argues, nineteenth-century Brazilian statesmen could embrace liberalism without endorsing revolutionary popular sovereignty.

Above all, these volumes trace how the succession rights of children born outside of legal marriage changed over time in the context of the family and "public power." By independence, legitimate heirs became "congruent with a narrowly inscribed family of lineal kin." Natural children displaced siblings and other "collateral heirs" (1, p. 67). Increasingly, litigious assertions of succession rights meant that local courtrooms became stages for the revelation of scandalous and "surprising" evidence. While inheritance law continued to move toward privileging the "nuclear family," it also responded to claims of surprise heirs by forging a preference for legal over customary marriage and by granting and then circumscribing greater powers of paternal recognition. Thus, properly recognized natural offspring (those voluntarily recognized by fathers prior to marriage) still enjoyed succession rights. Those who were not, such as *quaesitos*, were "irrevocably disinherited" (2, p. 303). This move departed from legal nationalism and registered economic transformation. As the basis of family wealth shifted from

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land, of maternal and paternal origins, to the father's income from commerce, civil service, and professional practice, and as "middle class" families faced the need to invest in the education of male children, nonlegitimate offspring were regarded as unacceptable burdens.

Lewin dedicates her study to "a new generation of historians of Brazil dedicated to the history of the family from the archives." Indeed, these volumes are truly indispensable for anyone researching this history. They are also indispensable for historians who seek to understand the political culture of the independent empire and the relationship between the law and society in Brazil.

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ALBERTO SPEKTOROWSKI. *The Origins of Argentina's Revolution of the Right*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. x, 269. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

The failure of liberal democracy to take hold in modern Argentina constitutes one of the central puzzles in that nation's political history. From the 1930s to the 1980s, Argentines of various social sectors repeatedly rejected pluralist party politics in favor of authoritarian models. In his detailed and well-crafted intellectual history, political scientist Alberto Spektorowski seeks to illuminate this disappointing performance by reexamining the work of Argentina's nationalist ideologues of the 1930s.

The book's title reflects the influence of Zeev Sternhall's work on French fascism. Just as Sternhall located the origins of fascism in a synthesis of the nationalism of Charles Maurras and the syndicalism of Georges Sorel, Spektorowski argues that left and right variants of Argentine nationalism came together in the 1930s to produce "the ideological framework for Peronism" (p. 5). This argument breaks from the existing literature in various ways. Previous studies have tended to stress the ideological and political differences that separated right-wing nationalists from the populist left and to depict the right as a nostalgic movement linked to the preservation of the old liberal oligarchy. By contrast, Spektorowski sees Argentine nationalism as an alternative, reactionary form of modernization. He stresses the common ground that united thinkers on the left and the right against economic and political liberalism. Argentina's economic dependence on England as well as the refusal of the nation's elite to incorporate subordinate sectors into the political process created the context in which a new, antiliberal nationalism flourished and eventually became hegemonic after the military coup of 1943.

Spektorowski's account of the origins of this ideology will be familiar to historians of Argentina. After locating the intellectual antecedents of Argentine nationalism in the work of European thinkers such as José Ortega y Gasset, Maurras, and Maurice Barrès, he examines two domestic precursors: the populist nationalism of Hipólito Yrigoyen's Radical Party and the cultural nationalism of Ricardo Rojas and Manuel Gálvez. He then considers the elitist, antidemocratic poet Leopoldo Lugones and the intellectuals associated with the newspaper *La Nueva República*. The heart of Spektorowski's book is a close analysis of the intellectual currents of the 1930s. He argues that over the course of this decade, left-wing and right-wing opponents of the fraudulent, conservative political system grew steadily closer until they finally produced an intellectual synthesis. Intellectuals in both camps shared a commitment to historical revisionism, which celebrated Argentina's nineteenth-century federalist *caudillos* while condemning the architects of oligarchic liberalism. Similarly, nationalists on both the right and the left criticized the Argentine elite for fostering the nation's economic dependence on England. Eventually, this common critique expanded to include a set of solutions for the nation's problems: autarkic industrialization, corporativist authoritarianism, even social justice. Much of this argument is not new. Scholars like Cristián Buchrucker, David Rock, and Sandra McGee Deutsch have, for example, pointed out that anti-imperialism and antiliberalism united right-wing nationalists like the Irazusta brothers with left-wing intellectuals like Arturo Jauretche and Raúl Scalabrini Ortiz. What distinguishes Spektorowski's account is a matter of emphasis. Whereas others have insisted on the particularities of left and right nationalisms, Spektorowski argues that the similarities are more important: it was the synthesis of these two currents that lay the intellectual groundwork for the military regime of 1943–1946 and for the Peronist government that followed.

Spektorowski's nuanced analysis of complex texts makes this book a useful contribution. Moreover, his interpretation sharpens our understanding of the conceptual roots of Peronist ideology. However, a strict intellectual history of the type offered here cannot, in the end, account for the phenomena under discussion. Nationalism, populism, anti-imperialism, and social justice are not simply ideas in political tracts; they are discourses with deep and complex historical roots. Spektorowski convincingly demonstrates that right-wing nationalists embraced populist ideas of mass mobilization during the 1930s, and he argues that Juan Perón's direct appeal to the working class does not therefore distinguish him from the fascist intellectuals of the time. But Perón did not simply actualize a program created for him by intellectuals. Rather, Peronism was invented and transformed within a political process; it was the product not only of top-down ideology but also of contestation, appropriation, and negotiation.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

JAMES F. MCGLEW. *Citizens on Stage: Comedy and Political Culture in the Athenian Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. vi, 239. $52.50.

James F. McGlew explores representations of the democratic citizen in fragments of three plays and the hypothesis of another by Kratinos and in six plays by Aristophanes. Representations of Perikles are contextualized and contrasted with representations of the ordinary citizen (via the fragments of Kratinos) in the first chapter. Six Aristophanic plays are then examined in chapters two, three, five, and six. A study of the political significance of the mutilation of the herms in 415 B.C. (chapter four) is inserted into the middle of the Aristophanic core, a divide representative of a change in ideological direction signaled by that "symbolic act of terrorism" (p. 113, cf. p. 140). Versions of chapters three (Knights) and four (Herms) and initial parts of six (Wealth) had earlier published epiphanies. A part of the first chapter steps right out of the final chapter ("Lovers of the City: Tyranny and Democracy in Classical Athens") of McGlew's earlier study, *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece* (1993).

What is new in this book then, is not so much its quantity of hitherto unpublished work but rather the attempt to harness new and old material to an overarching thesis: comic citizen heroes are depictions of ordinary citizens who are defined by having desires that are common to all citizens. Often they reinvent their identities on stage during a critical agon, as when Dikaiopolis in *Acharnians* 595 turns into "a valuable citizen (not the son of Office Grabbing)" (p. 71). Citizen heroes invite the audience to share in their fantasy world where private desires reign and are appreciated in exact contrast to the real world of politicians, where political virtues prohibit the private; so, for example, the "sex strike" in *Lysistrata* is not to be understood as "an intrusion of women into the political." The play "tells a story not of the simple replacement of the polis' old managers by new ones but of the complete absorption of the political life by domestic concerns and pleasures" (p. 149)—essentially, the city becomes the oikos.

McGlew's thesis is interesting; its argumentation, however, is poorly executed. The interpretation of the relationship between political and private life (chapter one) is based on Thucydides's rendition of Perikles's funeral oration and Plutarch's *Life of Perikles*. Both sources are given equal weight; there is no attempt to evaluate them. The grounds for dating Kratinos's *Dionysalexandros* ("probably produced a few months or at most a year after Pericles delivered his famous oration"; p. 46) are left for the reader to search out in a foreign journal without a hint at the substance, which is crucial for the argument of chapter one. We are told that scholars who focus on the episodic portions of the plays have different interpretations from those who focus on agons (p. 65). Accordingly, since McGlew focuses on the latter, why is the result not equally onesided? The question is never raised; editorializing is performed without comment. Notice of the diminished role of the chorus in later plays is left to a footnote (p. 177, n. 19), yet the change has significant consequences for the play under discussion. The "overarching thesis" is stretched to absurd lengths in chapter six when McGlew identifies Blepyrus as the character in *Assemblywomen* who attracts the audience's sympathy and admiration: "Blepyrus listens to his wife and perceives the advantages of her plan . . . Blepyrus ends the play married to Athens' political center" (p. 202). Are Athenians to see here anything more than a man who, unmanfully, caves in to his wife? Apparently not—provided they are carried away by the play's fantasy world.

The argument of this book is designed for political theorists already conversant with the plays of Aristophanes and the literary conventions of Old Comedy. There are no helpful summaries of the plays, no guidance for readers unfamiliar with the structure of the Aristophanic agon and parabasis. There are a few inaccuracies of fact (e.g. investigators or *zetetai* of the damaged herms are not "prosecutors" [p. 118]) and translation (e.g. "atone for" to convey *lusai* in *Frogs* 691). Occasionally translation, although defensible, does not seem to match interpretation (p. 37). There are frequent misspellings, typographical errors, and misplaced footnotes (e.g. p. 150, n. 16; p.161, n. 37). The index serves as index locorum and is also packed with names of contemporary critics, while terms such as agon and parabasis are missing.

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JON D. MIKALSON. *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 269. $45.00.

His aim, says Jon D. Mikalson in the introduction to this book, is to understand better "the role of Greek religion in the Persian invasions, and in Greek life in general" (p. 5). Unlike his predecessors, especially Thomas Harrison (*Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus* [2000]), he proposes to discuss "the cultic, practiced side of Greek religion" in "a religious, historical context" and in "social, cultural, and personal contexts" (pp. 197, 6). Mikalson defines "religion as practiced in cult" as "the prayers, vows, sacrifices, dedications, and other religious acts" that bring "a favorable response from the gods and express gratitude to them." As "omens, oracles, and even miracles" also were "features of Greek cultic religion," it is unclear how Mikalson's focus differs from that of his predecessors (p. 147).

Chapter one, "A Religious Account of the Persian Invasions," deals with the oracles, omens, dreams, prayers, and sacrifices connected with the battles of Marathon, Artemisium, Thermopylae, Plataea, and Mycale. Mikalson quotes and paraphrases long pas-

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sages from Herodotus and Plutarch, explains what they plainly say, and occasionally attempts to extract generalizations from their writings. A few of these are new or valid or at least provocative (e.g. that chresmologues ranked as the lowest seers, or that only the Persians, never the Greeks, ignored omens). On the whole, however, the chapter contains too much quotation and paraphrase and few new insights.

In chapter two, "Greek Gods, Heroes, and the Divine in the Persian Invasions," Mikalson again reproduces verbatim or in paraphrase Herodotean passages of various length about the aid the Greeks received in the war from the gods: Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Athena, Demeter, Artemis, Hera, Aphrodite, the Heroes, and the Divine. He finds, for example, that Zeus will help at Salamis but will not prevent the occupation of Attica, while Poseidon intervenes on behalf of the Greeks at sea. A very long retelling of Apollo's oracles includes oracles given long before the Persian Wars to foreigners such as Croesus. Mikalson also tells us that the Greek words for "divine" and "the gods . . . god . . . the god all refer to the divine" (p. 132). The chapter ends with an explanation of why deities helped the Greeks in battle: they produced portents to protect their shrines if these happened to be located on the battlefield.

In chapter three, "Some Religious Beliefs and Attitudes of Herodotus," we learn that for Herodotus the gods exist, have special provinces and powers (e.g. Zeus produces rain, Demeter grain, etc.), interfere in human affairs, and mete out rewards and punishments. Herodotus believed in a relationship of reciprocity between gods and men and accepted omens and oracles as divine, true, and valid. After an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the determinism of the oracles with human freedom of action, Mikalson explains that Herodotus' picture of Greek religion was influenced by "poetic conventions" (p. 152). Since in both poetry and Herodotus the prayers of the pious are answered, and the impious receive no (or harmful) answers, Herodotus reproduces the poetic representation of religion. If Mikalson's conclusion is correct, Herodotus is not reporting "his religious beliefs and attitudes" but the constructs of the poets. Oddly, a little later Mikalson contradicts his conclusion: Herodotus prefers "cult realities over poetic conceptions," and despite the Olympian (and Homeric) gods of chapter two, he opines that Herodotus excluded the Homeric gods from his work (p. 154). In the rest of the chapter, Mikalson discusses Herodotus's "Greek interpretation" of the religious experiences of foreigners, mainly Lydians and Persians.

The gist of the appendix, "Herodotus on the Origins of Greek Religion," is that, according to Herodotus, the precursors of the Greeks gave the gods Egyptian names; Homer and Hesiod added the gods' offices and epithets, while later Greeks adopted Egyptian customs of honoring the gods. The book contains a bibliography, an index of ancient sources, and another of subjects.

Mikalson deserves credit for rejecting the "liar school" of Herodotus and recent outlandish theories about the origins of Greek culture. Taking Herodotus seriously, he rightly says that his use of reported speech does not signal doubts about his information. As noted above, Mikalson sometimes makes interesting observations. But this book's shortcomings outweigh its virtues. It contains few original thoughts, too much repetition (e.g. of the oracles), many inconsistencies, and it lacks a final summation of the results. There are some errors of fact: Themistocles did not win the prize of valor (p. 114), he came in second; the meaning of *hybris* is misunderstood (p. 153); Branchidae is the name of a family, not a place (p. 142).

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GREG ROWE. *Princes and Poltical Cultures: The New Tiberian Senatorial Decrees*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. 195. $49.50.

The three "new decrees" of Greg Rowe's subtitle deal in whole or in part with posthumous honors for several would-be successors of Augustus. The longest and most complete was only formally published in the mid-1990s and has provoked a variety of studies. To my knowledge, however, this is the first full-length study of the trio (but see B. Severy, "Family and State in the Early Imperial Monarchy: The Senatus Consultum de Pisone Patre, Tabula Siarensis, and Tabula Hebana," *Classical Philology* 95 [2000]: pp. 318–37, which Rowe appears not to know). While these are at the heart of the study, Rowe uses them to bring together a much broader set of honorific material from the early principate and to argue for a general theory of the "political culture" of the period. After summarizing the argument, I will treat three objections to it and then try to set it in the context of related scholarship.

The book's chapters treat several "constituencies" (Senate, *equites*, *plebs urbana*, Italian communities, Greek cities, and the army). Each group proclaimed honors for members of the imperial family in a competition for imperial favor (largely between but also among the constituencies). The procedure imposed a fairly uniform loyalist discourse and concession of the principle of dynastic succession. These honors typically derived from informal acclamation or from the acts of self-selected subgroups. This procedure tended to give corporate identity to groups that had been quite heterogeneous under the republic, and to some extent continued to be so. Despite the overall uniformity of the process, some groups also show special characteristics: the Senate served as a clearing house for honors that helped create the uniformity and increased the body's importance, even appropriating legislative authority; the people and army both also used more or less concealed threats of force; and in several contexts

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(especially those of provincial cities), individuals were able to gain great power by mediating the process.

There is a great deal that is both novel and persuasive here. The distribution of honors does seem to have worked essentially as he describes. The connection here of both senses of "imperial" (geopolitical and form of government) is particularly interesting. To take the argument on its own terms, I would raise three objections. First, there is too little attention to the precise sources of imperial honors. Rowe shows that his constituencies were usually represented by bodies that were not in any clear sense representative. Who is actually taking these steps, and what do they personally get out of them? Second, while the "new" decrees happen to focus on would-be successors (the titular "princes" for whom there is, perhaps coincidentally, no Latin term), the broader picture Rowe establishes makes them seem less important. The living emperor is the key figure, the recently deceased Augustus is still prominent at least in some contexts, and (as Rowe and others have noted) the collective "house of Augustus" becomes an important notion (on this see B. Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* [2003]). Third, there is no explanation of how the Senate's appropriation of authority in honors could have been extended to legislation more generally.

On the whole, however, most of Rowe's argument seems to be correct. The important question, then, is how central this mechanism was to the political culture of the day. After all, a study of honorific decrees is almost bound to discover the importance of honorific decrees. In some cases, additional mechanisms or competing hypotheses are rejected without argument (e.g. pp. 48; 54, n. 1; 73), but more generally there is not even a mention. There is no treatment, for example, of material culture, preexisting commonalities of elite culture, resistance to the new order, or the much more individualized negotiations of the new imperial situation that some scholars have detected. On the whole, this book should probably be regarded as a supplement to, rather than a competitor with, more ambitious general studies such as Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (2000), and Matthew B. Roller, *Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome* (2001).

The book is written very clearly, except for some oddities (both errors and over scrupulosity) in Roman nomenclature. In its assumptions about the reader's knowledge, however, it will not be very accessible to those not already working in the field. The production is clean. There is a general index and a somewhat mysterious "Memento of the Princes' Personal Statuses."

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RAYMOND VAN DAM. *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 290. $49.95.

RAYMOND VAN DAM. *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. 256. $45.00.

RAYMOND VAN DAM. *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 254. $45.00.

The Cappadocian Fathers of the fourth century—Basil of Caesarea, his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and their friend Gregory of Nazianzus—were important and influential theologians who participated fully in the ecclesiastical and political life of their age at the provincial and sometimes at the imperial level. All three of them wrote a great deal that was not purely theological, so that their surviving works provide varied and abundant material for the general social and intellectual history of their age. Each one of the trio has individually received much attention from modern scholars, while the theology of all three has often been analyzed as possessing an intrinsic unity of approach: hence the familiar sobriquet of the Cappadocian Fathers. Raymond Van Dam has mined the works of Basil and the two Gregories and the rich vein of scholarship devoted to them to produce a trilogy of books that is as much about the land and society of Cappadocia as about its three famous sons.

The first volume, *Kingdom of Snow*, carries the subtitle *Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia*, and the introduction describes the book as "primarily a study of a particular region in the eastern Roman empire at a particular time" (p. 5), that time being the period from the 350s to the 380s, with an emphasis on the reign of the Emperor Valens (364–378) dictated by the distribution of the relevant evidence in the writings of Basil and the two Gregories. Van Dam places the volume firmly within the tradition of regional histories of the Roman Empire. It has three parts. The first concentrates on local notables within Cappadocia and their relations both with one another and with outside rulers: Van Dam argues that the local aristocracy was remarkably successful in maintaining its local standing and prestige over the centuries. The second part examines the Cappadocian Fathers as patrons and power brokers as they dealt in their capacity as bishops with tax assessors, provincial governors, and higher figures in the imperial administration, even sometimes directly with emperors, to defend or protect the interests of their churches or of local Christians. The third part first describes the attempt by Julian the Apostate, during his brief tenure of supreme power in Asia Minor between the winter of 361–62 and the summer of 363, to appropriate classical Greek literature and traditional Greek culture as the monopoly of pagans (a word that Van Dam allows himself to use, although he is of course aware that some consider it politically incorrect) and then analyzes the reactions of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus to Julian's pagan revival.

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Like *Kingdom of Snow*, the second volume of the trilogy, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Capapdocia*, has a tripartite structure. The first section discusses fathers and sons, the second mothers and daughters, the third friendships. The author describes this volume as "primarily a study of the dynamics and the emotions of family relationships and friendships" and as "an attempt to link ecclesiastical concerns more widely with social and cultural history" (p. 7). Again the main focus is on the Cappadocian Fathers: Van Dam discusses the relationships of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus with their homonymous fathers, not neglecting the brothers of both men; the friendship and tensions between Basil and Gregory, who had probably known each other since their teenage years; Nonna and Gorgonia, the mother and sister of Gregory of Nazianzus, and Emmelia and Macrina, the mother and sister of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, the last of whom Van Dam imagines, with a complaint that the "narrow perspective" of modern patristic scholars has "regrettably often excluded discussion of the significance of gender identity," as a potential fourth Cappadocian Father (pp. 185–87).

The third volume, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia*, breaks away from the tripartite structure of the first two, although not entirely. After an introduction and a long chapter on Eunomius as also a Cappadocian Father (despite his deviant theological opinions), there are again three groups of chapters: five chapters on conversion and two on preachers and audiences, followed by a group of three chapters with the misleading heading "The Life to Come." This is by far the most original of the three volumes: starting from the propositions that neither the triumph of Christianity within Roman society under Constantine nor the subsequent establishment of Nicene orthodoxy was in any sense historically preordained, Van Dam argues that the impact of Christianity in fourth-century Cappadocia was "thoroughly constricting and divisive" (p. 4).

Van Dam's trilogy has considerable virtues. The first volume shows how a backwoods area, a high and often snowy plateau away from the "warm, sunny Mediterranean" (in Van Dam's characterization a region of "badlands") achieved prominence in the second half of the fourth century, when it briefly became the best documented region in Asia Minor, precisely because of the varied writings of the Cappadocian Fathers, and it discusses the role played by Cappadocians in government, administration, and eastern society in these years in a way that is often illuminating. In the introduction to the second volume, Van Dam advances the claim that the "comprehensiveness" of his approach represents "an attempt to raise the level of scholarly discourse, in detail, in interpretation, and in intensity" (p. 7). Whether he has succeeded in this attempt must remain doubtful, but Van Dam has certainly succeeded in the other main aim stated in the same passage: "to encourage some sideways reading by specialists." Patristic scholars and church historians are invited to consider "the implications of demographic simulation," while Van Dam's discussions of the two Cappadocian families have much of interest to historians of the family and to social and cultural historians in general, since the analytical models employed throughout the trilogy are very widely applicable. The third volume not only offers brilliant evocations of the career of Eunomius the Anomoean and of the *Hexaemeron* of Basil of Caesarea as a series of sermons delivered to a live audience but also advances an interpretation of the process whereby Cappadocia became Christian, which represents a significant historical thesis, even if Van Dam too often flirts with the reductionist theory that the doctrinal disputes of the fourth century were merely extrapolations of something far more mundane. On this important issue, in fact, his opinions do not seem to be entirely clear. On the one hand, he declares that none of the various competing Christological doctrines propounded in the fourth century is logically or intellectually superior to any other, that "external social and cultural factors were more influential in determining the road actually taken" because "within Cappadocia doctrinal disputes had become yet another aspect of personal rivalries over reputations and standing" (p. 45). On the other hand, he also argues that, although the feuds between Eunomius and his adversaries Basil and Gregory of Nyssa were "manifestations of a long-standing pattern of competition in Greek cities, but now worked out in a Christian society" (p. 17), and although "the pursuit of local prestige and individual status was as important as any concerns about doctrinal formulations" (p. 13), nevertheless it was because of their antecedent concern for doctrinal orthodoxy that Basil and Gregory chose Eunomius as a target for argument and polemic in the first place.

The richness of these three volumes precludes criticism in detail, and the relatively few obvious errors of fact or judgment make no difference to the author's overall argument. One pervasive feature of the trilogy, however, must be noted. Van Dam writes in a discursive, relaxed, reflective, even meditative style, with frequent repetitions and a marked disinclination to apply strict criteria of relevance. In the first volume, for example, we are offered several pages on Digenes Akrites as the Cappadocian equivalent of a highland chieftain (pp. 66–69) and a whole chapter on Gregory of Nazianzus in Constantinople and his dealings with the Emperor Theodosius while in that city (pp. 136–56)—a topic hardly central to a volume that explicitly presents itself as primarily a regional study of Cappadocia. Perhaps it is unfair to criticize the author's style and method of writing, since they appear to mirror an approach and a structure that he has consciously and deliberately chosen. According to Van Dam, "the format of each book of this trilogy is a series of interlocking chapters that in turn provide overlapping interpretations of various topics and issues" (*Kingdom of Snow*, p. 4). But the implications of such an organizational principle are that readers should be

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encouraged to dip into these three books for inspiration or to extract ideas upon which to reflect or meditate, not to try to read the trilogy through with close attention. Moreover, those readers who do attempt to read it continuously right through may well come to feel (as this reviewer did) that the choice of topics and the modes of discussion are dictated by the modern interests, predilections, and affective life of the author more than by what is intrinsically important in the subject matter. The concluding words of the first volume can perhaps with some justice be applied to its modern author: "even though in different guises, Gregory was always writing about himself" (p. 204).

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Guy Halsall. *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450–900*. (Warfare and History.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xix, 320. Cloth $80.00, paper $25.95.

During the past decade, Guy Halsall has published a monograph and a dozen or so articles and edited two volumes. On the whole, his work evidences two unfortunate tendencies. First, there is a failure to provide an accurate account of what other scholars, especially those with whom he disagrees, are saying. Second, he mistranslates Latin sources in ways that would seem to support his views. In this book, intended for the broad audience, Halsall exposes the biases that drive his agenda and these perhaps may account for a pattern that otherwise might be considered merely sloppy or indifferent scholarship.

In the study of early medieval history, two major schools of thought have developed. One, with which the names of Peter Brown, Jean Durliat, and Karl Ferdinand Werner often are associated, focuses on continuity between the ancient world and the early Middle Ages. This has resulted in the reperiodization of European history and the construction of the "late antique" period from the third through the tenth centuries. The second school of thought maintains the old periodization of 500–900 seen as a primitive Germanic "Dark Age" with little relation to the Roman past. Defenders of this scheme summarily dismiss as an "optical illusion" information demonstrating continuity. In a circular process, "primitivism" is asserted to validate the use of anthropological models based on nonliterate/non-Christian cultures in sub-Saharan Africa to understand the ideas and behavior of literate, Christian elites in Rome's successor states.

In accord with the primitivist school, Halsall does not demonstrate that decision making between 450 and 900 fails the rationality test, as understood in Aristotelian terms, with regard to continuity between the later Roman empire and its successor states in the West. Rather he asserts that their belief in a God who plays a role in human affairs creates a "mental gulf" between modern historians and the people they study. He believes that a Marxian problematic is valid for application to so-called primitive societies. Thus, having asserted that "they" are not like "us," Halsall affirms: "this book ultimately seeks the dynamics for political change in competition for resources and thus espouses a materialist approach" (p. 23).

Halsall ignores "late antique" periodization but is acutely aware that the problem with his primitivist model lies in the well-established continuity between the rational behavior of Christian-Roman elites and their later counterparts. There was, however, more than the natural structural continuity due to inertia. Late antique intellectuals and their royal students made a tenacious, centuries-long effort to effect *imitatio imperii* both in regard to ideas and institutions; on the whole they succeeded. It was not without good reason that Robert Fossier observed that Charlemagne was "un souverain antique." Halsall's attempts to undermine this continuity lead him either to ignore or to misrepresent the work of those with whom he imagines himself in ideological combat. For example, he sees the late antique Christian fortress cities of Gaul with their newly built monumental cathedrals and stone churches as "Ghost Towns." In order to proclaim the economy primitive and the population small, Halsall overlooks modern demographic research. The limits of this review do not permit a lengthy list of Halsall's delicts. Thus, it must be sufficient to conclude that those interested in early medieval warfare must look to a late antique periodization, reject primitivist anthropological models and a minimalist Germanic *Sonderweg*, and eschew a treatment of the surviving information forced into a Procrustean Marxist bed.

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Bonnie Effros. *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages*. (Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 35.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 272.

This useful book is, essentially, one giant caveat, warning all users of burial archaeology to meditate long and hard before accepting at face value the conclusions of specialists in the field, particularly those who wrote before the 1970s. The overwhelming weight of the discussion focuses on the mortuary archeology of Merovingian Gaul, but the message will be both accessible and beneficial to anyone whose research requires the utilization of archaeological evidence. Africanists, Americanists, Asianists, Europeanists, and Latin Americanists alike could profit from a consideration of the issues raised by Bonnie Effros. Early medievalists at any career stage who have never seriously engaged with the archaeological record would undoubtedly benefit from studying this book. Medievalist graduate students should definitely take the

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time to familiarize themselves with the information she presents.

The most enduringly valuable part of the book is the first hundred pages, wherein Effros succinctly surveys and assesses some revealing moments in the history of scholarly interpretation of Merovingian-era graves from the mid-thirteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries. Any reader of these pages will become sensitized to the need for caution in applying the findings of archaeologists to their own research projects. For instance, Effros alerts readers to the possibility that scholarly identifications of lavish burials as belonging to members of "French" ruling dynasties may often have resulted more from the prior desire of French royalist excavators to discover such tombs than from any solid, compelling evidence in the tombs themselves.

Effros then moves on to provide a convenient guide to the works of the American, British and European scholars whose publications have dominated the field of burial archaeology in recent decades, most notably Alain Dierkens, Guy Halsall, Heinrich Härke, Edward James, Patrick Périn, Heiko Steuer, and Bailey K. Young. Burial archaeology has been transformed through absorption of cultural insights first developed in the anthropological literature, such as in Ellen-Jane Pader's *Symbolism, Social Relations, and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains* (1982) and Annette B. Weiner's *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (1992). Readers will glean from Effros's discussions an excellent impression of the premises and methodologies that increasingly govern the interpretation of burial evidence. Three aspects of the newly emerging paradigm warrant particular attention. Burial practice has been decoupled from beliefs ("religious" or otherwise) about the afterlife; funerals are no longer understood to reflect theology, but rather are analyzed sociologically as performances, aimed at an audience of the living, which construct power and status. Burial practice has also been decoupled from ethnicity, to the point that there is no longer assumed to be any necessary link between ethnic identity and its material correlates as represented by archeological artifacts; indeed, it is no longer considered possible even to attribute any sort of biologically based ethnicity to the buried individuals under investigation. The choice of funerary rites for departed loved ones is now seen as a function of local or regional custom, a choice made within the confines of the family's social status, rather than as a function of ethnic traditions. Finally, burial practice has been decoupled from gender and serious questions raised concerning whether it is even possible to identify accurately the biological sex of the deceased. Where it has been possible to do so (through DNA analysis or examination of pelves), recent critiques have challenged the stereotypical gender-binary formula according to which "weapon" burials indicated a male corpse and "jewelry" interments indicated a female corpse.

Effros herself avoids serious exploration of issues such as the social construction of gender through the funerary rite, or the process of the categorization of artifacts as "weapons" (is a knife comparable to an axe or a sword?) or "jewelry" (is a belt buckle comparable to earrings?). Rather than relying entirely on Effros in this regard, those readers who require an introduction to matters of gender and burial will find the entire complex of issues articulated with consummate force and clarity by D. M. Hadley and J. M. Moore in "'Death Makes the Man?' Burial Rite and the Construction of Masculinities in the Early Middle Ages" (in Hadley, ed. *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* [1999]).

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MARCIA KUPFER. *The Art of Healing: Painting for the Sick and the Sinner in a Medieval Town*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 202.

In her introduction to this book, Marcia Kupfer announces that her work belongs to the genre of "microhistory," which she defines as the "attempt to retrieve a dimension of medieval culture from a singular evidentiary trace" (p. 5). Her inspirations are the famous exemplars of this approach, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Carlo Ginzburg, and Jean-Claude Schmitt. But their studies had the advantage of using relatively unique and quite full documentary archives, in each case compiled by members of the Inquisition, who by dint of training and habit kept voluminous records. Unfortunately, such is not the case for Kupfer, who instead chooses to rely primarily on the pictorial evidence of one church's decorative painting cycle, of which, as she freely admits, "only scattered, discontinuous fragments survive" (p. 6). Despite a valiant effort to make the most of her meager material, in the end Kupfer fails to convince that images alone can serve as the foundation for such an intensely focused and ambitious study.

Kupfer's thesis revolves around a fresco cycle that was painted anonymously in *ca.* 1200 on the walls of the crypt of the Romanesque collegiate and parish church of Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher in central France. The cycle consists of three surviving murals: a scene in the semidome of the apse of the crypt's main chapel that shows Christ enthroned in majesty flanked by Saints Peter and James, who are each accompanied by kneeling and supplicating pilgrims, one of whom is shown using crutches; a scene in the south chapel that depicts miraculous incidents from the *Life of Saint Giles*, including the healing of a beggar and the Pardon of Charlemagne; and a scene displaying Saints Lazarus, Mary, and Martha, who receive healing from Christ in the form of resurrection from death, exorcism of demons, and halting of menstrual blood flow, respectively. Kupfer's hypothesis is that the crypt served as a healing sanctuary or cult center, most likely centered on display and access to a saint's relics, for the town and surrounding region. But since the only

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evidence for such a function is the crypt's fresco cycle described above, this assumption is extremely speculative. Even identification and interpretation of the paintings themselves are difficult, for some are so fragmentary, such as St. Giles's pardon of Charlemagne and Christ's healing of Mary and Martha, as to permit only hypothetical conclusions. As Kupfer admits when attempting to identify a fourth, almost "entirely effaced" fresco in the north apsidiole of the crypt with St. Silvanus of Levroux, this is done "without either sufficient pictorial evidence . . . or archival records" (p. 44). She does argue gamely in chapter two, however, that several hospitals and chapels dedicated to healing cults, such as that of the "dog saint," Guinefort, were known to have existed in town and in the neighboring community of Noyers. Nonetheless, Kupfer embarks on a long digression in chapter three in which she hypothesizes that most visitors to these shrines suffered from ergotism, which she identifies with "St. Silvanus' fire," even though the symptoms of the disease never "seem to have been singled out regionally as the particular specialty of any one saint" (p. 54).

In chapter four, Kupfer extracts much meaning from the physical "redefinition" of the crypt during the course of two remodeling campaigns during the 1140s and 1160s. At that time, a stairway between the crypt and the upper church was completely blocked up, so that access to the crypt was possible only from an outer porch on the north side. This had the effect, Kupfer argues, of converting the crypt into a "virtually independent lower church," one that transformed pilgrimage from a physically healing rite into a spiritual exercise of remission of sins through penance, and that achieved a social leveling of society through the channeling into one portal of both wealthy pilgrims and the sick poor. Once again, Kupfer constructs an elaborate thesis on dangerously thin evidence: architectural remnants that exist in a tenuous state of preservation. (The existence of the original stairway was only exposed in 1932 when a new one was constructed in its place.) Without any collaboration, there is no way of knowing if, in fact, confessionals were no longer the exclusive domain of the upper church, or if social hierarchy was not maintained by temporal rather than geographical means. If the blocking up of the stairway was intentional, Kupfer leaves unexplored an intriguing possible motivation: that the canons wished to be separated from the crypt for medical reasons, as the poor and infirm who visited the shrine no doubt carried some unpleasant diseases.

Another subsidiary theme of the book is Kupfer's argument in chapter six that the crypt and its paintings were emblematic of the church's efforts during the early thirteenth century to exert greater control over its parishioners' welfare. Canons 21 and 22 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 mandated annual confession for all the faithful and required doctors to refer their patients to a priest as their first resort. A natural route of investigation at this point would have been to explore the emerging conflict between medicine and faith, as more rational methods of healing—derived from the ancients, such as Hippocrates and Galen—began to be rediscovered through the recovery of classical texts mediated by the Arab world. Instead, Kupfer prefers to pursue other issues, such as the church's hostile stance toward women healers and the growing marginalization and persecution of lepers, who were increasingly confined to leprosaria; while these are indeed important, they seem to have little to do with her main thesis related to the crypt's paintings.

As might be expected in an art book, this work is copiously illustrated, containing no fewer than 117 figures. Since these are not distributed throughout the text, however, one must constantly refer back to them in a separate section. Kupfer's penchant for specialist jargon limits her accessibility to general readers, despite a rather awkward attempt in chapter one to compare herself to a filmmaker. The book also lacks an index.

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LOIS L. HUNEYCUTT. *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship*. (Anglo-Norman Studies.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. viii, 207. $70.00.

In recent years scholarly studies of medieval queenship have placed royal consorts firmly in the center of court politics and culture in most of the kingdoms of Western Europe. Lois L. Huneycutt's examination of Matilda of Scotland, the first wife of the English King Henry I, represents the culmination of several years of work on the daughter of Malcolm III and Margaret and offers new perspectives on the unique contribution that she made to the English scene. Huneycutt is fortunate, in that Matilda's life is relatively well documented; in addition to the usual collection of chronicle accounts and charter materials, the author is able to draw on a series of letters penned by the queen, as well as on a biography of her mother that Matilda commissioned the priest Turgot to write.

Princess Edith was one of eight children born to Malcolm Canmore and the Anglo-Saxon Margaret. At a young age she and her sister were sent to live in a series of English nunneries, where she remained until her marriage in 1100. Although the union was criticized from the outset as irregular and uncanonical, Huneycutt shows that Edith herself—now named Matilda—took the initiative in explaining and defending her actions before Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury and winning his blessing. Forcefulness of character, in fact, became a hallmark of Matilda's eighteen years as queen of England. She demonstrated it again when she secured control over a wide array of dower lands, then proceeded to administer and alienate these resources with a firm and independent hand. Forcefulness of character also marked her dealings with the chief ministers of the realm during Henry I's frequent travels to Normandy, when she "sat in judgement,

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issued writs, offered advice, and performed countless other activities" (p. 79).

For Huneycutt, the queen's strength of character is nowhere more in evidence than in the role she adopted as patron of the church. Far from being less generous than other royal figures, she argues, Henry and Matilda acquired distinguished reputations for their largesse, the latter in particular for favoring causes with which she identified personally. Throughout her work, Huneycutt sustains very capably her contention that "the key to understanding Matilda's impact" on early twelfth-century England "lies in personalities, not policies" (p. 123). Her Matilda is more recognizable as a person, with both qualities and faults, than scholars have succeeded in making many other medieval queens.

As the subtitle of her book makes clear, however, Huneycutt is concerned to offer her readers much more than a *vita*. A second important theme of the work is her argument that Matilda's reign represented the culmination of a long history of Anglo-Saxon queenship, a style of rule, moreover, that was on the verge of disappearing from England. Like most of the consorts who preceded her, stretching back to Judith, the wife of Æthelwulf of Wessex, Matilda was a consecrated queen. Building on the achievements of her predecessors, she found "the means to act in an effective manner to further her goals." More specifically, Matilda made sure to acquire as a significant part of her dower estates that had been particularly associated with her Anglo-Saxon predecessors. In her husband's absences, she acted not merely as his trusted representative but with viceregal authority. Thus, in refusing to behave as if she were "just an adjunct" to the king, Matilda promoted consecrated queenship "as an integral part of the institution of monarchy" (p. 93).

Already in 1118, however, there were signs of change in the air. Henry's second queen, Adeliza of Louvain, does not appear to have exercised control over the lands traditionally given to Anglo-Saxon queens; by the later twelfth century, moreover, royal consorts lost the ability to administer their properties with as free a hand as Matilda had enjoyed. Similarly, few of her successors acted with the breadth of authority that she had commanded. After 1118, as the royal entourage gradually acquired the trappings of European-style courtly culture, queenly leadership was channeled into new roles. If Huneycutt is at times hard pressed to date these and other developments precisely to the year of Matilda's death, she nevertheless succeeds in making a compelling case for seeing the reign as marking an important watershed in the history of queenship.

There are a few flaws in this work; most notably, Huneycutt does not appear to have taken advantage of the now significant secondary literature relating to eleventh and twelfth-century Scotland, and her discussions of conditions in the northern kingdom are disappointingly outdated. But such weaknesses are outweighed by the qualities of the work, and it deserves to enjoy wide readership.

Cynthia J. Neville
Dalhousie University

James Muldoon. *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xiv, 204.

It is sometimes advisable to disregard the title of a book; this maxim would appear to be applicable in the present case. James Muldoon was guided by the idea that the experience of the English (the term Anglo-Norman and varieties of it find no basis in the contemporary sources) in late medieval Ireland can be considered an early manifestation of a phenomenon that appears in many parts of the world: the assumption of a new identity by people on the frontier. "Thus, when Europeans entered the Americas they came with historical experience of frontier life as well as a vocabulary and a series of concepts about mankind and about human social and cultural development" (p. 20). The thesis that the English in America took with them the experience of the English in late medieval Ireland is bold and well worth investigating. Unfortunately, Muldoon does not really do so; the reader is offered no more than a hypothesis.

Four main chapters of this study on various aspects of "Middle Races" are framed by a lengthy introduction ("The Frontier, Crucible of Identity") and conclusion ("The Collision of Theory with Experience"). The theory alluded to is that of Aristotle of the progress in human development from rural to urban existence. When looking at the Irish situation, it appears that Christianity there failed to "civilize" the Irish in this respect. (In fact, such urbanization as did occur in Ireland was largely due to the Vikings, but to some extent Christianity played a role, namely in the so-called monastic towns, a subject not alluded to.)

The four core chapters of the book are variants of one theme, which sees peoples of the frontier everywhere as developing their own identity (which Muldoon occasionally calls "hybrid"). The bibliography includes too few substantial works on Irish history. With regard to Ireland, the term "middle nation" was articulated first in the "Remonstrance of 1318," but the phenomenon is labeled in many different ways. It is a pity, however, that the various late medieval English and Irish sources are never discussed systematically. In fact, the author resorts throughout to sources in translation.

Muldoon goes to some length to illustrate that the case of the English in Ireland is in no way unique, but in the process he fails to set out the topic of his book systematically. Time and again he cites key documents—the Irish Remonstrance and the Statutes of Kilkenny—without ever dealing with these sources thoroughly. Instead, the narrative meanders over cen-

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turies and continents, between Herodotus and Aristotle on the one end, and Thomas Cahill on the other.

Muldoon has apparently internalized the Aristotelian idea of civilization and writes about the Statutes of Kilkenny: "the authors of these documents overlooked the fact that the Irish themselves were a kind of middle nation. Although they had become Christian, they had retained their pastoral and tribal social structure and had not developed settled agricultural and urban life" (p. 115). The author ranges widely beyond the late medieval centuries and well beyond Ireland. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* appears under four different titles, and it may be said that the definitive translation (if ever there can be such) is no longer the Penguin Classic one that he uses but the one by Colgrave and Mynors. It is factually wrong that Irish society was largely isolated from the continent in the centuries before church reform. Nor, as a concomitant, is it acceptable to refer to "the mainstream European society" or the "mainstream Latin Church" (see pp. 66–69). Two historians of late medieval Ireland are not cited at all: James Lydon and Robin Frame, who has done perhaps the most detailed work on this period of Irish history.

As an exercise in social and cultural identities (see p. x), this study remains impressionistic.

MICHAEL RICHTER
University of Constance

PAUL BRAND. *Kings, Barons and Justices: The Making and Enforcement of Legislation in Thirteenth-Century England*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 56.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 508. $90.00.

Paul Brand is the foremost expert on the sources for the history of English common law, having dedicated his career to studying the unpublished medieval plea rolls, law reports and registers of writs. With this book, he presents in a much revised and expanded form the findings of his 1974 Ph.D. dissertation on a piece of thirteenth-century legislation: the 1259 Provisions of Westminster, the most important English legislation since the 1225 reissue of Magna Carta. A major contribution of the baronial reform movement of Henry III's middle years, the revised Provisions took their place as permanent legislation in the 1267 Statute of Marlborough following the reformers' defeat in 1265. This body of law consisted of a miscellaneous group of administrative and legal measures demanded by the baronial reformers and their allies during the crisis, 1258–1265, significant in Brand's eyes as "the first legislation deliberately to alter existing procedures in the king's courts" (p. 410). These measures are also important for expanding the reform movement from the issue of baronial-royal relations to a redefinition of the barons' relations with their tenants and their mutual rights and responsibilities toward one another as enforced in the lords' own courts. In addition, the Provisions of Westminster included proposals for improving the functioning of the royal courts, chiefly new remedies in the civil sphere but also some changes in criminal justice.

In part one of this book, Brand seeks to explain the need for the legislation of 1259–1267 and the intentions behind it. After tracing the series of reissues and revisions that transformed the 1259 Provisions into the Statute of Marlborough, Brand turns in part two to the enforcement and interpretation of the Provisions and the Statute down to the end of Edward I's reign in 1307. Appendixes provide the Latin texts and English translations of the Provisions of Westminster, its 1263 and 1264 reissues, and the Statute of Marlborough.

Brand's research is impressive, indicated by seven and a half pages of manuscript sources listed in his bibliography, and he offers a corrective to T. F. T. Plucknett's influential work, *The Legislation of Edward I* (rev. ed. 1962). A surprising amount of documentation survives to enable Brand to give an account of the process of drafting the legislation, for example analyzing five different drafts of the 1259 Provisions. The result is an extremely detailed account, with clause-by-clause examination of the various versions of the Provisions of Westminster that will prove tedious for all but the most learned students of medieval English legal history. It is apparent that the author writes for his fellow experts in English common law, affording no concessions to nonspecialist readers, and he makes no attempt to define a multitude of technical legal terms unfamiliar to medievalists who are not learned in the law. Although Brand expresses an aim of placing the legislation of 1259–1267 in "its proper contemporary context," his detailed and technical analyses of clauses of the various versions of the legislation will likely deter all but the most persistent readers from achieving that goal.

Brand finds that the Provisions of Westminster and the Statute of Marlborough are significant for contributing to "the idea of large-scale legislative reform and [are] a curtain-raiser for the large-scale legislative activity associated with the reign of Edward I" (p. 409). Embedded in his detailed discussions of their clauses are topics of broad interest to students of thirteenth-century English history: for example, the expanding role of the magnates and even lesser men in enacting legislation. Indeed, the preambles show a growing notion of a need for "general agreement" to new legislation, and the 1259 Provisions had a nonroyal origin in local grievances of knights of the counties. Perhaps the 1259–1267 legislation is most significant as an illustration of the continued transformation of the lord-tenant relationship, showing a renewed attempt by the central government, at the prodding of the reforming barons, to secure royal protection for free tenants from their lords' abuses of their rights. Despite baronial leadership of the reform movement, parts of the legislation clearly were disadvantageous to the magnates, reinforcing a royal monopoly of justice.

RALPH V. TURNER
Florida State University

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THELMA FENSTER and DANIEL LORD SMAIL, editors. *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. vii, 227. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This volume is the exemplary product of a conference held at Fordham University in September 2000. It is exemplary for two reasons. First, the subject is both large and new, and the editors and contributors obviously listened carefully to commentators at the conference and to each other and revised accordingly. Therefore it is both coherent and a substantial addition to the scholarly literature on reputation, not exclusively in legal history but across a broad range of circumstances and academic disciplines in which reputation and talk about reputation played a role, from gossip, hearsay, and rumor to legally weighted *fama*, whether *bona* or *mala*, in both documentary and literary texts, including visual representation in manuscripts. The contributors pay close attention to the role of gender and the different social settings outside law courts in which talk about talk was recorded. Second, the potential extent of that range makes a series of case studies an ideal way to sound some of the many places and diverse instances in which reputation and talk about it were at issue. The locations studied include Italy, Spain, Germany, France, and England; the texts range from the Visigothic Code to fifteenth-century English statutes and romances.

Most of the contributors refer helpfully at appropriate points to other essays in the volume, and all cite relevant recent historical and anthropological literature on their subject. This is a volume that gracefully brings several academic disciplines together without any of the usual discordances. The editors—Thelma Fenster, a scholar of medieval French literature, and Daniel Lord Smail, a historian of law and society in late medieval southern France—began by talking to each other, discovering common interests independently arrived at, and then convinced other scholars to do the same. The result is a happy collaboration all round.

The nine essays are grouped into sections on *fama* in law, reputation, and speech, but these divisions are not hard and fast. Although most of the historiography on *fama* has been in legal history, this volume greatly widens the range of scholarship and the definition of the concept itself, perhaps most originally in the third section on speech. But each essay in the volume contributes something original and informative. There is not a loser in the lot.

The editors' introduction clearly locates their effort to "connect the legal-historical sources of *fama* to literary texts, commentaries, and art historical images" (p. 8) in a complex matrix of academic disciplines. *Fama* "glossed the essential nexus of performance, talk, reputation, and speech regulation" (p. 2) that characterized much of early European society and culture. The essays by Chris Wickham, Thomas Kuehn, Madeline Caviness, and Charles G. Nelson in the first section take the reader from formal legal doctrine to the ways in which it was understood and sometimes manipulated by those to whom it was applied by courts. The last of these is a sharp and original reminder of the role and rationale of visual images in reinforcing and even expanding the message of the accompanying text.

The essays by F. R. P. Akehurst and Jeffrey A. Bowman in the second section deal with good and bad reputation in thirteenth-century France and Spain respectively, based on both authors' extensive knowledge of the great legal compilations of Philippe de Beaumanoir and Alfonso X. These and other legal texts, as well as the texts of moral theology, were part of medieval writers' mental baggage and are clearly echoed in much of their work. Lori Walters's third essay in the section is an original and engaging study of Christine de Pizan's ideas of the *fame* of both Charles V of France and herself as his worthy biographer, as well as Christine's willingness to challenge no less an authority than St. Augustine over the suicide of Lucretia, just as firmly as she challenged Jean de Meun on another occasion.

The third section contains Sandy Bardsley's study of the increasing concern in post-Black Death England over uncontrolled hostile speech, including the invention of the scold, Richard Horvath's study of two Middle English romances that deal with *fama*, one of which may anticipate the idiom of Geoffrey Chaucer, and Edwin Craun's masterful study of Margery Kempe's claims to her right of fraternal correction when she is accused of defaming prelates in private and public.

This book deserves considerable *bona fama* of its own. Nor should it be of interest only to medievalists and early modernists. Modernists, too, will find much of interest, clearly accessible. Here U.S. Federal Rules of Evidence 609 jostles modern French *juges d'instruction*, John Austin joins Pierre Bourdieu, and cucking-stools migrate from fifteenth-century England to colonial North America. But to find the matron who moons a magistrate, one must still turn to the illustrated thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Sachsenspiegel* (pp. 57–58).

EDWARD PETERS
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NANCY CACIOLA. *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*. (Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 327. $42.00.

This book, Nancy Caciola tells us in her preface, changed significantly in the writing. The author's original idea was to trace a sharp reversal in medieval ideas concerning spirit possession, from a vibrant and widely approved female, mystical sanctity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the fifteenth-century condemnation of all (or at least most) such women as demonically possessed. In the course of her work,

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however, Caciola came to realize that instances of possession were never uncontested. Religious women who made claims to spiritual authority in this way were always ambiguous and divisive figures, both within their own communities and for ecclesiastical authorities. The result is a nuanced study of the role played by possession across several centuries of medieval culture.

The issue of proper discernment of spirits emerged sharply in the early fifteenth century with several treatises by the most prominent theologians of the day being devoted to this subject. Caciola, however, rightly begins her study much earlier. She notes that possession, as a means of asserting spiritual authority, was prevalent in the earliest days of Christianity. As the Western church became more firmly institutional, authority was vested in the clerical hierarchy and instances of spirit possession became rare. A resurgence occurred in the late twelfth century, due to a new level of religious intensity among the laity of Western Europe. Cases of divinely inspired ecstasy multiplied, as did fear of demonic possession. Uncertainty abounded, however, because outward signs—extreme physical behavior, trances, prophetic knowledge—were identical for both divine and demonic possession. Debate over the meaning of such behaviors took place in the immediate community to which a possessed person presented herself and among clerical authorities who ultimately judged these cases.

Caciola makes important observations about many aspects of spirit possession, but her central focus is on gender. In most cases, possessed people were women, and she traces the complex ways in which categories of gender, conceptions of physiology, and possession were intertwined in medieval thought. Since, ultimately, spirit possession involved the disruption of individual identity, women were more prone because they were held to have less firmly established identities than men. Also physically, because the female body was held to be imperfectly formed and more porous than the male body, and because possession was believed to involve the physical penetration of foreign spirits into the body, women were more susceptible to both divine and demonic possession than were men. We are thus given a fine study of the ways in which complex concepts about women's bodies and their basic identities, rather than simply "misogyny," shaped aspects of medieval culture, although some treatment of (admittedly rare) cases of male spirit possession might have provided a more complete understanding of these categories.

For several centuries the possessed remained "ciphers" whose identity as either holy or unholy was largely open to society's interpretation in either direction, yet demonic possession was the more usual conclusion for a variety of reasons, not least of which was that demonic possession was known from the Bible while divine possession was a phenomenon new to the Middle Ages. Moreover, the linked categories male/cleric/saint and female/lay/demoniac gradually became established (again Caciola's almost exclusive focus on lay women leaves open many questions as to how these categories actually interacted). In the early fifteenth century, debate over discernment came to a head in numerous authoritative treatises, including several by three of the most prominent churchmen of that age: Henry of Langenstein, Pierre d'Ailly, and Jean Gerson. Seeking to reestablish certain religious authority in the wake of the protracted schism in the Western church, each tried to set firm criteria for judging possession, thus bringing to a rigid close centuries of complex ambiguity. Yet there is a problem here. Caciola notes that none of the three were particularly effective at shaping larger ecclesiastical opinion on these matters, notably failing to block the canonization of the mystics Brigit of Sweden and Catherine of Siena. Although the treatises did establish some categories, notably extreme bodily behavior, more firmly as evidence of demonic possession, basic questions of discernment were hardly resolved in the fifteenth century, and Caciola's study seems to close with somewhat less nuance than characterizes it throughout.

Lest this review end on an uncharacteristic note, however, let me state that this book is a thoughtful and rich exploration of an important aspect of medieval religious culture. Discerning readers interested in spirituality, gender, or conceptions of the body in the Middle Ages will be well rewarded.

MICHAEL D. BAILEY
Iowa State University

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

KATHERINE A. LYNCH. *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 37.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 250. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.00.

No doubt it would be difficult for any book to live up to the expectations aroused by a title and subtitle like these. Certainly this volume cannot claim to offer an all-inclusive treatment of the interlinked themes of individual, family and community during six centuries of European history; in fact, not only the topics but even the time periods covered by this book are less than comprehensive. But Katherine A. Lynch's discussions of the subjects she includes are well grounded in recent research, cogently explained, and often superbly insightful.

The author's project, as explained in the introduction, is to examine how men and women in late medieval and early modern Europe constructed or used networks of association other than their families to deal with the needs that families could or would not satisfy. Lynch argues that these forms of association were particularly significant in cities, where kinship networks were sometimes less effective in meeting people's needs than they were in smaller, rural com-

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munities. Indeed, she sees the creation of such associations as an important form of "community building" by town dwellers in search of economic and emotional security. Yet she wisely rejects any suggestion of a formal dichotomy between "private" family life and "public" community building, since the interests and aspirations of family and community were as likely to be complementary as antagonistic.

The first chapter describes some fundamental demographic and social characteristics of the European city. Possibly too much time is spent defending the rather arbitrary decision to consider all communities with more than 2,000 inhabitants as "urban"—an issue that, in fact, proves to be scarcely pertinent to the book's later arguments. But the discussion of urban migration, mortality, and marriage patterns is excellent. The next chapter describes how religious associations in late medieval Europe functioned as alternatives or supplements to family life. Naturally the author includes religious orders in her discussion, but she also covers lay associations, such as the beguinages that many urban laywomen joined in the late Middle Ages and the confraternities that played a significant role in late medieval and early modern communities. The third chapter explores the vexing problem of poor relief and its relationship to religious and communal values. All European communities recognized an obligation to provide assistance to the poor, although there was a persistent preference for favoring the "respectable" or "deserving" members of that category. A new wrinkle, however, was introduced after the Reformation when religious subcommunities emerged in many northern European cities. Drawing on a number of important recent studies, Lynch provides a penetrating summary of the way in which controversies over poor relief brought to light irresolvable tensions between older visions of community that were essentially civic in nature and a newer tendency to make confessional subcommunities the primary objects of collective loyalty. The fourth chapter examines the way in which the process of confessionalization—the formation of divergent Protestant and Catholic social systems following the Reformation—impacted the domestic and communal roles of men and women. Avoiding the simplistic models that have distorted some treatments of this subject, the author shows that both Protestant and Catholic authorities intruded on family life in new ways to reduce women's freedom of action, yet many women found effective strategies to circumvent limitations on their involvement in community life.

This brings the analysis up to the late seventeenth century. Suddenly, however, the author leapfrogs past a century of European history to close her book with a detailed case study of poor relief debates in France during the first five years of the French Revolution. She shows effectively how disputes among the early revolutionary leaders—who wavered between a comprehensive approach to relieving poverty and a sense of special obligation to those who had supported the revolutionary cause—echoed some of the debates about poor relief among European policy makers of earlier centuries. Yet this intensive case study of disputes in one country, albeit an important country at an exceptionally critical historical moment, forms an unusual coda to what started out as a broadly conceived approach to European history. The book's conclusion, which projects some of the book's themes forward into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, does not really redress this shift in focus.

Ultimately the book is more successful in dealing with the themes suggested by the main title than in fulfilling the ambitious program implied by its subtitle. The author's command of the literature on kinship, gender, voluntary associations and poor relief is extremely impressive, but the general literature on urban history is less well represented. The bibliography lists, for example, the admirable study by Paul Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (1985), but omits some newer surveys that focus specifically on early modern cities, such as Alexander Cowan's *Urban Europe, 1500–1700* (1998) and this reviewer's *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (1995). Few readers will feel that Lynch has adequately explained "the urban foundations of western society," but they will find in these pages an absorbing discussion of the interplay between family values and community building from the late Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, capped off with an equally illuminating treatment of a rarely discussed but highly revealing debate during the opening years of the French Revolution.

CHRISTOPHER R. FRIEDRICHS
University of British Columbia

PHILIP S. GORSKI. *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the Early Modern State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 249. Cloth $52.00, paper $21.00.

In this book, Philip S. Gorski, a sociologist whose published work has primarily concentrated on the role of confessionalism and state building in early modern Europe, expands an argument he has been making for about ten years in articles and essays: namely, that the Protestant Reformation, most especially Calvinism, inaugurated a disciplinary revolution that, alongside the well-known military and bourgeois revolutions, led to the formation of the early modern state. Through the establishment of surveillance networks, efficient bureaucracies, and military discipline, Calvinists produced an infrastructure of social order critical to state power. Focusing on the Dutch Republic and Brandenburg-Prussia, Gorski does not offer any new evidence; rather he puts forth a new theory about state formation. Consequently, he works largely from secondary literature, although he incorporates some published primary and archival sources. Gorski's theory essentially uses Calvinism to unite the religious ethos of Max Weber with the social discipline of Michel Fou-

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cault to explain the emergence of state power in early modern Europe.

After an introduction and first chapter that cogently set forth the shortcomings of the neo-Marxist and bellicist interpretations that Gorski challenges, four chapters follow. Two chapters treat the historical cases of the Dutch Republic and Brandenburg-Prussia, another compares discipline across confessions (Calvinist, Lutheran, and Catholic), and a concluding chapter effectively makes a case for the place of religion in sociological theory on the state.

The Dutch case represents disciplinary revolution from below, as local religious institutions, chiefly the Reformed consistory, promoted social order through its system of discipline. Reformed deacons also collaborated with municipal officials to infuse discipline into poor relief by rewarding work, punishing beggary, and rehabilitating indolence, efforts that functioned as a program of cultural education to Dutch society. Since the republic was the most decentralized state in Western Europe, Gorski rightly stresses the significance of local organizations in enforcing moral norms. He also argues that Calvinism's ascetic values informed the development of government bureaucracy, just as religious discipline reinforced obedience and drilling in the army.

Brandenburg-Prussia, conversely, exemplified the case of a top-down revolution. Political power became concentrated in the hands of the Hohenzollerns, due to Frederick William's policy of appointing (nonnoble) fellow Calvinists to administrative posts in order to undercut the prerogatives of the Lutheran nobility. Also a staunch Calvinist, Frederick William I continued his grandfather's absolutist policies, imposing a severe austerity on governmental administration and instituting a strict regimen of drilling, as well as other reforms, in military training. In addition, the pietistic movement spearheaded by Philip Jacob Spener produced educational reforms that carried ascetic values to the popular level. Thus for Gorski, absolutism emerged from confessional conflict between elector and nobility and a Calvinist ascetic ethic pervaded the administration of the state and the military.

From these cases, Gorski compares disciplinary structures across the confessional divide and concludes that Calvinist discipline proved more intense, comprehensive, and effective. His conclusion seems to derive principally from the fact that scholarship on Calvinist discipline has been more intense, comprehensive and effective than that for other confessions. Even so, he overlooks much recent work on post-Tridentine Catholicism that has underscored the depth of discipline, albeit slow and uneven, in Catholic Europe. Gorski also compares disciplinary mechanisms in poor relief across confessions and administrative efficiency in governments across Europe. Again, he finds that Protestantism proved to be the modernizing force as it transformed the sacramental character of medieval Catholicism into a disciplined, efficient system that emphasized work. With regard to political administration, Protestant states that experienced pietistic movements from above possessed the most extensive bureaucratization. For Gorski, Catholic states were more likely to retain patrimonial practices, which ultimately hindered efforts to reform bureaucracies along rational principles.

This book is an ambitious work that should be read by scholars working in the religious and political history of early modern Europe. No doubt, most will find empirical deficiencies in their own spheres of expertise; I found areas of disagreement with the treatment of poor relief. But the real value of a theoretical work lies in the utility of its overarching reconceptualization in relation to other macrohistorical theories. Recent historical scholarship has attempted to reinsert religion back into the Reformation, so a theoretical framework that places religious confession at a central location in state building is refreshing and welcome. Gorski's emphasis on the influence of local practices also helps to correct the reflexive tendency to grant primary agency to supralocal actors. Yet my primary difficulty with his model was its conceptual looseness. Here is but one example. At first glance, the disciplinary revolution bears a striking resemblance to the confessionalization thesis recently called into question by those skeptical of the emphasis it gives to alliances between church and state in imposing religious orthodoxy. The first chapter, however, appears to promise an alternative view: that confessional discipline explains the course of state building in the early modern period. Yet by chapter four, Gorski seems to back away from this position, maintaining that religion was merely one of many factors in the evolution of discipline, social provision, and state administration. Very few historians would disagree with the latter view, but his theory of a disciplinary revolution purports to go far beyond the significance of religion in these areas. Nevertheless, Gorski has done an admirable job fitting a number of pieces together to show the import of confessional discipline in early modern societies.

CHARLES H. PARKER
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JEROEN DUINDAM. *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780.* (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 349. $80.00.

Although the study of courts has now become fashionable, Jeroen Duindam's book is the first to make an in-depth comparison between the French court and its principal rival, the Austrian, for the period 1550–1780. In order to write it, he had, as he ingenuously confesses, to convert himself into an archival historian. Duindam has trawled through dozens of files in the archives and libraries of Paris, and still more in Vienna. The result is a major contribution to the

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history of each court and the associated governments as well as to comparative history.

The French court proves to have been substantially bigger and much more costly than the Austrian one. The significant differences include venality of offices in France and its virtual absence in Austria, where by contrast there were many honorary, unpaid court officials. In addition, many French princes and princesses were given expensive establishments of their own, while the only substantial secondary courts in Vienna during this period were those of three successive empress dowagers from 1705 to 1750. The author tells us much about the court's pastimes, especially hunting, and about its meals and access to them. The obvious contrasts are described: Vienna insufferably religious and enclosed, Versailles more frivolous and open. But Versailles turns out to be rather more religious and Vienna rather more accessible than appears at first sight. A nice batch of illustrations illuminates these topics.

Part four of the book is concerned with "power." It stresses, for example, the prudent and necessary silences of monarchs, their isolation, and the importance of their amours, their favorites, and their ministers—although nothing is said about the use of *incognito*. Duindam is concerned to minimize the role of court faction and to show that the power of court officers dwindled in both courts as ministers' power grew. He joins the chorus of historians who have shown that French absolutism failed to tame the nobility or the sovereign courts. Comparing the French situation to the Austrian, he is impressed by the effectiveness of Friedrich Wilhelm von Haugwitz's reforms, after which the Austrian bureaucracy came to outnumber the court in Vienna, a shift that did not occur in France.

Certain weaknesses stand out. There is a strange lack of feel for place, revealed even in the book's title: Versailles was the seat of the French court for less than half of the period in question. Very little is made of the move out of the capital, or of the crucial point that Louis XIV took the government with him to his country palace—a scheme that hardly any other ruler copied. It surely mattered enormously that in Austria the government and the court were firmly based in the capital, that the Habsburgs were constantly processing around Vienna, that Maria Theresa, when staying at Schönbrunn, drove into the Hofburg to transact business, and that Joseph II was always walking and driving about the city. By concentrating so strictly on Vienna, however, Duindam excludes the apanages given to younger sons in the provinces around 1600 and the secondary courts held in Brussels and Pressburg by royals, which cost money that, although raised locally, would otherwise have been available to the dynasty for general purposes. In the case of both France and Austria, other palaces, like Fontainebleau and Marly, Schönbrunn and Laxenburg, are virtually ignored.

The dual role of Vienna as headquarters both of the emperor and of the ruler of the monarchy is recognized but not fully clarified. There was always rather more distinction between the two operations than Duindam allows, and between 1740 and 1780 they were separated. He does not consider the contemporaneous shift in Vienna toward *étatisme* and its vocabulary: the appointment in 1749 of a Staatskanzler in the person of Wenzel Anton Kaunitz, his creation of the Staatsrat in 1761, and Joseph's strict division of his father's fortune in 1765 between family and state. It is not pointed out that in eighteenth-century France, four first ministers were drawn from the clergy, in Austria none after 1706. Nor does it emerge that Charles VI planned to create an Austrian Escorial, and that the papal nuncio had an exceptional role at the court of Vienna until 1783. So close is the focus on France and Austria that the influence on the latter of Prussia and Russia is unmentioned.

This is an admirably produced book, but the index is hopelessly inadequate, a casualty, no doubt, of the Cambridge University Press's digitalization program.

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MARK CIOC. *The Rhine: An Eco-Biography, 1815–2000.* (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 263. $29.95.

One of the few sources *not* used to illustrate this concise and remarkably authoritative overview of the Rhine is a painting by Oskar Nerlinger called *Through the Rose-Colored Glasses of Romanticism* (1929). A pink-tinged, oval-framed middle shows a river of scenic twists, castles, and golden-haired maidens. But at both sides of the canvas a very different, dynamically tilted river comes into view, full of barges, cranes, straightened concrete margins, smoke, and commerce. Mark Cioc's goal, like Nerlinger's, is to reveal the true Rhine. His particular project is to add an ecological dimension to existing portraits, to understand "why the river became a degraded biological habitat" by the twentieth century (p. 4).

Intriguingly, one narrative key that Cioc uses to unlock this history is the Congress of Vienna. Its post-Napoleonic deliberations are recognized as a defining moment in European politics, but Cioc is convincing in showing that they made environmental history as well. When diplomats established the interstate Rhine Commission in 1815, they "turned over control of the Rhine" to a group of "Eurocrats and engineers" who singlemindedly pursued the goal of making the river "a world-class shipping canal" (p. 44). Building on James C. Scott's concept of "state simplifications," Cioc argues that the Rhine's decline resulted from such onesided human demands, and that the river's recent revival has been made possible only by a "more holistic approach to river management" (p. 195).

The simple truth of this basic argument combines with the sheer sweep of Cioc's portrayal to make for

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compelling reading. In three chronologically arranged chapters, Cioc examines the general navigation concerns of the early nineteenth century, the enormous demands for water and waste disposal that were added by the age of coal and iron, and the ways in which the electro-chemical-nuclear age placed unique new demands on an already overpolluted Rhine. In two concluding chapters, Cioc reviews the decline of the river's flora and fauna and then gives a cautiously optimistic portrayal of the international efforts to revive the Rhine since 1976.

The majority of the book is based on published sources. The middle chapters are the most impressive, closely interweaving a history of various mining and manufacturing technologies with information on the contemporary state of waste treatment and impacts on river systems from the Ruhr to the Erft. Here material from German state archives is used skilfully to undergird the finding that people—or at least those people in positions of influence—were prepared to "sacrifice" virtually any stretch of river for even temporary economic advantages. To specialists this is still largely familiar territory, but it constitutes a significant achievement on Cioc's part to have assembled and made accessible a history that until now was strewn across several national boundaries and even more academic disciplines—and moreover to have cast it in a highly readable form.

It is a measure of the book's crystalline clarity that it throws fundamental questions of focus and method into sharp relief. Cioc begins with the Congress of Vienna and ends with international accords of the twenty-first century, while in between he often focuses on various governments' positions on matters of navigation and waste. The reader is forced to conclude that the real actors in this environmental history are the oft-mentioned "riparian states," or alternatively a cadre of technocrats under state control. No doubt these were the immediate and well-defined forces, and they allow Cioc to get the big picture just about right. However, it is possible, and perhaps necessary, to focus on other modes of social causality. Early in the book, Cioc insists that the Rhine "was constructed not just by Eurocrats and engineers, but also by millions of people who lived and travelled on its banks every day," but the antinuclear protests of the 1970s and a few anecdotes about particular polluters are the only points in his narrative where ordinary people are seen to be responsible for events (pp. 18, 135). This leaves a great deal of room for more work that might show more precisely how and why individuals enacted the disastrous "simplifications" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One step in this direction would be to abandon the ideologically timid and rather inexact practice of blaming "modern industrial society" for things that might more properly be laid at the doorstep of "capitalism"—a word that by my count occurs just once, in quotations, in 263 pages documenting the sorry state of a river that runs by some of the world's largest manufacturers.

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KEVIN PASSMORE, editor. *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe, 1919–45*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 275. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

This collection, edited by Kevin Passmore, consists of thirteen essays dealing primarily with women and fascism in a variety of national contexts including Germany, Italy, France, Poland, Spain, Latvia, Serbia, Croatia, Romania, Hungary, and Britain. Given the range of political regimes covered—obviously not all of the countries were ruled by fascist dictatorships—the focus and approach taken by the individual authors vary widely. Some deal with fascist women's groups and the places occupied by women in specific national political hierarchies. Others deal with conservative women's movements under authoritarian but not fascist regimes, while others study the role assigned to women in society and culture by particular fascist ideologies. Unfortunately, given the number of national cultures discussed, not all the essays can be discussed in the space allotted here.

Although the national histories and cultures under discussion vary considerably, several common themes emerge. A number of authors stress that only recently has the study of fascism and extreme right-wing movements in Europe focused on detailed examinations of the role of women, as well as other gender-related issues. This is so for a variety of reasons. First, because fascism is a "hypermasculine" ideology, histories of fascist movements and regimes in question have traditionally studied the predominantly, if not exclusively, male leadership cadres and hierarchies. Moreover, the initial impact of feminism on the study of the history of fascist regimes in Italy and Germany, for example, sought to identify "heroines" rather than women fascists or women complicitous with fascism, and so the individuals and groups studied were usually those who resisted fascism, and not its proponents.

Second, many of the essays underscore the fact that women and fascism were fundamentally a "poor fit," since the ideological underpinnings of the fascist movements and regimes generally assigned women a subservient role. The result was that party hierarchies rarely granted status, autonomy, or real authority to women's groups within the movement or to individual women who scrued as auxiliaries or even party functionaries.

Nevertheless, many of the contributors underscore the broad appeal of fascism and extreme-right politics to women, and for a variety of reasons. The British Fascisti, founded in 1923, attracted a good number of patriotic women associated previously with the war effort and support activities for the troops. Later, the British Union of Fascists (BUF) attracted a number of

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former suffragettes, who saw the BUF as supportive of advancing the cause of women in a number of areas, despite the fundamental misogyny of the movement. Oswald Moseley encouraged this belief in some of his own writings, in part, apparently, because Benito Mussolini had told him he had little chance for success without the support of women.

In Italy, despite the decline of women's influence in the party and the regime from the late 1920s on, the number of women who joined increased steadily, reaching over a million in 1942. But this increase was perhaps as much due to the party's gradual takeover of virtually all spheres of social activity traditionally dominated by women as it was to a strong feminine adherence to the ideology of fascism.

Perhaps because the history of fascism in Western European countries like Germany, Italy, and France has been so thoroughly scrutinized, some of the most interesting and informative essays in the collection deal with ethnically diverse, historically complex Eastern European countries like Romania and Hungary. Maria Bucur's excellent essay on Romania moves smoothly from general and theoretical issues related to fascism and gender to the specifics of the Romanian context. She notes, first, the increasing complexity of the national situation after World War I with the doubling of the size of the nation's population. This increase encouraged ethnic tensions and increased fear of a Bolshevik-style revolution as a result of a large increase in the size of the peasant population. Moreover, during the interwar years, Romanian nationalism became more virulent as it became increasingly linked to ethnicity, biological racism, and religion. In her discussion of Romanian fascism per se, Bucur focuses primarily on the Legion of the Archangel Michael and the views of its ideologues concerning women and their role in society and within the movement. Like other fascist movements, the legion promoted the cult of the virile warrior male and, despite some rhetoric assigning the women within the movement—known as "fortresses"—a warrior's role as well, generally cast females in a subservient position. Most of the legion's iconography, in fact, shows women sewing and embroidering. But as Bucur observes, any effort to determine the extent of a deliberate "masculinist" rhetoric in the legion is hindered by the nature of the language itself, which has masculine and feminine plural forms for most nouns. Bucur observes that most of those women who joined the Legion of the Archangel Michael were drawn by its appeal to youth and its virulent antisemitism.

In her essay on Hungary, Mária Kovács also underscores specificities of the Hungarian context that inflected the relationship between women and fascism. Kovács stresses at the outset that fascism and extreme right-wing politics were particularly marginal in Hungary because of a powerful conservative ruling class that sought to avoid revolutionary extremes. Moreover, while the antisemitism so typical of the extreme right established an early toehold in Hungary with the passage of *numerus clausus* laws concerning Jews in educational contexts and expanded to economic domains in 1938, the emancipation of women gained ground in the interwar years. Ironically, the original *numerus clausus* law was initially targeted at women, not Jews, and so in fact the shift in focus actually *helped* women. Clearly, antisemitism and legal efforts to push women into subservient positions did not go hand in hand, at least in this instance.

By comparison with the chapters on Romania and Hungary, the chapters on Serbia and Croatia are somewhat less compelling, but this is perhaps due as much to the national contexts in question as to the essays themselves. Serbia had not had a powerful indigenous fascist movement before the war, and so there were no women's fascist groups or auxiliaries to speak of. Nevertheless, the reactionary nature of Serbian women's organizations before the war—their essentialism, antimodernism, and nationalism—not only helped prepare a climate "conducive" to an eventual takeover by the extreme right but, once the war arrived, made these organizations "open" to that takeover. In Croatia, the situation was different. In 1941, with Italian and German support, an authentic and indigenous fascist movement, the Ustaša, came to power. Possessed of an ideology drawing both on Croatian nationalism and racism and Italian fascism, the Ustaša assigned a typically subservient and largely domestic role to women. Moreover, in keeping with the most extreme forms of fascism's obsession with virility, Ustaša ideology, in its iconography at least, sought to efface the role of women even in their biological function as mother in stressing an exclusively masculine continuity of Croatian heroes.

Like many edited collections, this one has a number of strengths and weaknesses. It provides fascinating insights into a wide variety of national cultures and contexts. Moreover, all the essays are thoroughly researched, well informed, and very readable. For these reasons, the book would be an excellent text to be used at the advanced undergraduate or beginning graduate level.

But the book suffers from several weaknesses as well. First, although Passmore deals briefly with gender issues in his introduction, especially in relation to the historiography of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, few of the essays really address the issue at all. And some of the important pioneering works in the area, such as Klaus Theweleit's book, go undiscussed. One wonders, therefore, why "Gender" is included in the title of the collection.

On another level, the editor concludes the book with a summary chapter entitled "Europe" that seems to reiterate much of the material covered in the individual chapters. To this reader, at least, such an exercise seems largely unnecessary. Although the chapter is quite interesting, much of the material could better have been included in the introduction.

As for the individual essays, while the time frame covered is obviously fairly narrow, there are neverthe-

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less significant differences in chronological focus that, to a certain degree, put the essays out of sync with each other. Some focus primarily on the interwar years, some on World War II, and some on both periods. Surprisingly, in the essay on Germany, the period covered is primarily Weimar and not the Nazi era. This is perhaps because the former is less well known, but then a thorough summary of women under Nazism would seem entirely appropriate in a book such as this.

All in all, this is an interesting and wide-ranging collection that will have greater appeal for students of the history of European women and reactionary politics than those seeking theoretical discussions of the thorny relationship between fascism and gender, broadly speaking.

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AMIR WEINER, editor. *Landscaping the Human Garden: Twentieth-Century Population Management in a Comparative Framework*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 344. Cloth $70.00, paper $29.95.

The essays collected in this volume were originally presented and discussed at an interdisciplinary workshop held at Stanford University in 1997. Amir Weiner has ably edited and framed them with a well-argued introduction. This is a very fine collection and deserves to be widely read. Yet I am afraid that much of its potential audience may never reach for the volume because of its poetic, but also rather misleading, title.

This book, in essence, is about Nazism, Bolshevism, and war, primarily World War II. To be sure, there is an overarching emphasis throughout on ideologically driven end-products, which gives totalitarian politics its unique sense of being a "landscaped human garden." While this may constitute a subtopic of "the twentieth century population management in a comparative framework," it will take a curious mind to make the connection—or else a colleague already familiar with Weiner's brilliant scholarship and drawn to the volume on account of its editor's and contributors' well deserved reputations.

But this is a minor flaw. Among Germany-focused contributions to the volume are brilliant general apperçus by Omer Bartov ("Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germany, Jews, and the Holocaust"). Bartov shows how the debacle of World War I translated into a dialectic of victimhood and the search for an enemy "within," and resulted in strenuous German efforts at purification of the body politic. He then demonstrates how subsequent historiography of the period was also circumscribed by these concepts. Claudia Koonz's richly illustrated essay, "More Masculine Men, More Feminine Women: The Iconography of Nazi Racial Hatreds," shows eloquently how various propaganda techniques exacerbating the difference between "us" and "other" provided "the templates for the state-sponsored mass killing." Elisabeth Domansky, in "The Transformation of State and Society in World War I Germany," writes about the totalizing process whereby a "'national body' at war" is constituted in collective perceptions that slowly redefine and subsume individual and family lives and provide a link with the totalitarian society of National Socialism.

Addressing social change in a neighboring geographical area, Norman Naimark writes a synoptic comparative study of Soviet-style ethnic cleansing at the end of World War II; while István Deák, focusing on "The Dilemma of East Central European Governments, 1914–1956," concludes with sad irony that "the only genuine success the East Central European governments were able to achieve was in the chilling realm of ethnic cleansing, and that only because ethnic cleansing enjoyed much wider public support than any other form of governmental activity."

There is more in this volume that is very much worth reading, including Peter Holquist's study of state violence in the Soviet Union and Weiner's essay on "War, Genocide and Post-war Soviet Jewry," which ably summarizes many themes thoroughly discussed in his pathbreaking book on the meaning of war. All in all, this is a very fine collection that will serve as excellent reading for graduate students in seminars on totalitarian politics, comparative genocide, World War II, or ethnic cleansing in twentieth-century Europe.

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RICHARD L. GREAVES. *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 693. $75.00.

Richard L. Greaves has devoted a lifetime to the study of English Puritans and nonconformity, and this ambitious book represents a triumphant culmination and achievement. John Bunyan's fame today rests on *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) and his spiritual autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666), but he was a prolific writer for over thirty years. In that respect his life and thought are well documented, but many other aspects remain shadowy. Bunyan came from humble origins, worked as a brazier or tinker, and despite his fame as an author died leaving a modest estate of only £43. Greaves's biography is innovative in two important respects. First, he scrutinizes every publication, not simply the best known, which enables him to chart and contextualize the development of Bunyan's thought and explore the whole range of his concerns. Second, he argues that Bunyan's spiritual odyssey was not only the search of a troubled soul but a prolonged battle against severe depression. Greaves acknowledges the difficulties in assessing the psychological state of a subject who died centuries ago, but his reading of the evidence is sensitive and persuasive. A similar analysis may well be valid for some of Bunyan's contemporaries, notably Oliver Cromwell, although the evidence is much slighter. Greaves argues that the intensity of Bunyan's personal "darkness" helped lift *Grace Abounding* far

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above the conventional conversion narrative, even if it shared many of the structural forms, and generated the vividness and psychological insights of *Pilgrim's Progress*. For Bunyan as for Christian (the hero of *Pilgrim's Progress*), the struggle for grace and assurance proved a lifelong quest; it may be significant that Giant Despair is only finally overcome and killed in the book's sequel, after Christian's own death.

Greaves never doubts Bunyan's greatness and achievement. But if this is not a Cromwellian portrait, "warts and all," its author readily concedes that Bunyan had his share of flaws. Many of the occasional writings were bitter diatribes against his enemies, ranging from Catholics and Anglicans to Quakers and Seventh-Day Sabbatarians. Bunyan was also consistently negative about the abilities and status of women, and his comments on race make uncomfortable reading today. Bunyan frequently used black as a synonym for evil and sometimes employed more concrete images, for example branding an embassy from Morocco as "monsters" (p. 452). On several issues Greaves breathes a sigh of relief that Bunyan wrote no more.

Bunyan's central concern, of course, was to reach out to the sinner and the struggling Christian, offering exhortation, guidance, or comfort. Although doctrinally a strict Calvinist, Bunyan always employed a "'pastoral Arminianism" (p. 110), persuading readers they had the option to repent and be saved. His stance remained consistent on other matters, too, notably his unremitting hostility to Catholics and the established church. On political issues, by contrast, his position fluctuated. A product of the Civil War era, Bunyan was never part of the "revolutionary left." The Christian's goal was otherworldly, and while that could mean defying and suffering under antichristian government, it did not justify the ordinary Christian in embarking on rebellion or revolution. The nature of Bunyan's own defiance varied over the course of his adult life. He made no attempt in 1660 to avoid arrest for preaching and spent most of the next twelve years in prison. Later, as the perceived threat of popery and absolutism intensified, he appears to have endorsed John Calvin's principle that armed resistance might be legitimate if led by Protestant magnates, but although some of his associates were deeply involved in the Whig plotting of the early 1680s, he vigorously distanced himself from such activities. Bunyan lived long enough to see a measure of toleration under the Catholic James II, accepting it with very guarded optimism, but he died before the Glorious Revolution.

As Greaves observes, Bunyan's strengths were primarily as a writer and preacher; we know very little about his pastoral activities, and he had no appetite for administrative matters. We know little too of his family life. In *Pilgrim's Progress*, Christian abandons his family to pursue his spiritual quest. The book's sequel shows Christian's wife and children following their own journey to the same destination, but Bunyan's own story was less comforting: few of his children followed in his footsteps, and one was in serious trouble with the law in 1679–1680, implicated in charges involving highway robbery. Greaves shows us that Bunyan had good cause to show the pilgrim's life as beset by endless dangers and cares. This is a fine biography that will stand the test of time.

Bernard Capp
University of Warwick

William E. Burns. *An Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics and Providence in England 1657–1727*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 228. $74.95.

In this book, William E. Burns traces representations of prodigies, the term given to a variety of anomalous natural phenomena, in the latter years of early modern England. In this culture, anything beyond the usual scope of natural occurrences could be classed as prodigious. Physically deformed infants (so-called monstrous births), comets, rains of blood, apparitions of battles in the sky, floods of falling frogs, and other diverse forms of bizarre phenomena were all commonly read as signs within premodern culture. Prodigies, presented as either omens or miracles, had, from classical times and beyond, been interpreted as providential signs. Several recent studies have focused on Renaissance prodigy literature, with particular focus on representations in periods of political and social crisis in English history, most notably the events of the mid-seventeenth-century revolution. Burns extends this work in useful and challenging ways by placing his study in the postrevolutionary context. In so doing, he explores how views of prodigies were transformed from the Civil War period and Restoration to the Popish Plot and Exclusion crisis to the revolution of 1688 and the accession of William and Mary to the English throne.

A strength of this study is the way in which it persuasively presents a trajectory through the period. Burns shows how at one time prodigies had been interpreted as powerful signs of religious and political significance but, by the mid-eighteenth century, political and religious developments had transformed the prodigy. It was no longer a sign to be read for divine meaning but an object of scientific scrutiny. In charting a shift in responses toward prodigy literature throughout the period, however, Burns does not avoid the complications and contradictions of attitudes toward supposedly strange phenomena that are also part of the story. Although Burns's overall argument is that over a hundred years attitudes toward prodigies changed radically from belief in the providential significance of the prodigy to dismissal of such ideas as the preserve of the superstitious and ignorant, he also shows that this evolution did not occur in any clear linear fashion.

The first chapter looks at the revolution and commonwealth period of prodigy literature and, in particular, Matthew Poole's proposed (but never fulfilled) project for the collection and publication of recent

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accounts of prodigious occurrences. In Poole's impetus "to standardize and systemize their gathering and recording" (p. 15), the project implicitly drew on Baconian principles of scientific organization. Here Burns makes the important point that Poole's approach was influenced by Presbyterian as well as Baconian methods. Poole, a Presbyterian clergyman, envisaged an investigative process of reports of strange phenomena in which stories were to be verified or disproved by ministers in what amounted to an "English inquisition" (p. 16). The chapter also looks at the controversy surrounding the *Mirabilis Annus* tracts (1661, 1662). These tracts circulated stories of prodigious events to undermine the legitimacy of the early Restoration regime. The suppression of such subversive writings (through satire as well as censorship) marked, Burns argues, a crucial shift in the reception of prodigy literature as providential prodigy interpretation became associated with opposition to the state authority.

Burns goes on to show the ways in which Restoration and early eighteenth-century natural philosophy was fundamentally engaged with regulating potentially destabilizing interpretations of prodigies. The development of the "new science" (exemplified in the work of the Royal Society) was associated with the establishment and authorization of the Restoration regime. In presenting earlier interpretations of prodigy literature as cynically political propaganda that had been fed to an incredulous public, Restoration scientists rejected what they characterized as superstition and dangerous enthusiasm and assumed the power of rational interpretation. As Burns demonstrates, however, such strategies "did not eliminate the tradition of prodigies as divine signs or objects of wonderment" (p. 88).

The rest of this study shows the ways in which prodigies, although increasingly discredited as being intellectually suspect within political and ideological debate continued to be useful within certain moral and ideological debates. But, by the mid-eighteenth century, the power of the prodigy had diminished. As it became associated with the uneducated masses and a feminized belief system, the interpretation of prodigies was presented as foolish and ridiculous.

Burns charts this fascinating story with scholarly precision. His research is impressive and presented in a clear and informed style. With this book, Burns enters into an area of much recent academic interest and makes a significant contribution to the debate.

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JULIA RUDOLPH. *Revolution by Degrees: James Tyrrell and Whig Political Thought in the Late Seventeenth Century*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. ix, 231. $65.00.

There has long been a need for a proper study of the political thought of James Tyrrell, and it is good to find that Julia Rudolph has provided us with one. Tyrrell, a friend of John Locke and (like Locke) a critic of Sir Robert Filmer, was an important voice in the Whig chorus that accompanied the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It is not the least of the merits of Rudolph's book that it uses Tyrrell as the focus for a serious attempt to do justice to Whig political thought as something "important, influential and even successful" (p. 12). A second merit is Rudolph's care to insure that Tyrrell and the Whigs are not portrayed simply in terms of their inability to develop the sort of radical, sophisticated, and coherent political ideas that Locke produced. Rather, she reverses the comparison, constructing first an account of Whig thought and then asking how Locke might look when viewed in relation to it.

Revolution by degrees: that phrase captures the core feature in Rudolph's account of Whig political thought. The Whigs constructed a theory of "revolution" that integrated a contractualist account of politics into ideas of the English ancient constitution, thus making it possible to see revolution (and especially that of 1688) as part of the continuity of the English constitutionalist tradition and not a break in it. The book devotes one chapter to Tyrrell's anti-Filmerian *Patriarcha non Monarcha* (1681) and three to *Bibliotecha Politica* (1694) and other works produced after the Glorious Revolution. In 1681, Tyrrell was very reluctant to develop a theory of resistance to tyranny. Though he drew upon the moderate parliamentarian arguments of Philip Hunton (dating from 1643), he was even more muted than Hunton in his advocacy of resistance. Memory of the enormous disruption of the 1640s and 1650s was proving a strong disincentive to the development of theories of active resistance.

After 1688, though, Tyrrell "deliberately set out to construct a justification of resistance" (p. 62), something easier to contemplate in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. Bringing historical and antiquarian scholarship, with an emphasis on legal and constitutional continuity, into close communion with theories of contract, Tyrrell and other Whigs produced a theory that made resistance a historical right of the English people. When a king became a tyrant, he ceased to be a king, and the people as a whole could resist his illegal use of force. But these actions of the people as a whole, carried out by their "better part," were not simply claims to popular sovereignty over kings. Rather, the argument was that when the king betrayed the duties of his office, authority legitimately reverted to those from whom he held it. A key to the way in which Tyrrell built this theory was his tendency to link together an original community, with the Convention of 1689–1690 and with a representative parliament. The effect of this was "to accord the people a place within the constitution, to merge the people outside government with the council within, so that the ancient constitution would always be maintained, and neither dissolution nor change in government could occur" (p. 141). The trick, with arguments of this sort, lies in what you identify as the locus of constitutional continuity. If

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it is not the monarchy, then the continuity of the ancient constitution can be compatible with resistance to kings, and the complete dissolution envisaged by Locke can be avoided.

In a final chapter, Rudolph compares the Whigs and Locke and provocatively challenges established views of Locke's place in the development of liberal political thought. The book presents a compelling and illuminating portrait of Tyrrell and of Whig political thought, nicely poised between revisionist and more traditional accounts of the Glorious Revolution. There is throughout a welcome attention to the gender dimensions of contract theory. It may be that there is more continuity between Whig thought and that of the parliamentarians of the 1640s than is implied here—but this may only reflect the fact that Rudolph's book looks forward more than it looks backward.

GLENN BURGESS
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INGRID H. TAGUE. *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760.* (Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2002. Pp. ix, 254. $90.00.

Ingrid H. Tague's book has two main aims: to reveal "the complex interactions of status and gender in early Modern England" (p. 4) by juxtaposing didactic literature and aristocratic women's personal writings, and to contribute to the history of women in a period that has not received much attention, the early to mid-eighteenth century. Women's letters offer a privileged entry into the interstices of women's lives and preoccupations, and Tague's selection of letters provides much pleasure for the reader. The book is divided into two sections. The first part summarizes arguments about femininity and women's roles; the second analyzes women's own writings, juxtaposing them with corresponding sections from conduct books. Each chapter ends with a clear conclusion, making it valuable for students as well as for the more general reader.

The principal argument is that conduct literature underwent a "radical change" from the late seventeenth century, when its ideals of femininity came from "religious or social dictates," to the early eighteenth century, when its central preoccupation concerned "'natural' female modesty" (p. 31). Tague shows how this key concept serves to highlight the contradictions often attached to the moral regulation of female behavior and sexuality. Thus, because modesty was now conflated with virtue and sexual chastity as the basis of true femininity, "female sexuality lay at the heart of didactic writers' concerns even as they increasingly sought to deny its existence" (p. 31). The space created by the contradictions inherent in the conduct literature afforded women some agency, however, and this is what Tague explores. By examining the familiar concerns (marriage, household management, consumption, and fashion) women discussed in their letters, Tague analyzes "the ways in which women of quality accepted, ignored, adapted and exploited" the conduct discourse as they "represented their own behaviour to different audiences" (p. 47). These letters also enable her to challenge the assumption that conduct literature was aimed at and read by middle-class women alone, and to demonstrate that women of rank not only owned such texts but used their language and values to describe themselves and their behavior.

Following historians like Amanda Vickery, Tague uses personal writings to highlight the fluidity, instability, and permeability of binary constructs such as public and private, personal and political in relation to aristocratic women's lives, while providing a vantage point from which to show how they negotiated the often contradictory demands of their positions in society. Thus she argues that when participating in a wide variety of "feminine" activities, aristocratic women not only "reworked the ideals of femininity" but that "their behavior held significant public implications" (p. 194): it helped them to achieve power and status as well as advancing the public and political interests of their families. Thus, when Mrs. Arundell was given the high-status post of Bedchamber Woman to the Queen, part of her joy was that "she could do something for her children" (p. 208). Judith Schneid Lewis has discussed the specific roles aristocratic women performed in maintaining, through sociability, the kinship and friendship ties that sustained the political work of their families during the late eighteenth century, and Tague shows they had a similar role in the early eighteenth century. But by contrasting didactic prescriptions with women's own accounts, she demonstrates that the female sociability so often condemned as frivolous dissipation was rather a necessary and often a tedious chore.

In the book's most original chapter, "Politeness and Sociability," Tague addresses a crucial but neglected aspect of aristocratic women's lives: their involvement "in the educational process that enabled children of both sexes to learn politeness" (p. 166). Mothers monitored their children's acquisition of skills and accomplishments ranging from dancing—for grace and self-control—and polite conversation to letter writing. Supervising the mastering of these accomplishments was critical because "political success to large extent depended on proper manipulation of the rules of personal politeness" (p. 193). Yet, this particular role of women was construed at the time by critics such as Samuel Johnson as the source of men's effeminacy.

Ultimately, this book demonstrates that the active involvement of "women of quality" in public as well as private, personal as well as political responsibilities was necessary to the successful functioning of the social and political system of which they were a part. Because this involvement could always be considered irrelevant, frivolous or transgressive, however, it was masked, presented in terms of "adherence to feminine ideals of submissiveness and passivity" (p. 5). It is this,

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perhaps, that has contributed to the lasting invisibility of women's achievements.

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ANNE STOTT. *Hannah More: The First Victorian*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 384.

In the 1960s, E. P. Thompson gave us one portrait of Hannah More. She appears in his books and essays, in fleeting caustic asides, as the ideologue and architect of a conservative cultural revolution, singing the praises of hierarchy and order while fashioning the agencies that drilled the children of the poor in subjection. Twenty-five years later, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall incorporated More into another influential interpretation, positioning her as the midwife of a new gender order, the proponent of an ideal of complementarity and separate spheres that would anchor middle-class identity in the century to come.

One can find plenty in More's writings to sustain either view—and yet, the literary oeuvre as a whole is not so easily categorizable. The bluestocking plays do not sit comfortably with the advice manuals; attacks on idle Anglican clergy jostle awkwardly with anti-Jacobin tracts. Nor did More's life conform particularly well to the social hierarchies some of her writings extolled. Whatever her views on social order, she was far too ambitious to remain in the straitened provincial setting in which God had been pleased to place her; one of five spinster sisters, she cheerfully avoided the wifely duties she considered woman's proper fate. We have long needed a new study of this alternately compelling and annoying figure, the woman who probably did as much to shape the sensibility of the early nineteenth century as anyone else.

Anne Stott's very welcome new biography goes far to fill this need. This is a meticulous and well-researched book, and earlier or more partisan writers (especially More's first biographer, William Roberts) are rightly chastised for their sloppy research, selective quotation, or blatant "improvements" on the historical record. (Stott gives a respectful mention, however, to M. G. Jones's *Hannah More*, a fine scholarly account now half a century old.) Stott attends equally to More's early career as a bluestocking playwright and protegée of David Garrick, to her key roles in evangelical and anti-Jacobin causes during the French Wars, and to her later doctrinal and literary controversies. She provides lucid summaries of More's major writings and has milked her sources for as much personal detail as she can find.

The result is a revisionist account of More, in which she emerges (rightly in my view) more as a Whig constitutionalist than as a Tory die-hard, and as a much more complicated figure for gender history than more cursory treatments allow. Particularly fine is Stott's richly detailed account of More and her sisters' famous establishment of Sunday Schools in isolated and impoverished villages in the Mendip hills. While not denying their conservative intent, Stott stresses just how much energy, time, and expense the schools absorbed, and how much criticism the sisters faced for their ostensible "Methodistical" leanings and for behavior that skirted the bounds of womanly decorum. More's tendency to portray the schools as the front line of anti-Jacobin mobilization was, Stott suggests, to some extent a strategic defense against charges of extremism, and should be placed against the sisters' encouragement of poor and often female teachers and willingness to mix instruction and material aid. Similarly, while not denying the conservative stance More took in three decades of (lucrative) writings on women, Stott stresses these works' often ambiguous message, in particular the considerable common ground between More's 1799 *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* and Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), which More refused to read. Through her prolific writing, her energetic embrace of controversy, and that seeking after public esteem she deplored but could never quite cure herself of, Stott sees More pressing open those very doors she was arguing should be kept shut.

This is, then, a fine historical study of More's many "works," written and social. Where Stott is less successful is in uncovering the emotions, desires, and (to use a Victorian word) "character" of her subject. In part, this is because of source problems. The limited written record, Stott writes in her introduction, means that "whole areas of [More's] life—most notably her broken engagement, and her relations with her parents—remain something of a mystery" (p. x). In part, however, it is because of the author's biographical choices. Stott has an acute eye for the psychologically significant: it does not escape her that this successful playwright quickly began "laying down for other women a seclusion and retirement she did not intend to practise herself" (p. 36); that this reformer of manners became, in London society, "notorious for flattery" (p. 42); that this domestic tribune "contrived to be absent at the deaths of both her parents" (p. 62). Yet, having noted those tensions, Stott usually goes no further: disinclined toward psychological speculation, she presents these behaviors as "contradictions" or as (in the absence of explicit sources) inexplicable. (More "chose to set herself up as an antifeminist," she says in one instance, "for reasons of her own" [p. 218]). Yet the biographer, surely, should try to get at those "reasons," should seek to explain the mesh of ideals and desires, ambitions and constraints, that shaped More's "contradictory" stances. The sources are thin, admittedly, and Stott very scrupulous, but I wish she had taken more risks.

Toward the end of the book this problem disappears, for as More's fame grew a crush of people went to visit her and to record their impressions. In those later years, moreover, another theme emerges: that of the centrality of sisterly collaboration and affection to More's achievements and life. Limited source material

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prevented Stott from dealing adequately with their girlhood relationships; later, however, commentary by and about the sisters abounds. One sister in particular draws our attention. Patty More, energetic, affectionate, and brave, was "the most significant person in [Hannah's] life" (p. 103), "the person she loved most in the world" (p. 125). Patty, Stott makes clear, was the real "driving force behind the schools" (p. 105), the one who went out in all weather to visit them, who stood up to preach if no clergyman were to be found. Stott asks what Hannah More could have been in an age when greater opportunities were open to women, but More (as she shows) achieved great fame in her own era. Patty did not, and did not seek it, but her acute observations and indomitable spirit punctuate, tantalizingly, this fine book.

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ANDREW MARK EASON. *Women in God's Army: Gender and Equality in the Early Salvation Army*. (Studies in Women and Religion; Études sur les femmes et la religion, number 7.) Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion. 2003. Pp. xiv, 242. $34.95.

A decade ago, the Salvation Army was the subject of only a few scholarly articles. It had published its own histories and biographies of its leaders, but these were of limited value to historians. In the past few years, however, three new studies of the Salvation Army in Britain have appeared, along with accounts of its work in the United States, several biographies of its early leaders, and other books on wider subjects that have included attention to the Salvation Army. Andrew Mark Eason draws on this new historiography to respond to debates about the Salvation Army and its place in Victorian culture.

From its inception in 1865, the Salvation Army proclaimed that it "refuses to make any difference between men and women as to rank, authority and duties, but the highest positions to women as well as to men" (p. xi). Eason argues that "the majority of popular and academic works on female officers have simply assumed that this egalitarian principle was realized in most, if not all, aspects of Salvationist life in Britain and overseas" (p. xi). He proposes to correct this assumption by examining closely the lives of the Army's female officers to discern if they did in fact achieve equality, claiming that "history from a feminist perspective, with its hermeneutics of suspicion has much to teach us here" (p. 57). Unfortunately, the historiography that Eason seeks to correct employs a more historical and subtle understanding of gender and Victorian culture than that presented in this book.

Eason examines the thought of William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, in detail and points to Booth's strong confidence in women's superior emotional nature and men's stronger will and intellect. He also examines Catherine Booth's writing and preaching career and underscores her belief in women's maternal nature and fitness for the domestic realm. He then examines women's work in detail and points to many areas in which women were denied leadership opportunities. He chides the Army for its failure to offer women equal wages in the 1880s and William Booth for his use of masculine pronouns when referring to both men and women. Eason argues that women failed to achieve equality because Salvationist theology was rooted in the very beliefs about gender that constrained women.

The book's serious weakness is its focus on the question of equality. Eason measures the Salvation Army against a notion of equality that is abstract and timeless. His definition of equality would have been foreign to most Victorians. Salvationist women proclaimed that women's emotional nature specifically suited them for some tasks but not others. This may have limited women's potential, but many Victorian feminists based their claim for women's rights on similar principles. It is not surprising that Salvationist women based their claim to spiritual authority on their feminine nature. There is a great distinction, however, between authority, which Salvationist women claimed because they were different from men, and equality based on a belief that men and women were the same, which neither Salvationists nor most of their contemporaries contemplated. Because Eason does not fully appreciate the complexities of Victorian notions of gender, his claims to correct errors in the historiography can not be sustained.

In his epilogue, Eason argues that "the theological sources of women's inequality within the organization have yet to be fully appreciated by Salvationists" (p. 156). This book may well prove valuable to those committed to realizing full equality for Salvationist women, but it will not prove as valuable for historians seeking to understand the Salvation Army in the Victorian period.

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KEIR WADDINGTON. *Medical Education at St Bartholomew's Hospital 1123–1995*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. xii, 464. $75.00.

Keir Waddington's book is long and weighty. It covers much more than medical education, but the serious chronological span is much less than advertized. To a first approximation, it is a history of St. Bartholomew's (Bart's) medical school and the special interests of the clinical staff from *ca.* 1750 to the present.

The book makes extensive use of the good secondary literature on British medicine; typically, each section begins with a review of an issue, and then the relevant happenings at Bart's are added. Thus we progress from theme to theme, from private anatomy schools and "walking the wards," to early nineteenth-century disputes about professionalization and qualifications, and to the Medical Act of 1858. The contested intrusions of

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"science" are the focus for the later nineteenth-century sections, which cover teaching laboratories and the development of bacteriology as a field of research which was also useful for diagnosis. The early twentieth century brings the Flexner report and the associated reform of London University, led by Lord Haldane. After the Great War, Bart's followed the Haldane recommendations and developed academic units in medicine and surgery, plus a strong interest in radiotherapy and cancer surgery. World War II brought major disruptions when the preclinical students were sent to Cambridge, and the clinical students to hospitals in North London. Thus they avoided the bombs that destroyed many of the new college buildings constructed at considerable expense in the 1930s. The end of the war brought the Goodenough report on medical education, and the National Health Service (NHS). New medical curricula and the complex politics of hospital rationalization in London are at the core of the last chapters.

Two chapters sit outside this chronological order: a review of medical student life to 1939, and a chapter on women medical students that takes us from Elizabeth Blackwell to the near present. Both are useful summaries with new material, but neither claims substantial originality.

The production of the book was supported by the hospital, and it reads rather like a sponsored institutional history—not that it is flattering or subservient, but that the scope and form seem prechosen rather than developing from historical analysis. The work is eminently competent, both as an account of British medicine and in its particulars about Bart's. It is good to know more about the developments for which Bart's was noted, and it is useful to have a review of the later twentieth-century material, on which the secondary literature is thin as yet. Indeed, the book could be a useful introduction to British medicine for those who like their broader histories anchored in a particular institution, seen changing over time. But to those who know the general story, the book brings no surprises; nor, in fact, does Waddington claim to offer any challenges to accepted historical opinion.

For most of the last two centuries, Bart's was known as a conservative school. As a large hospital and, usually, one of the largest medical schools in London, it could see itself as "the centre of the hub of the British universe of medicine." It was a bastion of the case-based empiricism that was the mainstay of London medicine until the early twentieth century. A fuller account of the hospital's supporters, its politics, and its doctors and patients might have served to bring to life that key tradition, as part of the city, its elites, and its poor. We still lack such a social history of a major London hospital, although Lindsay Granshaw's work on the St. Mark's Hospital for Disease of the Rectum is exemplary for special hospitals.

But the present study is too narrow to serve that function, even for the doctors who taught there. It is a workman-like exploration, for two centuries of a particular institution, of themes that are well known for British hospitals and medical colleges more generally. In that restricted sense, it is an exemplary addition to the literature.

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JOEL PETER EIGEN. *Unconscious Crime: Mental Absence and Criminal Responsibility in Victorian London*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 223. $39.95.

In mid-nineteenth-century English criminal courts, a new kind of defendant appeared: a person who had attacked or killed another without motive and without prior warning. Such persons showed no signs of being in the grip of fixed delusions or other defects of reasoning that had traditionally signified "insanity." Rather, such persons seemed to have acted in a state of "unconsciousness," in which they were "not themselves"; afterward, seemingly their normal selves again, they would disavow authorship of their acts, no matter how indisputable the evidence against them. A defendant with amnesia, or one who had been sleepwalking, in a kind of trance, or possessed by another "personality" when committing his or her attack posed a fundamental challenge to a legal system that laid responsibility for all their actions upon all mature individuals in possession of their reasoning faculty. This challenge went deeper than rationality. What could the law do with a defendant who, as Joel Peter Eigen puts it, "failed to rise to the law's conception of the Person: a sentient being capable of maintaining a continuous awareness of who he was." (p. 14).

Although such a case was not wholly without precedent—Eigen notes that the precedent of a "sleepwalking" defense had existed since the seventeenth century—it seemed now to be appearing more frequently. And as it did, it stimulated intense discussion between the increasingly interrelated professions of law and medicine. Medical evidence had become common in criminal cases, yet along with the law, nineteenth-century medical psychology struggled to make sense of this new phenomenon of the "unconscious criminal." Out of this struggle, the concept of the unconscious entered both forensic psychiatry and criminal courts.

Eigen has taken for his period of study the three decades between the classic intellectualist statement of legal insanity—the M'Naghten Rules of 1843, which continued formally to guide the law until well into the twentieth century—and two events of the year 1876: the entrance of "doubled personality" into medical discourse and, quite independently, the first English trial verdict of lack of guilt "by reason of unconsciousness." He has examined all trials at London's chief criminal court, the Old Bailey, during this period that involved some claim of mental abnormality. Since he has previously studied such cases at this court between the mid-eighteenth century and M'Naghten, he is

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ideally equipped to distinguish what was new in the character of defendants, defenses, and trial discourse.

Five trials, mostly homicide, although each of a distinct type, are highlighted in a chapter apiece, with additional trials discussed as they relate to issues raised by these five. Defendants were men and women, middle class and working class. Their cases throw light on a variety of types of "misplaced consciousness" and the dilemmas they posed for judges, lawyers, witnesses, and juries. This book shows how underneath the supposed hegemony of the restrictive M'Naghten Rules a long-term expansion of the universe of mental derangement was slowly taking place in the courts of Victorian England. It also carries forward the work Eigen did in his previous book, *Witnessing Insanity: Madness and Mad-Doctors in the English Court* (1995), to debunk the fashionable notion of "medical imperialism" and to show how the increasing use of medicine and psychiatry in criminal justice was being produced less by the ambitions of doctors and more by the actions of other "players" in the legal process such as judges, lawyers, and laymen. It also reminds us of the relevance of criminal trials for understanding nineteenth-century mentalities. As Eigen notes, "that it was the lay witness who first introduced the symptom language of unconsciousness into the court underscores the broad resonance these new interpretations of behavior enjoyed in the surrounding culture" (p. 162).

Some of Eigen's cases, it must be said, work better than others in exploring the phenomenon, and notion, of "unconscious crime." One in particular that deals with the evidence of a lunatic on an asylum killing may fall outside a strict reading of the subject. Further, it is not entirely clear just how novel these cases were; did, for example, any of the thousands of earlier Old Bailey cases previously read fit this category, and if so, how were they interpreted by contemporaries? However, such questions only underline the value of Eigen's stimulating marking out of a fresh field within the broad subject of the relations between insanity and criminal justice in modern history.

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DUNCAN ANDREW CAMPBELL. *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War.* (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, with the Royal Historical Society. 2003. Pp. vii, 266. $70.00.

The relations between Great Britain and the United States have attracted the attention of historians from both sides of the Atlantic for generations, especially since the two countries formally separated in 1783. The American Revolution, the American Civil War, and then the two world wars in the twentieth century have been critical turning points for historians interested in a deeper understanding of Anglo-American political, diplomatic, cultural, and social relationships. Duncan Andrew Campbell has now added a detailed and fully researched study of English public opinion and the American Civil War. It is based on a Cambridge doctoral dissertation completed in 1997 but has been considerably revised.

Campbell's book consists of a full examination of British public opinion, the *Times*, *The Illustrated London News*, *Reynold's Weekly*, and also other extensive studies of the British newspaper and periodical press. It also draws on *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, select private papers in the Public Records Office, and works by British parliamentarians during the 1860s. In particular, Campbell is interested in examining the complexities of how specific issues affected Anglo-American relations: the *Trent* affair, American positions on slavery, the rise and fall of the Confederacy, neutral rights, democracy, republicanism, expansion, and trade. Campbell weaves his way adroitly through the ever changing tide of British opinion—aristocratic, working class, parliamentary—with much discussion of the many secondary sources. His careful study demonstrates that the traditional interpretation dividing English sentiment between progressivism siding with the Union and conservatism supporting the Confederacy is much too simplistic.

Campbell shows that the British public and political leaders followed American events closely, and that they also paid close attention to the Fremont controversy, the Morrill tariff, Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and other events. But Campbell also dissects the many variants of British northern, newspaper, working-class, and official parliamentary opinion toward the Union and the Confederacy. Thus, he has chapters on "The Confederacy's Partisans" and "Who Supported the Union?" that supply a lively discussion of both primary and secondary sources. He offers especially keen analysis of studies by E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (1925); Brian Jenkins, *Britain and the War for the Union* (1974); Martin Crawford, *The Anglo-American Crisis of the Nineteenth Century: The Times and America, 1850–1862* (1987); and Howard Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* (1992). Two appendixes list parliamentary and aristocratic proclivities during the Civil War.

There are but few shortcomings. There might have been further examination of the many biographies and other mid-century sources that show how the American Civil War tormented Victorian Britons. Issues and the nature of the epic conflict also returned to afflict some late Victorians. Thus, William Ewart Gladstone sought valiantly to rectify his "the Confederacy had made a nation" speech (October 7, 1962) at Newcastle in his later American writings. My own *British Liberalism and the United States: Political and Social Thought in the Late-Victorian Age* (2001) indicates that there was a deepened interest in American affairs by all segments of the British political, press, and social world that was not just focused on a pivotal event like the American Civil War. Hugh Tulloch's studies of James Bryce indicates that his American interests

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started in the 1860s, leading to his first American visit in 1870 and then his seminal work, *The American Commonwealth*, in 1888.

But none of this should detract from Campbell's perceptive treatment of British opinion on the American Civil War, which resists easy stereotyping. British public opinion was complicated and colored by local and regional political and social issues. It was animated and feasted on news of far away, dramatic American events. At times it was misunderstood, and it changed frequently. This book very skillfully navigates a full compendium of both primary and secondary sources and is written in a lively and reflective style. It demonstrates a full range of knowledge of mid-nineteenth-century British and American history and is an excellent tribute to Campbell's skills as a historian.

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SNEH MAHAJAN. *British Foreign Policy 1874–1914: The Role of India*. (Routledge Studies in Modern European History.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xi, 264. $100.00.

In this very well-argued book, Sneh Mahajan contends that the key importance of India in British foreign policy before World War I has been neglected by modern British historians—although she concedes that the question was raised by the present reviewer as long ago as 1974 as to whether India at times "distorted" (Mahajan would prefer "determined") British policy toward Europe. Conventionally, British great power status has been held to have depended on three things: industrial and commercial strength, maritime supremacy, and worldwide empire. Mahajan believes that the first two are better regarded as "enabling factors" (p. 2). It was Britain's great empire, encompassing one fifth of the world's surface, that really determined its status in the eyes of its own people as well as in international affairs. When crude versions of Darwinian theories held sway, there was "magnetism and magic in the phrase 'empire of the world' " (p. 4). India was clearly the most important part of that empire. In 1912, roughly ten percent of the inhabitants of the empire lived in the United Kingdom, while over seventy percent lived in India.

Mahajan emphasizes that, generally, Britons felt very secure in their homeland. True, the tiny British army could not intervene effectively on the continent, but maritime supremacy made invasion seem impossible. Britain had no particular continental ambitions of its own. Only concern for India could realistically explain British hostility to Russia or support for the Ottoman Empire—the latter partly for strategic reasons but also because the friendship of the sultan of Turkey, the acknowledged successor of the Prophet, could secure the loyalty of the large Muslim minority in the Indian subcontinent. Britain needed to defend both the frontiers of India, notably in Afghanistan, and the routes to India (especially after 1869, the Suez Canal).

In analyzing the policies of different British governments, Mahajan returns to the question of the influence of domestic and foreign policy respectively. Benjamin Disraeli, she believes, espoused the cause of empire in the 1870s to "fascinate the masses" (p. 33), what she calls "flaunting the Indian Empire." Most of the foreign policy crises of his ministry were concerned with India or the route to India: the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and the subsequent Berlin Congress, the war in Afghanistan, and the first Boer War. William Ewart Gladstone denounced him, but when Gladstone returned to power in 1880 he largely continued Disraeli's policy. Disraeli had purchased shares in the Suez Canal; Gladstone occupied Egypt and was drawn into the Sudan. He could not easily reverse Disraeli's "forward" policy in Afghanistan or South Africa. He could not risk losing India.

The next great figure in British foreign policy, Lord Salisbury, juggled European strategy with the defense of a greatly expanded empire, but India was still central. Britain could not extricate itself from Egypt and was drawn deeper and deeper into Africa. "The slightest incidents in the remotest parts of Asia and Africa ... became matters of intense concern" (p. 122). By the end of the century the defense of the Raj was worrying. Strategic realities were changing. Russian predominance in Central Asia was being consolidated by the building of railways. The potential threat became painfully obvious at the time of the second Boer War.

Britain began to seek alliances, or at least understandings, first with Japan, then with France and Russia. Mahajan believes that this had more to do with India than with the perceived growing threat from Germany, as Paul M. Kennedy and Zara Steiner argued (in *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism* [1980] and *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* [1977], respectively). If she is correct, India had a profound effect on the alliances of World War I. Mahajan makes a very strong case for her thesis but one should perhaps remember that her book covers the period 1874–1914, the apogee of the new imperialism and also the period when the ascendancy of Germany had made effective British intervention on the continent of Europe especially difficult. One cannot necessarily extrapolate these conclusions to the early or mid-nineteenth century. But this is a very well-written, well-researched, and balanced book. It should be read not only by those interested in British foreign policy but also by those interested in relations between Europe and Asia.

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PAUL VYŠNÝ. *The Runciman Mission to Czechoslovakia, 1938: Prelude to Munich*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. x, 376. $82.00.

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Paul Vyšný's study of Lord Runciman's mission to Czechoslovakia in August-September 1938 is both new and not new. That is, it offers a more detailed look at the events and personae of the mission, but it departs from traditional perspectives on what happened and why, only in minor ways. The mission, designed to "mediate" between the Prague government and the Sudeten Germans—and by implication the German Reich—has been explored over the past half century by historians interested in the 1938 Munich Conference: Elizabeth Wiskemann, J. W. Wheeler Bennett, A. J. P. Taylor, D. C. Watt, and P. M. H. Bell, among others. Vyšný differs from them only in that he focuses primarily on the mission itself with the Munich Conference as a postscript. For him the mission is a guide to understanding British government thinking regarding the rise of German power in central and eastern Europe, and how it should be dealt with. His conclusion, like that of most other historians, is not positive. In Vyšný's words, the mission was "part of a policy of wishful thinking and drifting improvisation" (p. 343).

This volume deals first with how and why the problem began. Vyšný assesses German resentment against the Versailles Treaty, Third Reich expansionism, rising pro-Third Reich sentiments among Sudeten Germans, and the perspectives of the Czech government. He then looks at the foreign policy perspectives of the British government with regard to Germany, France, and Czechoslovakia, which take on a more or less crisis mentality following the German *Anschluss* with Austria in March 1938. It is in this context that Vyšný examines the views of leading foreign policy insiders Lord Vansittart, Lord Halifax, and Sir Alexander Cadagon, diplomats who were connected in one way or another with the Runciman Mission such as Basil Newton and Sir Neville Henderson, Sudeten German leaders like Konrad Henlein, and Czech president Edvard Beneš and prime minister, Milan Hodža.

The section dealing with the mission itself is the most detailed. It includes in-depth biographical treatment of Runciman and mission members Arthur Ashton-Gwatkin, Robert Stopford, and David Stephens, among others. Ashton-Gwatkin, a consular official chosen by Runciman himself as a member of the mission, was expected to do most of the actual work of mediation with Runciman serving as a diplomatic figurehead. The daily doings of the mission are central to this section, along with assessments of Sudeten grievances, Czech and Runciman mission responses to them, and proposals for dealing with the conflict advanced by the mission. All of this is examined in great detail and depth—so, too, is press coverage of successes and failures of the mission.

The story of the mission is told in narrative form and depicts a slippery slope of first hope, then confusion, and finally defeat. A select list of chapter titles within this section provides an clear indication of how Vyšný portrays this slippery slope: "The Mission Takes Shape," "A Glimmer of Hope," "Anxiety in London," "The Last Resort," and "The Collapse of Mediation." The final chapter, "The Reckoning," sums up the failure of the mission to mediate a conclusion to the Sudeten question that might have satisfied all sides involved, and makes the argument that it would have been impossible to do so in any case, given the outspoken anti-Czech views of the Third Reich, which the Sudeten Germans largely embraced. Runciman returned to London in September 1938 and advised the prime minister and his cabinet that blame for the failed mediation lay entirely with the Sudeten Germans. Chamberlain listened, but did not heed. He set out on the course that lead to the Munich Agreement, which, of course, ignored Czech interests.

Vyšný makes it clear that neither the Runciman mission nor the British representatives at the Munich Conference gave preference to Czech as opposed to German interests. Ashton-Gwatkin, for example, "regarded the Munich Agreement as clearing the ground for the German domination of Central and Eastern Europe" which would lead to "the growth of closer economic ties between Britain and Germany as the two countries co-operated in the development of the region" (p. 342). This is the real "new" part of Vyšný's treatment of the Runciman Mission. Historians have criticized Chamberlain for Munich, but in the context of him preferring peace to war; Vyšný's emphasis on the Ashton-Gwatkin perspective suggests that the British also regarded good relations with the Third Reich, including economic ones, as more important than the survival of Czechoslovakia. Indeed, he concludes that "the Mission's activities served only to pave the way towards the British government's central participation in the destruction of a friendly country . . . It was, indeed, an inglorious episode all round" (p. 343).

This work is thoroughly researched, its arguments and conclusions clearly articulated with the perspectives and activities of each player in the game clearly laid out and documented. It is a major contribution to explication of the Runciman Mission and its implications for the origins of World War II, and should be read by every historian with an interest in that epoch.

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CHURCHILL. Directed and produced by Lucy Carter. Great Britain. 2003; color; 150 minutes. Distributed by PBS.

Crafted for British television by Lucy Carter, with Celia Sandys and Piers Brendon as historical advisors, this three-part miniseries is done in the "spoken book" manner, with narration by Sir Ian McKellen (sounding, as usual, a bit anguished and, to American ears, very English). In contrast with the many dramatized versions of Winston Churchill's life, actors portray him in appropriate settings—Blenheim Palace, Whitehall, Chartwell Manor—but do not speak and are, in effect, human props. As McKellen outlines each phase of his

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life, Churchill's own words (spoken by John Baddeley) are heard over the appropriate scene.

Forty years after the death of its subject, there are few contemporaries left to interview, but Carter located some, including the son of one of Churchill's pre-World War I suffragette antagonists as well as several former secretaries who recall his days as wartime leader and task master. Daughter Mary Soames and grandchildren Celia Sandys and Winston Churchill comment on his often rocky private life, especially the stresses within his marriage and on his stormy relationship with his son, Randolph. Robert Lloyd George and Viscount Thurso reflect on his friendships with their grandfathers, his political colleagues.

The first of the three segments, "Destiny," covers his life up to 1932, and the American viewer might be surprised to learn of Churchill's miserable childhood or the financial worries that plagued his adult life. Most attention, predictably, is paid to his public life. Here one encounters the tale of his first political career dominated by adventuring, precociousness, amazing luck and the same unflagging ambition that ruined his father. One finds here useful overviews of Churchill's social radical phase (1903–1914), the Great War (1914–1918, with special attention to the Gallipoli campaign which all but ruined him) and the 1920s, as he struggled to save a once-brilliant career that appeared to have run its course by his middle age.

The second chapter, "The Lion's Roar," recreates in familiar fashion Churchill's second career, better known to Americans: his backing the wrong horse in the 1936 abdication crisis; his recognition of the German threat, the struggle against appeasement and political isolation; and, finally, the reversal of fortune, redemption, and supreme power as war engulfed Europe. It is at this point, the familiar wartime premiership, that popular history usually shades off into melodrama and Churchill becomes an exaggerated figure, a caricature of his own doggedness and courage. The doggedness and courage were very real, indeed, but this production shuns most of the usual histrionics and does not omit the imperfections or humanity of its hero.

Following the forging of the Anglo-American cooperation and the great victory of 1945 came sadder times for Churchill: the crushing 1945 political defeat at the hands of the hated socialists, the dissolution of the empire he revered, the lackluster second premiership and, finally, the unwinnable fight against retirement, old age and death. This melancholy slide toward the end is the leitmotif of the final segment, "The Last Prize," and it is managed skillfully and with sensitivity. Plagued by bouts of depression and horror at leaving the public stage, the old man would not go quietly. If he had, the subtext implies, he would not have been Churchill.

Churchill's popular reputation has generally withstood the critiques of the revisionists, yet while he will always be recalled as the embodiment of brave little England fighting back against the Nazi war machine, each new generation is less aware of what exactly it was that he did—much less what he was. Such productions can be invaluable in the struggle against forgetfulness. The Churchill here portrayed is conventionally titanic in scale but quite human (selfish, passionate, brilliant, stubborn) and yet still plenty heroic enough. To understand the legend, professional historians will turn to John Ramsden's *The Man of the Century* (2003), but this presentation has much to offer for college-level classroom use, although its length makes it an unlikely proposition to show in one sitting. Most instructors will judge it as rather well balanced, while students will find it interesting. The photography of places and scenes of Churchill's lost personal world are a visual treat. For many courses it may prove well worth taking the trouble to organize its use in episodic form or as an out-of-class resource.

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W. John Morgan and Stephen Livingston, editors. *Law and Opinion in Twentieth-Century Britain and Ireland*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xiv, 222. $65.00.

In 1898, English jurist Albert Venn Dicey delivered a series of lectures at the Harvard Law School; a revised version of these talks was published as *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century* (1905). The book, Dicey wrote, attempted "to follow out the connection or relation between a century of English legislation and successive currents of opinion" (p. viii). Historians have generally viewed his tripartite division of public opinion into an era of laissez-faire, followed by the influence of Benthamism and then an age of collectivism, as insightful but flawed. In the 1950s and 1960s, Dicey's conclusions served as a starting point for the scholarly debate about the nineteenth-century revolution in government.

The volume of essays under review endeavors to carry forward the examination of law and opinion in the manner of Dicey for the twentieth century. The contrasts between the two works are immediate, for Dicey brought a focused perspective to his project, whereas the present collection, edited by W. John Morgan and Stephen Livingston, contains eight essays by different authors. Dicey pursued issues such as Anglo-Irish relations, matrimonial property, and the fate of individualism at great length. Other topics, such as the regulation of conception and multicultural education, gained greater attention after Dicey's death in 1922, and he left no record of any thoughts on these latter subjects. Despite some changes in subject matter, however, the various contributors have succeeded handsomely in keeping the legacy of Dicey's work relevant for another century.

Each of the book's four sections contains two essays. In part one, "The Citizen and the State," Morgan writes about public opinion, political education, and

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citizenship. He argues that the promotion of active citizenship at all social levels has continued through participation in civic associations, a tradition that historians have traced back into the eighteenth century. In the twentieth century, encouragement of political involvement has occurred on both the political left and right. In this process, emphasis on adult education by the left and political engagement by think tanks on the right has sustained efforts to retain democratic citizenship. Devolution in Scotland and Wales, which Dicey abhorred, has perhaps sparked a keener sense of participation at the local level. Morgan succeeds in tracing alterations in the meaning of political democracy, even as he concedes that results still are incomplete. The other essay in this section, by Ian Forbes, revisits Dicey on the fate of individual liberty. Dicey had defined this in a way that ruled out government activity on the assumption that this would lessen freedom. Forbes traces the increase in government action after 1945 that helped create a social consensus that lasted until the Conservative government of 1979. Forbes captures this fluctuation in political attitudes with the same flair as the original. This topic remains an area of political contestation that the present Labour government has addressed, although with what results it is still too early to tell.

From the time of Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries* (1765–1769) to the present, the relationship of law to morality has remained at the heart of English jurisprudence. In part two of this collection. Lisa Glennon assesses changes in the law of matrimonial property, a topic that Dicey covered in some detail. Dicey argued that legislative opinion expanded women's rights; Glennon finds this approach inadequate, for it has taken extensive social changes, not public opinion, to transform the law. The transition to variable definitions of the family has provided the impetus for change rather than intellectual debate. Emily Jackson then examines public opinion and the regulation of conception, a topic that Dicey never considered. Jackson looks at conception in all varieties, especially the development of technology and its subsequent regulation. Complex scientific issues have made it difficult for public opinion to appreciate the opportunities and troubles that beset the issue. Both essays in this section wrestle with the fundamental issue of what in the twentieth century did constitute public opinion. In the age of mass media, no single definition will suffice; both essays demonstrate how difficult this problem has become.

In part three, "Culture and Identity," Colin Williams examines public opinion and language policy, a subject of widespread debate in the United States. By statute, Welsh and English became equal for all public purposes in 1993. Language recognition has occurred by law in the last quarter century, and I think it is clear that Dicey would have opposed bitterly the acceptance of Irish, Welsh, and Scots Gaelic as alternatives to English. Williams's essay has a narrow purview and is unlikely to appeal to those outside language studies. Mal Leicester takes a broader look at what Americans call multicultural education. He skillfully examines not just public opinion but the work of educational associations and other extraparliamentary lobbying groups. This topic also remains in flux, so it is primarily an area for future development.

Part four has the dramatic title, "The Death of the English Constitution?" This is the area where Dicey had enjoyed his greatest reputation. Daniel Wincott and Jim Buller review the British relationship with the European Union (EU), arguing that political parties have led public opinion rather than followed it. Issues such as parliamentary sovereignty, the euro, and administrative law decisions will be resolved by incremental inevitability more than democratic enthusiasm. The EU represents an Other that British public opinion tolerates but does not embrace. In the final essay, Livingston discusses an issue that troubled Dicey throughout his life: devolution and the fate of the United Kingdom. Livingston points out correctly that Dicey's opinions have historical value only; but the future of the United Kingdom now is uncertain. Devolution has had little time to be tested empirically. Whether pluralism will work within the British Isles remains to be seen.

Scholars with an interest in the specific essay subjects or those who wish a thorough introduction will find this book rewarding. The reader will find a uniform level of excellence and the volume may be recommended without reservation.

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NUALA C. JOHNSON. *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 35.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 192. $60.00.

Nuala C. Johnson's book is certainly ambitious. Although Ireland's memory of the Great War is no longer neglected, it still occupies a particularly contentious place in the country's historiography. The interdisciplinary approach of the historical geographer is one that can only be welcomed when historiography still seems largely preoccupied with whether or not Irish men should have fought at all. In this case, however, one is more sobered than inspired. While there is much that is worthy in the approach Johnson takes—for example, the detailed assessment of the role and influence of recruiting posters and the geographical analysis of the Easter Rising of 1916—the range of material she attempts to cover is too wide and too disparate to offer anything of real coherence to the debate. Apart from the posters, there are the peace day parades, the memorials, the literature, and the memory of the Rising to contend with, all placed within the context of many and varied theoretical frameworks. It is simply too much.

The chapter on recruiting posters is the longest and perhaps the finest; the copious number of illustrations

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denotes the book's most extensive use of primary source materials. The extent to which these posters can be held responsible for the memories of the war that emerged in the years that followed is somewhat overstated; the realities of the war itself and the dramatic political changes in Ireland during and immediately after the war did so much more to shape the memory and the memorialization of the dead than any poster ever could.

Johnson's analysis of the Dublin peace day parade of July 1919 is interesting in its own terms. However, there is no mention of the context in which it took place beyond reference to the Easter Rising being fresh in the memory of its observers. The parade's extensive show of military strength might perhaps have had more to do with the fact that two policemen had been shot in an ambush in County Tipperary in January of that year, and that these shootings had begun the War of Independence. There is also little sense that victory had any part in these parades.

There is again much of interest in the chapter on memorials to the Great War. While the erection of these memorials is recounted in some detail, the chapter suffers from the exclusion of certain material available on the erection of the National War Memorial at Islandbridge. There is one reference in the chapter to records in the National Archives. There are, however, several files there that could have placed the erection of this memorial more firmly in the political landscape than is attempted here. This chapter would benefit from a little more primary research and a little less Roland Barthes. In much the same sense, it is fine to know that the Italian Fascist Party was invited to the unveiling of the Belfast cenotaph, but it would be more useful to have a detailed analysis of why the veterans of the Sixteenth Irish Division were not.

The chapter on the literature of war is provocative in its own right. One can perhaps question why Sean O'Casey's *The Silver Tassie* (1928), a play by a noncombatant that closed after twenty-six performances in London and was denied a showing in Ireland until 1935, should receive more detailed analysis than the works of men who had actually served in the war. It was not considered a typical representation of the war by its contemporaries, and to plot the landscape of the memory of the war one must acknowledge the literary tastes of the time, however outdated and unfashionable they might seem.

The chapter on Easter 1916 is perhaps the weakest in the book, if nothing else for its concentration on that week's events alone, elevating the Rising as the sole alternative narrative to World War I. There is no reference to the part played by the War of Independence on the dramatic shift in Irish memory; of the Civil War there is less still. The subtleties of division within the forces of Irish nationalism after the Civil War are completely lost here. Fine Gael is confused with extreme republicanism in a quotation condemning a monument to 1916. That Johnson fails to note that Fine Gael refused to attend the unveiling of a statue in 1935 is yet more proof of her failure to address the complications civil war brought to every act of commemoration in the new state.

Throughout this book, there is very little sense that its author is addressing the greatest single loss of Irish life since the Famine. There is none of the sympathy or understanding that one finds in the work of Keith Jeffery on the memory of the war. It is perhaps foolish to expect otherwise when "complex semiotic triangulation" (p. 168) seems more important than the men who fought and died.

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LINDA MARTZ. *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority*. (History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 461. $72.50.

The history of minorities in early modern Spain generally utilizes Inquisition records, but it is invariably more complex than the study of Inquisition documents alone reveals. Linda Martz begins her study of the conversos of Toledo by considering Inquisition activity in that city. Having devoted an initial chapter to this topic—the Inquisition in Toledo, after all, processed over 6,000 conversos in a fifteen-year period—she moves beyond it to her real interest: those who survived this period and were assimilated into Christian Toledo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In a region where baptismal records appear as early as 1499, Martz follows several elite converso families, and the documentation she provides for an extended period is impressive. Working with archival material from Simancas, as well as the provincial archive in Toledo and smaller parish archives, she is able to trace lineages and determine the fate of children and grandchildren, not to mention cousins, step-children, and the like. This could not have been a simple task, particularly since, as Martz herself tells us, many converso families investigated by the Inquisition deliberately changed their surnames afterward and avoided mentioning ancestors, or invented alternative ones. Moreover, conversos, in their effort to advance themselves socially, were apt to take the more prestigious parent's surname, even if it were from the maternal side.

Having admirably reconstructed several families, in spite of such difficulties, Martz is able to examine their varied strategies for gaining acceptance. It is no surprise that marrying upward was one strategy, and Martz is able to document the way in which several siblings might be settled into a convent so that the family could assemble an attractive dowry for the remaining daughter. Of the convents of Toledo, Martz tells us, at least three were exclusively converso communities. But such family arrangements did not always lead to marriage alliances with Old Christians. In fact,

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Martz tells us, among her families converso marriages were generally endogamous.

Direct involvement in politics was another strategy, and positions on Toledo's city council were passed from converso father to son. This route was not without difficulties: the pure blood statutes initiated in Toledo's cathedral chapter in 1547 were being applied to the citizen's bench in the city council by 1566. The statutes in this case may have been a way for nobles, exempt themselves from scrutiny, to assert control over those, including conversos, who were initiating reforms and providing for the less fortunate of the city. But, as Martz points out, the position of converso families in Toledo was never certain. Families that had escaped the Inquisition were, in the end, faced with an impossible task: "For conversos, acceptance of Christianity was an attainable goal, but demonstrating a lineage untouched by any Jewish ancestors was not" (p. 401).

Thus, although Martz limits her own discussion of the Inquisition to the first chapter of the book, she refuses to underplay its importance in the entire period under discussion. Earlier Inquisition documents continued to be problematic for the conversos of Toledo, since they were often the only evidence of Jewish ancestry remaining. They were, she writes, used as evidence in purity of blood cases in the late 1500s and the 1600s.

Some of the families Martz studies, like that of Diego de San Pedro, gave up a "compromising surname," married children into Old Christian families, and avoided all mention of ancestors. How assimilated was the family? San Pedro's grandson, a member of the Cortes of Castile in 1618, voted against moderating the pure blood statutes. Other families, like that of Juan de Herrera, Sr., acknowledged ancestors who had appeared before the Inquisition and intermarried with other converso families. But no matter what their attitude or how uncertain their position, converso families became part of the larger Toledo community. As Martz remarks, "It is not easy to pinpoint any local institution that does not include conversos, despite statutes dedicated to keeping them out" (p. 407). Each of her families displayed a sustained resilience in the face of varied challenges. Martz reminds us, in the end, that these people deserve to be remembered for their generous contributions to the intellectual, artistic, and political life of Toledo.

Martz's work is the product of considerable research; it is also the work of a historian who knows the right questions to ask. For those interested in minority history in the period, it ought to be required reading. It is, itself, a generous and welcome contribution to the larger history of Spain in the early modern period.

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XAVIER LE PERSON. *"Practiques" et "practiqueurs": La vie politique à la fin du règne de Henri III (1584–1589)*. Foreword by DENIS CROUZET. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, number 370.) Geneva: Librarie Droz. 2002. Pp. 658.

Historians have long remarked on the notorious duplicity of Henry III of France as recorded by sixteenth-century chroniclers, his reputation as a dissembler and hypocrite, and his predilection for wearing masks, both real and metaphorical. No previous study has explored this theme in as much depth or with such meticulous attention to detail, however. By examining the language and behavior of the king and those *grands* who experienced a fraught relationship with their monarch, notably the dukes of Guise and Nevers, Xavier Le Person succeeds in building up a picture of French political life dominated by dissimulation and mutual suspicion, in which political survival was dependent on ambiguity, bluff, and counter-bluff. Concentrating on a few key incidents in the later years of Henry's reign, Le Person reconstructs an elaborate game in which the arts of persuasion and artifice (his *practiques*) were used (by *les practiqueurs*) to manipulate and outwit opponents, and a world in which all pronouncements and actions were redolent with symbolism. Henry III is presented as the master of the game: the individual whose thoughts are hardest, and yet most important, to read. Yet his success in this regard was also the source, for contemporary observers, of savage criticism.

Le Person has chosen to focus on the mid-to-late 1580s, a period during which his main protagonists, Henry III and the Catholic League leadership, were supposedly reconciled to one another. However, it was just these circumstances that made mutual judgments regarding the fidelity and sincerity of the other party most difficult. Key to understanding the high politics of the period for Le Person is to be able to interpret, as contemporaries would have done, the rhetorical devices used in correspondence and the significance of gestures and physiognomy. In so doing, he presents a convincing case that the monarchy was far more in control of the situation than usually believed: notably, that the Treaty of Nemours of 1585, which abolished the edicts of pacification, was used to reclaim the pre-eminence of the king as the defender of Catholicism, so outmaneuvering the league. In particular, Henry III's much remarked upon tears during his harangue to the parlement, Le Person argues, reinforced the dignity rather than the humiliation of the monarchy. An impassive countenance, a public caress, religious symbolism, or physical swagger could all be employed to convince other political players of the king's hostility, his favor, his piety, or his power. Moreover, it was not only the monarch who indulged in this Renaissance self-fashioning. The author makes it clear that the arts of dissimulation permeated the political elite from the crown to the provincial nobility. The report of the duke of Nevers's illness, which had supposedly kept him away from court in 1588, focused on the most persuasive rather than truest account of his ailments, sustained in a long career of service to the

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crown. It was as much a theatrical and carefully scripted performance as the king's response.

One of the greatest strengths of Le Person's approach is the insights it provides into the operation of early modern patronage networks, which have never been so effectively presented as they are here, increasing the wider significance of this book more than its narrow remit might suggest. The crown manipulated the clientage system to its advantage, outcompeting the duke of Guise in particular. Thus, royal overtures to the cardinal of Bourbon cast suspicion on his loyalty to the league despite being his favored candidate as heir to the throne, and the tortuously prolonged restoration to royal favor of the duke of Nevers in 1586 effectively neutralized his allegiance. Furthermore, the siege of the strategically placed Burgundian town of Auxonne placed Guise's role as patron in the spotlight, testing the extent of his influence with the king and his ability to come to the aid of, and to provide protection for, his clients. The last chapter considers the shock that greeted the assassination of the Guise brothers in 1588, for which the king's actions over the preceding months, keenly observed to ascertain the sincerity of their reconciliation, had not prepared contemporaries. Le Person suggests that this show of force was out of line with Henry's preferred policy of persuasion, which had failed in the face of a defiant third estate whom Guise had been unable to win over for him. By this act, Henry hoped to seize the initiative and to re-establish his authority, but the betrayal of those to whom he appeared closest was his undoing. The swiftness and completeness of this switch from friend to foe was shocking even by contemporary standards.

This remarkable book recreates in vivid detail the stratagems and pitfalls of political life in sixteenth-century France. It also succeeds in rehabilitating Henry III as a strategist and arch-manipulator of high politics and the patronage system, far from in the shadow of the Guise as he is so often portrayed. Le Person has taught us how to read between the lines of contemporary documents to penetrate the subtler and carefully constructed meanings that lie within, thereby bringing us closer to understanding the key participants. His reconstruction of power relationships reinforces their fragility and contingency but also, paradoxically, their efficacy. It was a world fraught with danger and risk, in which it was fatal to lose one's nerve or to drop one's guard for a moment, a ruthless and unattractive world that Le Person's study has made both more comprehensible and more dynamic.

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JULIAN SWANN. *Provincial Power and Absolute Monarchy: The Estates General of Burgundy, 1661–1790.* (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 460. $85.00.

This useful study is structured around the question of what role the estates of Burgundy played under the French monarchy from Louis XIV to the French Revolution. The problem at the forefront of Julian Swann's account is that of governance, the management of society by the state. Swann argues that the estates, and more particularly their permanent executive commission (*chambre des élus*), dominated the financial and administrative life of the province. This conclusion has important consequences for debates about the nature of absolutism and contrasts with those of scholars such as Michel Antoine, Hilton Root, and Peter Jones, who stress the importance of the intendants in the governance of provincial France. In Swann's account, raising taxes and loans, feeding troops, and building roads and canals in Burgundy all depended on the local elites organized through the estates.

The glue that held together the court at Versailles and the local representative institutions at Dijon was clientage. The estates were dominated by the clients of the Condé family who supplied the governor of the province. The second estate did not have any equivalent to the Breton *hoberaux* (independent though impecunious country gentry) who made the Breton estates such a theater of noble politics; its members were mostly Condé clients. The mayors and *echévins* who sat for the third estate were all appointed by the governor. In years where the Condé candidate for governor was a minor and so could not fill the post, such as between 1740 and 1754, attendance at the estates declined. When they did not fulfill their role in the patronage system, the estates lost their importance.

The governor represented the monarch and presided over the estates, but he also represented the province in court, particularly in the ritual negotiations on the *don gratuit* that set the level of the *taille*, the land tax that formed the basis of the state's revenue. The primary role of the estates was to negotiate the *don gratuit* in accordance with the instructions of the governor. One of the most striking elements in this book is Swann's observation that taxation was not a cause of contention even as the tax burden increased during the later wars of Louis XIV. Building on the work of Jean-Laurent Rosenthal and Mark Potter, Swann portrays the manner in which the estates functioned as an element of the fiscal structure of the monarchy. Monies were raised by the estates for the monarchy in the form of loans, those loans were repaid through hypothecation of the *octrois* and the *crues* (internal tolls and salt tax). Throughout the eighteenth century, the estates's credit remained excellent, and they were able to raise large sums at five percent interest until the fall of the monarchy. One reason for this excellent credit record was that the *traitants* for the loans were the *élus*, the officers of the estates. The loans were preferentially raised among the elite of Burgundy and so supported that elite. State lending redistributed tax revenues within the province upward to the corporate elite. The increase in borrowing by the monarchy benefited local and national interests.

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Having established that the fiscal politics of the absolute monarchy are best thought of as a collaboration between local elites and the monarchy, Swann goes on to evaluate the roles of corporate representatives, permanent officers, and royal officials in provincial governance. The estates met only for two weeks every three years; the actual governance of the province was in the hands of the *chambre des élus* made up of three representatives of the estates and four ex-officio members. Their work was supplemented by an array of permanent officials, including two secretaries of state and five legal officers, all, after 1742, appointed by the king. While the estates held a theoretical oversight of their activities, and appointed seven *alcades* to monitor their work, in practice this executive commission was the effective local power. Swann argues strongly that the corporate representatives retained the initiative against their own officers and royal officers. He describes an impressive, although familiar, array of institutional reforms that made local administration more efficient and a body of actual work, such as rebuilding the roads, that was achieved. The evidence for local initiative is less compelling than that for elite participation in the monarchy. Much of what Swann describes is more easily interpreted as the cooption of local officials into the projects of the central state. Much of what he describes of the more economically and socially active state would be common in any other region of France in the late eighteenth century, and such activity was far removed from the traditional role of the corporate representatives. The extent to which local government had room for maneuver outside royal policy is not established. Swann's work contributes to a more sophisticated picture of the functioning of French absolutism, but it does not amount to a reversal of our understanding of the manner in which power was exercised within it.

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Lenard R. Berlanstein. *Daughters of Eve: A Cultural History of French Theater Women from the Old Regime to the Fin-de-Siècle*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 300. $45.00.

As people whose work requires self-exhibition, pretense, and nightly labor in erogenously charged urban zones, stage performers are lightning rods for gender anxieties. Lenard R. Berlanstein traces the intellectual lineage of the antitheatrical prejudice articulated by Plato and Tertullian to three eighteenth-century French commentators whose views changed the terms of debate about contemporary theater from a religious to a secular issue (Louis Riccoboni), challenging not just self-control but society's capacity for self-government (Jean-Jacques Rousseau). Nicholas Réstif de la Bretonne even proposed, in *La Mimographe, ou Idées d'une honnête femme pour la réformation du théâtre national* (1770), that professional actors should be done away with, replaced by actor-citizens who would each espouse a single role. Mingling with the audience would be forbidden, as would fraternizing between male and female performers. Alternately, he proposed, actors should be made state-owned slaves, with no civil rights and housed in seclusion from society. Réstif's anxiety about women performers was particularly acute: to counteract the poison that actresses' eroticism exudes, female performers would be forced to dress in rags when offstage. Women on the public stage were more than fantasy objects in the ancient world and the Old Regime, but their power to seduce and the prestige accorded their seducers by the early eighteenth century imprinted the social imaginary in a way that, despite the improvements Berlanstein notes by the late nineteenth century, has not been entirely expunged a century later.

Berlanstein makes a compelling case for a history of men's libertinism linked to a history of women's celebrity in France. Under the Old Regime, female performers' place in public was not so much in question as the corrupting effects of their increasing availability to non-noble yet wealthy men. Actresses received more public attention and curiosity than any other women and most men. As their celebrity grew, Berlanstein argues, so did the public sphere itself. Conspicuously displaying lovers' gifts of gems, gowns, carriages, and furnishings, actresses' acceptance of the attention of financiers and tax farmers over noblemen represented social anxieties that came to a head in the revolution but continued long after. In the new regime, actresses' apparent proximity to decision makers threatened the implicit contract between state and public. As the respectable women of means were channeled into domesticity—where masculinized reason prevailed over feminized weakness—bourgeois society's anxiety shifted to actresses' contamination of the public sphere and their apparent links to aristocratic values. Bourgeois values eschewed conspicuous self-adornment in men and women alike, while promoting wide access to entertainment on the boulevards. Performers as well as audiences accommodated the change. In 1827, the bouquet thrown to the internationally preeminent dancer Marie Taglioni marked the invention of the tradition of the floral tribute, less carnal than jewels, a token traceable to its donor yet behavior that a man of almost any means might evince. While actresses of the Old Regime wore their libertines' gifts so as to publicize their lovers' status, actresses between the restoration and the Revolution of 1848 could be sentimentalized (yet still impure) in the minds of all men. Pursuing them became a rite of passage for hetero-normative bourgeois boys, offering an outlet for passion whose inaccessibility, unattainability, and unworthiness would be resolved in marriage with more proper objects of affection.

"During most of the nineteenth century the theater was *supposed* to offer a strongly erotic experience to men" (p. 105), and the refined libertinism of the period maintained the likelihood that actresses' husbands

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would either be cuckolds or profiteers. The power of this image in the cultural imaginary cannot be overstated, and while Berlanstein properly notes the different mores applicable in Britain and the United States, Parisian culture set worldwide trends and shaped expectations abroad. The logic in France extended to the idea that no innocent woman could act a love scene with a stranger without causing herself tremendous strain; therefore she required sexual debauchery in order to act with the spark of genius. Thus, since French actresses were preeminent, they *must* be libidinous. Later in the century, their assertiveness and intelligence were also coded as masculine (Sarah Bernhardt's resemblance to Napoleon Bonaparte marked her, and her kind, as a third gender) and racialized as primitive. Only in the fin-de-siècle could a truly career-minded actress be credited and her services to art supercede sensationalism based on her personal life, and only then could men's characters be measured according to their response to the characterological "strength" represented by actresses.

Berlanstein employs manuscript evidence along with widely circulated materials from popular culture and a sizeable number of novels and plays to substantiate the relationship between reputation and common practice, reserving the last two chapters of his book for a litany of exceptions to the rule. Importantly, he also demonstrates correlations among social practice, stigmatization, and choices within the acting profession: for example, the pattern of women's exclusion from the play reading committee of the Comédie Française, which reflects its acceptance of prevailing views. The interdependence of the history of sexuality and the history of theater is demonstrated, with due attention to fact amid the lore.

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STÉPHANE GERSON. *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 324. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

French historians trained in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s learned about France's local diversity from the great regional studies of the *Annales* school and from Eugen Weber's groundbreaking book, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1871–1914* (1976). Stéphane Gerson believes that we need to take a fresh look at the local, since much of this earlier scholarship was primarily concerned with understanding broad phenomena and was embedded in a larger narrative that privileged state-building and modernization. Gerson wants to place the local within the new scholarship of citizenship and civil society so that it can reflect the recent search for alternatives to "an all-controlling, uniform, technocratic society," globalization, centralization, and traditional forms of politics, and register the "vast" return to the local in contemporary France (pp. 1–2). A new historiography that "apprehends French politics and culture at the ground level" and focuses on the interplay between the locality and the nation will, according to Gerson, amend the triumphant narrative of the modern state and revive an appreciation of place and community (pp. 278–79).

Beginning most notably in the July Monarchy, France's liberal elites began to cultivate local memories as part of an effort to resolve fundamental questions about the modern nation-state, questions that touched on the role of the central government, the scope of civic participation, and the relationship among internal diversity, cultural homogeneity, and territorial integrity. These activities gave rise to a growing number of local and official projects concerning local history, which Gerson analyzes from several different angles, often using details derived from a careful investigation of the department of the Nord to explicate various aspects of what he alternately calls the "field" or "cult" of local memories. Gerson is less interested in the paintings, books, and festivals produced by such initiatives than in the cultural practices that informed their expression, and the "conflicted" political relationship between national and local elites that prevented local activism from obtaining a regular place in France's civic life in the nineteenth century. Gerson describes the practices, genres, texts, and metaphors that constituted the social imaginary of the local, and the pedagogical efforts by which local elites tried to transform local memories into a means of local self-assertion and a school of participatory politics. From there, Gerson's analytical itinerary turns toward politics and the actions of the state, first by discussing the cultivation of local memories as a benign and depoliticizing cultural policy of the central government, and then by examining a variety of local pageants in order to show how provincial elites struggled to delineate and assert local difference in a language that did not threaten a unitary concept of the nation. As the central government "sought to anchor local memories within a unified, national framework" (p. 207), underfunding projects, rejecting initiatives that expressed an autonomous identity, and refusing to subsidize those that memorialized the prerevolutionary past, local elites struggled to negotiate between central authorities who favored pure erudition and their own desire to represent the originality of their *pays*. The resulting tensions produced a protracted and inconclusive conflict over designs and priorities that Gerson sees as symptomatic of the "elusive boundary between the state and civil society" in nineteenth-century France (p. 232), one that paralleled the struggle between unequal forces in the colonial theater, where the response of local elites ranged from collaboration and compliance to subtle and overt forms of resistence.

Woven throughout Gerson's analysis is a tragic story of great promise and disappointing results. On the one hand, the "cult of local memories" represented an unprecedented effort to resuscitate the local past,

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instill affection for one's locality, and produce a sense of place that had the potential to "yield solidarity and civic consciousness" and herald a "true recomposition of France." The recovery of the local past was not a backward-looking initiative dominated by clerics and legitimists but rather a monumental, grass-roots "arena of experimentation" undertaken by provincial middle-class citizens who collectively developed a modern form of territorial identity "articulated at the juncture of Paris and the provinces" (pp. 3–6). On the other hand, the cultivation of local memories faltered at nearly every turn, stymied by insufficient funding, bureaucratic deficiencies, local apathy, imperious or suspicious central authorities, and the low esteem accorded to local erudition. Provincial elites sought to use official ventures sponsored by the Comité des Travaux Historiques to memorialize their localities and articulate distinct local identities, but the central government insisted that they limit their work to purely descriptive and factual observations that would not challenge the supremacy of national consciousness. Time and again, the result was an ill-defined accommodation in which local memories became "a new instrument of governmental action" that both "curbed and galvanized local differences," subordinating local elites while validating "a broadly defined localism" (pp. 9, 280).

Gerson sees this effort to strengthen the supervisory role of the state while combating civic indifference as a distinctive aspect of French liberalism, one that reflected the aspirations of the first postrevolutionary generation, persisted throughout the golden age of the bourgeoisie, and established a continuity of practice that encompassed the July Monarchy and the Second Empire. The middle-class liberals who dominated both the national government and provincial learned societies played a conspicuous role in the activities Gerson examines. They were eager to promote voluntary action in civil society, but they also believed that citizen initiatives required proper guidance to counter the nefarious influences of particularism and corporatism. Fearful of the autonomous propensities to which localism could give rise, national leaders like François Guizot and Narcisse de Salvandy refused to curb central authority or devolve responsibilities and were ultimately schizophrenic and incoherent in their attempts to draw a clear boundary between the role of the administration and that of the local associations their policies were meant to nurture.

Gerson has made extensive use of a wide variety of archival sources, including the records of the Comité des Travaux Historiques, the Bureau des Travaux Historiques, scientific congresses, learned societies, archeological commissions, and the departmental archives of the Nord. He has begun to inventory and make visible a whole world of local erudition that nineteenth-century historians have largely ignored. Nevertheless, the book falls short in a number of areas, mostly related to exposition and conceptualization. Gerson offers no systematic account of the origins of local memorialization because he sees its emergence both in evolutionary terms and as a consequence of an abrupt cultural shift that occurred in the 1830s: the French Revolution and literary romanticism served as a catalyst but the "cult" itself required a mollification of "the Bourbon's coarse techniques of rule" and the rise of liberalism so that local memories could fill the semantic void left by the ebbing of royalism and religion (p. 67). Neglect of chronology denies Gerson's account of coherence, and his focus on liberalism allows him largely to ignore the crucial role played by legitimists in fashioning a critique of the centralized state based in part on the sort of local particularism that liberals abhorred. Gerson too readily dismisses localism's conservative dimensions and misses the opportunity to explore localism's misgiving about modernity as an aspect of modernity itself. Finally, he complicates the political dimension of the story with a convoluted argument that runs along a number of distinct theoretical tracks, claiming that the cult of local memories was a manifestation of the "politicization of the cultural realm" that nevertheless involved a surreptitious effort to depoliticize unreliable provincial elites by coaxing from them a descriptive body of knowledge that was neutral and apolitical on a discursive register and stabilizing in its appeals to social harmony, but which was politicizing because "pedagogical ventures" that appealed to social harmony were "ideological" and because the official cult of local memories promoted "civic practices that rested on voluntary and collective action" that made it possible to contest the liberal regime. Basing his analysis on colonial studies that highlight the uneven negotiations between state officials and local actors, Gerson is not wrong per se, but his treatment obscures that fact that the notables were profoundly divided on administrative questions and that the idea of France as one and indivisible made any talk of local identity controversial and politically charged.

This book rests on a sophisticated theoretical foundation constructed from the works of Mikhail Bakhtin, Julia Kristeva, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu. It also draws on the findings of Pim den Boer, who uncovered a bounty of local historical studies in the nineteenth century, and on the colonial investigations of Bernard Cohn, whose work on British India focuses on the collection, classification, and transformation of scientific knowledge into instruments of power. But this rich and varied conceptual apparatus contributes to the book's incoherence and undermines its success as a piece of historical exposition. A desire to invest at each turn every word and action with the full import of its potential complexity keeps Gerson from discriminating between the themes he wants to develop and leads him into numerous digressions that make the book exceedingly hard to read. It would have benefitted from the attention of a more demanding editor.

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JEAN-MARC DREYFUS. *Pillages sur ordonnances: Aryanisation et restitution des banques en France 1940–1953.* Foreword by ANTOINE PROST. (Pour une histoire du XX^{e} siècle.) Paris: Fayard. 2003. Pp. iii, 475. €25.00.

Starting with the interrogation of Switzerland's gold transactions in the 1990s, the spoliation of Jewish property by the governments, firms, and private citizens of Europe's occupied and even neutral countries during World War II has taken center stage in international Holocaust research. "Aryanization" has since become so current a term that many scholars, such as Jean-Marc Dreyfus in the book under review, omit the condemnatory, distancing parentheses until lately regarded as indispensable.

This is a meticulously researched and well-written account on the aryanization of Jewish banks in both the German administrated north and the southern part of Vichy France. The interim period before its full occupation in November 1942 allowed some Jewish bankers in Paris to transfer a part of their liquid assets and eventually retrieve some of them when they escaped abroad. But in the end, the fate of Jewish bankers in the occupied and unoccupied zones of France was not much different. Of the 191 banks possessed by Jews according to the racial definitions of the Nazis, duly applied by their French collaborators, 112 (58.6 percent) were liquidated and the rest "aryanized" one way or another.

As the title suggests, the pillage of Jewish-owned banks was "ordered" by the German authorities but methodically and effectively put into action by both existing and newly established bureaucratic institutions of the French administration. But the most important result of the author's careful investigation is that the principal and almost only beneficiaries of the process were French firms and individuals. This is surprising in view of the paramount involvement of the great German corporate banks in the economic spoliation of the banks in other occupied countries. Dreyfus suggests that the reason was that "only very few Jewish banks were, by their stature and expansion, susceptible to arouse the interest of the German banks . . . to compete on French soil" (p. 12). However, the myth of the Jewish financier, rooted in France since the mid-nineteenth century by widely read authors like Alphonse Toussenel or Edouard Drummond, offered a strong incentive for French antisemites, government agencies, and economic interests to safeguard this part of the national patrimony in their own hands, and the Germans acquiesced (p. 110).

"Aryanization" started in Germany soon after the Nazis rose to power in 1933, and its quasi-legal procedures were polished to perfection after the *Anschluss* of Austria by Adolf Eichmann's Auswanderungszentrale, symbolically installed in the Palais Rothschild in Vienna. Relying on this experience and following the advice first of the German military government, and later of Theodor Dannecker, the SS Judenreferent for France and Belgium, the French established their own, probably even more centrally coordinated system for the spoliation of Jewish properties. The Vichy government and its delegation in occupied France took pains to assure that Jewish banks and brokerage firms were swiftly put under the control of French provisional administrators, mobilized from the cadres of the republic's civil service. These officials were subordinated in December 1940 to a central administration under the directorship of a former governor of the Bank of France.

Dreyfus provides a detailed description of the system, as well as of the "new profession that arose from the legalized pillage." At the end of December 1943, the number of "temporary administrators" amounted to over 5,300 officials, by some statistics even more. It was mostly they who decided the individual fate of every Jewish bank and its owners as they prescribed and supervised the manner of its liquidation or "aryanization" (p. 123). Their attitudes, illustrated in this book by many examples, varied between radical antisemitic perfectionism and personal greed, silent disapproval, sympathy with the victims, and covert efforts to help them. The accruing radicalization of German extermination policies and developments on the battlefield influenced these attitudes as the war went on. In any case, this "new profession" proved to be a very profitable one.

The last chapter deals with the restoration of formerly Jewish banks or the compensation of their owners. At the time of the liberation only sixty (i.e. fewer than one third) of them were "saved by aryanization," to use the author's term. More than two thirds had been liquidated or had disappeared in other ways (p. 276). Apparently it was these still functioning firms that became the subject of litigation by former Jewish owners and/or shareholders. The emerging picture is one of a procrastinating bureaucratic process that left the better part of the spoils in the hands of the French "aryanizers"—not to speak of the "ownerless" assets of the Holocaust victims that in recent years have been subject to investigation and claims but were far from being fully restored or compensated at the date of publication.

One may question Dreyfus's attempts to integrate his study into the framework of the obsolete, from their very start superficial, and obfuscating debates between so-called "functionalists" and "intentionalists." But neither that, nor mistakes, like presenting Max Warburg as president of a German "Judenvertretung" (p. 26), a position he never held, diminish the merits of this important and enlightening study.

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H. G. KOENIGSBERGER. *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments: The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 381. $75.00.

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The origins of parliamentary representation in Europe have often been described in dualistic terms, as a development of power relations between a monarch and segments of the subject population within a particular state. This is also the image frequently reproduced of ceremonial meetings of assemblies of estates in the early modern period. Two objections can be made against this approach: first, it fails to clarify the changes occurring in the representative system as a consequence of the continuous shifts of dynasties, borders, and polities; second, it fails to acknowledge the spontaneous formation of various modes of popular representation beyond the territory of a particular monarch and even without his primary intervention. Moreover, the inward-looking vision of parliamentary history tends to become part of a national reconstruction of a glorious past, projecting nineteenth and twentieth-century liberal or conservative ideologies to the medieval and early modern periods.

Since well before World War II, some historians have been committed to a very different approach, which has proved fruitful in the past decades: that of a systematic comparison of the conditions under which specific forms of parliamentary representation could develop throughout Europe—and only there. One of the most influential contributors to this trend has been H. G. Koenigsberger, who has committed himself as much to archival work as to broad synthesis. He is the author of detailed studies on parliaments in Italy and in the Low Countries, as well as of textbooks on general European history in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Koenigsberger's present book offers a very vivid narrative of the development of one of the earliest and most influential representative systems in Europe. He points to interactions with developments elsewhere in Europe and constantly compares the Netherlands to cases elsewhere, both earlier and later, thus making the history of the region better accessible and more comprehensible to an international audience. His generalizing viewpoint also makes it clear that the widespread belief that the English Parliament was the cradle of Western democracy, deserves some qualification.

Koenigsberger uses John Fortescue's concepts of *dominium regale* as opposed to *dominium politicum et regale* as keys to understanding the evolution of parliamentary systems throughout Europe. Studying especially the later Middle Ages and the early modern period, he notes the extraordinary rise of the power of parliaments, most of which lost their influence in little more than one century. Koenigsberger offers general explanations for these sweeping ups and downs. In the first place, parliaments try to protect the privileges of the various categories of subjects they represent. "Princes did not generally attempt a frontal assault on privileges" (p. 328) for two reasons. In early modern Europe, most states were composite, "following the basic principle of multiple monarchies of leaving the outlying dominions well alone" (p. 334)—which rule the duke of Alba violated, thus accelerating the Netherlands' revolt. Moreover, the ever-increasing scale of warfare required loans, to be secured only by guarantees by corporate cities and representative assemblies. Property and privilege that had been respected in times of compromise were no longer safe once all parties turned to the use of force.

Lucid and inspiring interpretations of this kind are to be found throughout the text. For more than a vivid interpretation of the Low Countries' political history, this book offers insights ripened over a long and active scholarly career.

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Ernest Benz. *Fertility, Wealth, and Politics in Three Southwest German Villages 1650–1900.* (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Humanities Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 295.

Although this book is based on a thesis that was defended in 1987, the decision to publish its findings as a book was a sensible one. Ernest Benz focuses his attention on three contiguous villages (Grafenhausen, Kappel, and Rust) in southwestern Germany, which were originally incorporated in John E. Knodel's wider study, *Demographic Behaviour in the Past: A Study of Fourteen German Village Populations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1988). Unlike Knodel, whose analysis precluded any detailed examination of village society, Benz attempts to locate his study of differential fertility behavior within a wider framework. The significance of locality and its interaction with village life is emphasized throughout, as Benz seeks to assess the explanatory value of general theories of fertility control against a wide range of variables, including occupational structure, the availability, quality, and distribution of land, and relative wealth. The importance of this study, however, is reinforced by the explicit incorporation of noneconomic variables and its concern to assess the significance of popular psychology in determining differential fertility behavior. Within this context, the analysis explores the role of collective independence and village solidarity, the significance of anticlericalism, and the extent to which party political choices at the village level between the National Liberals and the Center Party reflected a common strand of independence and a search for control in both political and demographic spheres. From a methodological perspective, the choice of the three villages makes sense: they were situated in an area of partible inheritance; despite their physical proximity, there was a clear diversity in fertility experience; and the quality of the demographic material contained in the *Ortssippenbücher* (village genealogies) was reinforced by the availability of a wider range of other records at both the local and regional levels.

By locating his analysis of fertility behavior within a wider socioeconomic and political framework, Benz offers a more nuanced approach to the study of the

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onset and diffusion of family limitation. What emerges is evidence of an association between relative prosperity and family limitation, reinforced not only by a perceived fear of the division of existing holdings but also by a deep-seated sense of community autonomy developed through a tradition of litigation over tithe disputes and an active embrace of "radicalism" by many of the village's leading families. By contrast, the slower adoption of family limitation in Kappel is attributed to the possibility of expanding existing farmland; a greater predominance of small holders; and a collective unwillingness to take "conspicuous stands" against authority. Such an approach represents a welcome contrast to the methodological limitations of studies of fertility behavior that often provide a rigorous examination of the demographic data but fail to locate individual decision making within an appropriate community context.

At the same time, Benz is aware of the continuing difficulties of conducting comparative analysis, even between spatially contiguous villages. *Ortssippenbücher* provide very little information on the extent of in or out-migration, but it is premature to discount the significance of this factor on the assumption that "migration tended to even out across the countryside." More important, there are continuing problems in constructing a robust schedule of occupational categories: landed proprietors and day laborers are considered together, and peasants who occupied land of five hectares or more are characterized as owning "great enterprises." In reality, because of the long-term impact of partible inheritance, many villagers undertook a range of economic activities; the scale of short-term migration within the region was probably substantial (with potential implications for coital frequency and birth spacing); and it is problematic to determine relative wealth solely on the basis of landholding. Too often, Benz confronts a sample size problem, although he openly recognizes the difficulties caused by dependence on a small number of cases whether in relation to occupational classification or electoral participation. It is also a pity that the process of revising the original dissertation for publication did not encourage a wider confrontation with more recent literature in a number of important areas.

These points, however, should not detract from the considerable value of Benz's contribution to work on the German fertility transition. By emphasizing the central importance of locality, he has successfully argued the case for including in future studies a wide range of factors, from the political life of specific communities to those forces that helped to mold the desires and actions of individuals, occupational subgroups, and entire villages.

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CATHERINE EPSTEIN. *The Last Revolutionaries: German Communists and Their Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 322. $29.95.

Catherine Epstein examines eight "Old Communists," veterans of the pre-1933 German Communist Party who survived to become participants in the post-1945 German Democratic Republic (GDR). Her book is not a history from below, except insofar as all of her subjects were originally rank-and-file members; Walter Ulbricht and Erich Honecker headed the GDR, and Karl Schirdewan, Fritz Selbmann, and Fred Oelssner held significant positions for various periods. Franz Dahlem, Gerhart Eisler, and Emmy Koenen round out Epstein's cast of characters, occupying less prominent roles.

The criteria for inclusion are not entirely clear. Epstein describes interviewing Schirdewan and Eisler's widow, plus other Old Communists who are not among the chosen eight. The dissertation that laid the foundation for this book studied 907 men and women: perhaps these eight are the most interesting of the lot. The great unifying characteristic of the eight subjects, and perhaps of the whole cohort, is dogged adherence to party discipline, exhibited both by those who lost out in the internecine quarrels and those who won. Of those who were purged, none broke openly with the party. Ex-Communists, who did break with the party or were expelled during changes in line simply are not in the universe of Epstein's subjects or of her book. The topic is substantial enough as it is, and consideration of apostates—or more extended comparison with party elites in other countries—might have weakened its focus. It is the nature of dissertations to concentrate on thoroughness and not to range widely, and perhaps in this case the propensity to look inward reflects the intense self-absorption of the German communist movement, particularly in its postwar East German edition.

The Old Communists spent most of the Nazi period, including the war, in concentration camps or in exile. Epstein argues persuasively that, at least for those in her sample, internment, Soviet exile, and Western exile all led to redoubled emphasis on party discipline. The horrors of survival in the camps, the purge-obsessed angst of the Soviet environment, and the political badgering of ostensibly democratic states reinforced commitment to the communist cause, flavored with distrust of comrades who might betray it or accuse others of betrayal.

Epstein comes to admire her subjects, who "followed a long, dramatic, and often cruel road through History" (p. 15). Their own movement was a hard master, punishing deviations from the correct line even in prison camps, and devouring its children with enthusiasm once the GDR was established: "In East Germany, veteran communist politics was as petty as the communist vision was grand" (p. 186). Once the more durable Old Communists who had been ousted from power were considered harmless, they were encouraged to write appropriate memoirs, becoming living monuments to a heroic anti-Nazi past. Epstein describes this process deftly. Her own study does not make heroes of her subjects, but she clearly comes to

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sympathize with the longest-surviving of them as they live on among ungrateful and increasingly indifferent younger generations. Their self-sacrificing, well-intended stubbornness can evoke a certain sympathy, particularly since the state that they created no longer troubles anyone. (What their virtuous intentions inflicted on others before the GDR's fall is largely outside the book's focus.) Epstein's eight characters take on the grisly fascination of a procession of flagellants, driving themselves onward, intent on saving humanity from the plague of capitalism.

This book is generally well written and solidly researched. Despite references to many characters and events that general readers would find obscure, it repeatedly picks up narrative momentum as it examines episodes in the eight central lives. Stylistic infelicities are few, and clustered toward the end: "unfathomable" for "unthinkable" (p. 227); Old Communists "exuded moral fiber" (p. 229). Epstein's work is essential to study of the GDR and will be a prerequisite for wider comparative considerations of communist elites.

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RONALD J. GRANIERI. *The Ambivalent Alliance: Konrad Adenauer, the CDU/CSU, and the West, 1949–1966*. (Monographs in German History, volume 9). New York: Berghahn Books. 2003. Pp. xvi, 250. $69.95.

The mystery of German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer abides. His scholarly admirers emphasize Adenauer's strength of character and steadfast defense of a few simply articulated, worthy principles. His detractors see a narrow-minded, parochial, retrograde, stubborn, cynical, and irritatingly successful exploiter of his public's fear of communism. But even those who regret Adenauer's rule would grant him a certain constancy in his attitudes and methods.

Not so the rest of us. From the middle, we are perplexed less by Adenauer's alleged virtues or callousness than by his inconsistencies. How did this anti-Nazi who had suffered imprisonment by the Gestapo come to view denazification as a great evil? Why did this diplomat who tried to make amends with Israel tolerate those in his cabinet or on his staff who had been involved in the Holocaust? And why did this early ardent supporter of the Federal Republic of Germany's ties to the United States end his career standing next to Charles de Gaulle in defiance of *les Anglo-Saxons*?

As Ronald J. Granieri indicates by the very title of his impressively researched, lucid, and provocative book, this last of Adenauer's seeming inconsistencies (the move toward France) is best viewed as an ambivalence about means, not ends. With precise attention to the complex demands of Adenauer's party, the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU), Granieri narrates and analyzes chronologically the development of West German foreign policy from 1949 to 1966. For Adenauer, the key question of his tenure would be how to regain the maximum amount of sovereignty and security against communist expansion without alienating Germany's former enemies in the West, now the Federal Republic's protectors. At first, rather than bargain for a reunification that would leave Germany disarmed, neutral, and helpless, Adenauer strove for a *Westbindung*, or an anchoring of the Federal Republic within an alliance including a dominant United States, but also Britain and France.

Over time, however, Adenauer discovered that German sovereignty and security were being threatened by an unreliable, feckless, and timid American foreign policy toward the Soviet Union, especially at the end of the Eisenhower administration. He then joined those temperamentally continental and Francophile members of his party usually known as "Gaullists," who saw in de Gaulle's return to power in 1958 the chance to move the Federal Republic away from overreliance on the United States and Britain. As Adenauer began rejecting or delaying American diplomatic initiatives, he offended and frightened those in his party, such as his hated rival Ludwig Erhard, who wanted to remain loyally "Atlanticist," or tied to the United States and Britain.

Granieri situates his work among those recent studies (for example, William Hitchcock's *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe, 1944–1954* [1998]) that ask us to consider the remarkable and hitherto underappreciated autonomy of America's European allies. As just one example of how Granieri succeeds with this approach, the book recasts John F. Kennedy's visit to Berlin in 1963. Coming two years after the Berlin Wall was erected, the trip was more about courting a newly assertive and pro-French Germany than expressing solidarity with West Berliners.

Any book as ambitious and concise as Granieri's must omit some issues that others would have wished included. For instance, Adenauer also displayed an ambivalence in the Federal Republic's relationship with Israel that bears directly on the major themes of this book. Adenauer viewed the painful negotiations with Israel over financial compensation for the Holocaust not primarily as a moral act but as a way to demonstrate to the United States and other major allies that Germans were now honorable partners. It would have been interesting to see what Granieri's unrivaled understanding of the German documentation would have allowed him to contribute to this subject.

The book also succeeds due to its studied avoidance of two extremes in the scholarship: reverence for and adulation of Adenauer's supposedly unalloyed diplomatic genius, or contempt and disdain for him as the leader of hidebound elites who conspired to keep West Germany capitalist and militarized by preventing reunification and forcing Germans to miss an opportunity to construct an egalitarian, neutral, and pacifist society and polity. The result is a lively and fair

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introduction to the nuances and complexities of Germany's postwar diplomacy, accessible to scholars and students alike.

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NICK THOMAS. *Protest Movements in 1960s West Germany: A Social History of Dissent and Democracy*. New York: Berg. 2003. Pp. xv, 277. Cloth $75.00, paper $25.00.

Few postwar epochs have been more thoroughly analyzed, theorized, described, and dissected than the legendary 1960s. This pertains as much to the United States as it does to many other advanced industrial democracies, West Germany among them. Pertaining to the latter, a number of scholars (including this reviewer) have made the argument that the 1960s attained an even keener presence in the Federal Republic's politics and history than anywhere else because their very structure entered into a complicated dialogue with Germany's Nazi past that did not occur anywhere else. Thus, I was excited to read Nick Thomas's book since Thomas, to his credit, had mined the various movements' archives to a hitherto unprecedented degree. My expectations increased further when I read Thomas's introduction, in which he promises to situate the book's findings and its framework in the larger debate about democracy in Germany and—hopefully—well beyond. Alas, this does not happen. By never making even the most rudimentary attempt to situate his concern about democracy in his own book, let alone the huge extant literature on democracy that historians ought not to leave solely to political scientists and social theorists, Thomas fails to make the great conceptual contribution to our understanding of the West German Left, German democracy, or modern German history that could—and should—so easily have made. I am sorry to say that despite the author's fine research, I learned nothing new from this book about Germany, the 1960s, the German Left, the construction of democracy, or any combination of these. Indeed, Thomas's omissions of interpretation (and of research as well) are not only glaring but almost incomprehensible given that his study was published in 2003.

In part one of the book, concentrating on the 1945–1964 period, Thomas offers a competent although far from original account of the rise of West Germany's so-called extraparliamentary opposition. Part two, focusing on the years between 1965 and 1967, features solid chapters on university reforms and the Vietnam War as perhaps the most prominent catalysts for creation of this extraparliamentary opposition. In part three, devoted to the epoch between 1967 and 1969, Thomas tells the story of the movement's peak followed by its disintegration and demise. Part four features two chapters about the 1970s concentrating on two of the movement's legacies: the descent into terrorism by key players of the 1960s, and the rise of the modern German women's movement. An all-too-brief and disappointing conclusion ends this study.

It is only by dint of Thomas's failure to engage the topic of democracy in any serious way that I can possibly explain how he never even mentions, let alone foregrounds, the fact that a substantial number of his main protagonists of the 1960s have long since shed their left radicalism and are currently actively engaged in various groups on the German far right. Horst Mahler, a key figure in Thomas's story, is one of the leaders of Germany's most prominent, openly neo-Nazi party, Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD). Bernd Rabehl, an even more prominent protagonist and arguably the cofounder of the extraparliamentary opposition, has been a mainstay of Germany's radical right for decades. How could this be? What were the mechanisms that created such a political shift? Could one discern elements of these right-radical ideologies and activities in the world of the extraparliamentary opposition and its politics? Thomas never engages those dimensions of the 1960s German radicals that had obvious nationalist, even racist, and certainly antisemitic overtones. Finally, there is not one mention in Thomas's book as to how actively and extensively the East German regime and its state security agency supported West Germany's terrorists of the 1970s. This is a serious flaw in a profession where data collection rules, especially since Thomas's book was published after these facts had become widely known and discussed in Germany.

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RONALD G. MUSTO. *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 436. $60.00.

This book by Ronald G. Musto is the best biography of Cola di Rienzo: it is thoroughly researched, detailed, circumspect in interpretation, and well written. Its subject is the Roman notary who, in the forty-second year of the papacy's absence at Avignon, attempted to revive a version of the ancient Roman republic. With some initial oblique support from Pope Clement VI and praise from Francis Petrarch, who befriended him at Avignon in 1343, Cola seized control of a popular reform effort in Rome and had himself crowned as "Tribune" in August 1347. He attempted to subdue the Roman nobility, to institute civic reforms and recall the pope from exile, and to gain at least symbolic recognition of Roman dominance throughout central Italy. Cola was defeated by Clement VI and by the Roman nobles. He renounced his title and disappeared at the moment of the Black Death into refuge among religious hermits in the Abruzzi. In 1350 he reappeared in Prague, where he sought protection from Emperor Charles IV. But he was imprisoned and eventually returned to Clement VI at Avignon for a

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trial that was interrupted by the pope's death. Subsequently, under Pope Innocent VI, he was released and in 1353 he returned to Italy as a side agent to Cardinal Albornoz's effort to reestablish the authority of Avignon in the Papal States. In Rome, Cola again assumed the title of "Tribune" and resumed his struggle with the nobles. He was then lynched on the Capitoline Hill, by a mob incited by the nobles, on October 8, 1354.

The drama of Cola's life was enhanced in vivid detail by an anonymous biography written in Roman dialect in the 1350s by a middle-class observer thereafter known as the Anonimo Romano. In the nineteenth century, the legend derived from this *vita* presented Cola as an emotional orator inspired by Roman antiquity but destroyed by the character weakness of imperial self-aggrandizement. He was also hailed as an Italian patriot. Musto tells us in the introduction that Napoleon Bonaparte had a French version of the *vita* with him in his retreat from Moscow in 1812, that Benito Mussolini reflected in conversation on Cola's fate, and that Adolf Hitler had a manuscript of Richard Wagner's youthful opera *Rienzi* with him in his 1945 Berlin bunker. In the late nineteenth century, a substantial cache of Cola's letters was found and used by subsequent historians.

Musto has expanded the documentation further and thoroughly mined current historical scholarship. Little is known about Cola's youth, education, or early career, but something can be pieced together about the typical life of Roman notaries. This effort of partial reconstruction is successful, and one can learn from this book a great deal about central Italy in the mid-fourteenth century, from the papal court at Avignon to Rome, the Roman nobility, and the circumstances of Cola's efforts. The contextual approach also presents Cola as a more rational political figure than earlier legend knew. The elaborate rhetorical style, extravagant dress, theatrical and symbolic gestures, and seemingly emotional and contradictory acts that appear in the anonymous *vita* are deemphasized here. But the view of the Anonimo Romano is still presented; the reader can assess both perspectives. Christian symbolism pervades the whole picture, from the allegorical murals through which Cola addressed the Roman populace to the Anonimo Romano's depiction of his subject's last hours as a *via crucis*. The apocaplypse that Cola wrought in Rome appears to have been more secular in Musto's reconstruction, more similar to the content of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes of good and bad government in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena than to the mystical Joachimite or Spiritual Franciscan leanings attributed to Cola by some earlier scholarship.

Musto's characterization of Cola's "new age" is left perhaps intentionally ambiguous. There is no doubt of his fascination with ancient Rome, and his notes on Roman antiquities reveal him to have been a more solid archeologist than Petrarch was. But this interest, except through Petrarch, is not much associated with the Renaissance humanistic literary movement. As well, the new political development of controlling the Roman nobles in the Papal States in this period seems to have resulted more from efforts like those of the papal agent Cardinal Albornoz than from a communal movement or Cola's short-lived Roman revival. Rather than set him clearly on the road to modernity, Musto's solid and engaging book helps to establish the distance of later historical developments and traditions from Cola di Rienzo's brief and dramatic intervention in mid-fourteenth-century Rome.

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Rebecca Messbarger. *The Century of Women: Representations of Women in Eighteenth-Century Italian Public Discourse*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 209.

Although a Venetian fashion magazine of the late 1780s proclaimed that "*Tutto è cambiato*" ("everything has changed"), Rebecca Messbarger's suggestive and wide-ranging study shows that not much changed for women in Italy in the eighteenth century. The political conditions of all women remained the same and, for most, the strength of traditional social and economic limitations persisted and restricted their freedom. Nonetheless, Messbarger shows that women had a central role in Enlightenment debates in Italy on education and the state, primarily as objects of discussion but increasingly also as active participants in these debates. Although the actual circumstances of women did not change fundamentally in this period, traditional categories of patriarchal oppression did break down and new possibilities opened up.

Messbarger's is not a comprehensive account of the debates on women in eighteenth-century Italy, nor is it a systematic prosopography of women writers, intellectuals, and scientists of the period. The details of such accounts would no doubt weigh down an argument that is extremely suggestive and convincing and that reveals the liveliness of intellectual culture in Enlightenment Italy. Messbarger presents the reader with five "textual events" around which she organizes the chapters of her book. The first four chapters focus on four texts—a published debate, a scientific tract, an oration, and an article from the Milanese journal *Il Caffé*—in which the analysis of misogynist arguments and the defense of women are given equal measure. The book begins with a 1723 debate in which members of a Paduan academy debated the value of education for women in front of an audience that included women (who were not permitted to speak). Women were given the chance to respond in the published version of the debate six years later (in fact, the "final word" was given to a female scholar's defense of formal instruction for girls). Messbarger sees this first "textual event" as key to the transformation of the debate on women in Enlightenment Italy as it broke with many of the conventions of the traditional Re-

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naissance *querelle des femmes*. It was not simply an academic exercise in which rhetorical skill was valued above anything else, regardless of the topic, but rather, she argues, engaged with a female public and pushed those involved to consider seriously the education of women as part of a wider enlightened debate on public good.

The following three chapters play out many of the themes of the first text and Messbarger is particularly careful not to assume that subsequent texts were necessarily more progressive. In fact, what is most striking is the persistence of misogyny in texts published up to the end of the century. Traditional views were strengthened, for example, by materialist arguments for women's natural inferiority from followers of the "new science." Antonio Conti, who is known to most *settecentisti* as a prolific scholar and correspondent from Venice and the friend of Nicolas Malebranche, Isaac Newton, and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, is identified as the writer of one of the most successful Italian misogynist tracts of the eighteenth century; Conti's *Letter* (1721) was reprinted to great acclaim as late as 1772. In the same year, the Neapolitan writer Ferdinando Galiani, a friend of Denis Diderot and the long-time correspondent of Madame d'Epinay, wrote a celebrated dialogue that used the empirical method to justify the subordination of women. Readers are also introduced, however, to many lesser-known female writers and scientists of the period. In fact, a more interesting continuity in Messbarger's account is the way in which even female writers such as Diamante Medaglia Faini in 1763, while writing in defense of a scientific education of women, conformed to conventional constructions of women and femininity and continued to limit women's role to the domestic sphere. Nonetheless, some "progress" in the representation of women was made, for example, by the writer of a 1765 article in *Il Caffé* acknowledging the possibility of a role for women in the commercial marketplace, as part of a larger argument about women's utility to the state economy. Messbarger clearly establishes continuity of theme and argument among the first four texts, all of which shared an elite male readership in the eighteenth century.

This continuity is broken by the inclusion of the fifth and final text, a women's fashion magazine published in Venice between 1786 and 1788, which had an entirely different language and a predominantly female readership. The effect is intended, as Messbarger argues for a "counter-discourse" in this last chapter. She takes the text outside its provincial context and places it within a wider European context of British and French journals. In this way, Messbarger not only introduces some interesting and, for many Italian scholars of the period, new material but also contributes to a better understanding of the public sphere in Italy. While trying to bring Italy closer to Europe, this chapter, in fact, highlights the striking differences in Italian intellectual culture compared to other countries in the period. Messbarger, like other scholars, makes the point that learned women in Italy were admitted to academies and to universities, unlike in the rest of eighteenth-century Europe. In Italy, intellectual exchange was more formalized and more institutionalized, and a few women were admitted to these institutional structures. In France or Britain, in contrast, there were many more sites of intellectual exchange and, because they were often more informal, many more women had the chance to engage in intellectual debate. Rather than a mark of "enlightenment," the admission of Italian women to the academy highlights the limited nature of the public sphere in Italy even at the end of the eighteenth century.

Messbarger's study provides a fascinating glimpse into the intellectual culture of eighteenth-century Italy. It introduces a new perspective on academic culture in Italy, far beyond Eric Cochrane's 1960 study of Tuscan academies, and integrates the more recent work on science, academies, and enlightenment by scholars such as Paula Findlen and Dena Goodman into an account of Enlightenment Italy. Much more, however, as Messbarger admits in her conclusion, needs to be done. I would have liked a more extended analysis, for instance, of the debates concerning and by women in the revolutionary period, as these continued the earlier debates of the century but in a republican context. Messbarger might also have broadened her geographical focus to include the south of Italy. Nonetheless, this is an extremely valuable contribution to scholarship of the period. While women's position in Italy might not have changed fundamentally by the end of the eighteenth century, Messbarger's book shows the success with which women's history has been integrated into broader historiographical perspectives.

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RICHARD DRAKE. *Apostles and Agitators: Italy's Marxist Revolutionary Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 273. $45.00.

The Marxist tradition in Italy has been particularly successful in producing lucid and original thinkers, from Antonio Gramsci to Galvano Della Volpe. Moreover these thinkers, to a great extent, engaged critically with their theoretical heritage and fostered a culture of debate with non-Marxists that set them apart from others in the Marxist tradition. Equally, Italy once boasted the largest communist party in Western Europe, one rooted firmly in its native culture and political life such that the death of its leaders brought about massive national displays of mourning.

This book is not about that Marxist tradition. Instead, Richard Drake invites us to consider its revolutionary violent left fringe, and specifically the intellectuals and leaders who inspired it. The book consists of eight chapters, each a profile of a key individual within the revolutionary tradition under examination. Drake

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begins with Karl Marx and moves, chronologically, through intellectual-political biographies of Carlo Cafiero, Antonio Labriola, Arturo Labriola, Benito Mussolini, Amadeo Bordiga, Gramsci, and Palmiro Togliatti. This contrasting mix of intellectuals, hotheads, turncoats, martyrs, and Machiavells constitutes, we assume, a representative example of Italy's "culture of revolution" (p. 225).

The best place to start, however, is with the "Coda" at the end of the volume, where the author's broader assumptions are set out in a short discussion of the Red Brigades, the far-left terrorists whose violence plagued Italy in the late 1960s and 1970s (and again more recently) and on whom Drake has previously published. It is their intransigent "faith . . . in revolution," regardless of its destruction of human life, that appears originally to have drawn him to consider its founding "apostles." Here we are offered a large dose of what seems reminiscient of Cold War liberalism, namely an unexamined association of Marx and his ideas with the very worst of what was done in his name. The Italian revolutionaries owe their fanaticism, we are told, to a tradition whose "real problem . . . stemmed from Marx's idea that no centre of arbitration between the dictatorship of the proletariat and any other segment of society could be allowed to exist" (p. 229). Marx may not explicitly have demanded murderous violence from all who followed his reasoning, but "aspects of his thought could and did lead to appalling disasters."

Without any critical interrogation of the intellectual feat involved in this association. (Why did others, including Marx and Friedrich Engels, also reach different, more positive conclusions about the value of democracy and the need for alliances with other groups, for example?) Drake suggests that the Italian revolutionaries, despite laudable intentions, caught a bad dose of an ideology insufficiently immunized by "ethical values." That a culture of fanatical revolutionism might instead stem from the failings of a liberal ideology and its own mastery of violence, particularly in Italy, rather than from a revolutionary ideology per se, is not considered. Passing the buck straight to Marx seems an easy, if dated, solution. Yet it implies, unconvincingly, that violence is the outcome of a badly conceived theory.

Nevertheless, the individual chapters offer readable introductions to each thinker. Added insights into the impact of characters such as Mikhail Bakunin, Georges Sorel, and Filippo Turati, who, sadly, do not get chapters of their own, build the story further. As a selection of authors, however, it is a curious mix, not least because Drake does not go past 1964, when Togliatti died. Marx, of course, stands out as the only non-Italian. But his presence here is as the founding father of revolutionary Marxism. It is worth noting, however, that Drake's reading of Marx (and indeed Marxism) draws enthusiastically on the work of Leszek Kolakowski, who is revealingly praised in the notes as providing "the most authoritative analysis of Marx's ideas" (p. 233). Scholarly prejudices aside, this explains a number of oddities in the text: for example, the persistent use of religious metaphors ("apostles," "The Word," "crusade," Karl Bernstein as Martin Luther, Sant'Antonio Gramsci, and so on) also employed by Kolakowski, most notably in the first volume of his *Main Currents of Marxism* (1981).

There might well be a case for examining Marxism as secular religion, of sorts, but here the metaphor compels us, uncritically, to understand this history of ideas as the progression of a faith through successive disciples and not in terms of arguments. Of course, ideology sometimes works in precisely that way, but Marxism was more than a blunt ideology. Thinkers such as Antonio Labriola and Gramsci, for all their commitment to revolutionary change, shared an ability to rework Marxist principles in light of native intellectual traditions and socioeconomic conditions. Drake's interest, by contrast, is on these individuals' abiding faith in the necessity of revolution and, by definition, the content of their arguments figures primarily as unchanging expressions of faith. Ideas and theoretical innovations pop into the narrative as a means to the revolutionary end and not as a critical counterpoint to it. Unfortunately this weakens our grasp of the individuals' significance when it might have been best to evaluate ideas in light of practice and vice versa.

It would be uncharitable not to recognize that Drake's theme is an important one. Revolutionary violence and terrorism obviously remain a topic of some importance today. The profiles in this volume are an accessible and often insightful route into a political and intellectual culture that needs to be demythologized and held to account. But unexamined and uncritical standards of interpretation do not make for a satisfactory history of ideas.

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Ivan T. Berend. *History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 330. $39.95.

It is always difficult to write an introductory historical survey, but the usual challenges are multiplied when dealing with Eastern Europe. If the topic is Britain, Germany, or France, an author can probably assume that most readers will understand references to Scotland, the Rhine, Napoleon Bonaparte, or the French Revolution. The East European historian, in contrast, cannot write with similar confidence about Dalmatia, the Odra, Tomaš Masaryk, or the Ausgleich when addressing an audience of undergraduate readers. Many textbooks on East European history make such assumptions anyway, in order to focus on more interesting matters of analysis and interpretation, and this frequently leads to books that are both too general for specialists and too obscure for classroom use. The

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great strength of Ivan T. Berend's survey is the skill with which he manages this problem. His book is the most accessible general account of nineteenth-century Eastern Europe available today, offering a nice blend of narrative and interpretation. Berend moves smoothly between the levels of event and structure, recounting the drama of moments like the 1848 Hungarian War of Independence or the 1863 Polish uprising with engaging prose and lucid descriptions, while interlacing his stories with provocative discussions of long-term historical trends.

"Provocative" is the key word: the book has a clear argument and an easily identifiable point of view, and this should facilitate classroom discussions. The section entitled "Revolution in the West and Hibernation in the East" is emblematic: Berend's normative model is Western Europe, and he perceives those aspects of East European life that do not keep up with that model as idiosyncrasies that need to be explained. As the title suggests, Berend believes that "the history of the area was, so to speak, derailed" (p. xvi); that is, it was pushed off the normal track of modernization. He tells us how "the oppressive, antiquated Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman empires blocked the road to change" (p. 91), and how the Ottomans in particular "mutilated" Balkan society by hindering the penetration of Western trends. He describes the "superstitions" of the peasantry by citing a story of a peasant woman taking her child to a monastery in search of a miraculous cure (p. 207), and he summarizes aristocratic customs and beliefs by writing that "the noble elite were totally out of step with realities" (p. 191). In general, Berend considers East-Central Europe to be characterized by "political frustration and fundamentalist nationalism" (p. xv), and the Balkans in particular to be populated by "bigoted, strongly communal, and illiterate peasant societies" (pp. 174–75).

Berend explicitly disagrees with those who prefer to speak in nonjudgmental terms of "alternative" social models and argues instead that liberal capitalist modernity is the objective toward which history is leading (even if, as in Eastern Europe, the march towards that goal might be delayed). As he puts it toward the end of the book, "Central and Eastern Europe might have begun social modernization but, even at the end of the period under discussion, on the eve of World War I, they stood at the beginning of a long, rough historical road toward Western European modernity" (p. 234). Even if one does not accept Berend's teleology or his tendency to look at Eastern Europe primarily from the perspective of Western Europe, this book provides an excellent teaching resource, insofar as it clearly and intelligently exemplifies an approach to the region shared by a great many scholars and publicists.

For the most part, this book is smoothly written and well edited. There are some spelling mistakes in Polish (I counted six errors), and I presume that specialists in other languages will notice additional slips, but these are probably inevitable in a book covering so many linguistic groups over such a long period of time. The wonderful illustrations deserved more elaboration and contextualization, particularly the examples of nineteenth-century ethnographic stereotyping inserted between pages 112 and 113. I was also a bit disappointed to see the use of internal notation rather than footnotes or endnotes; not only do these parenthetical references break up the narrative (an important consideration in a survey text), but in a work of history it seems odd to see citations of István Széchenyi's book of 1985, or Ferenc Liszt's writing from 1989! But these are trivial points, and they do not detract from the book's overall value. Berend has performed a great service to those of us who teach East European history with this richly illustrated, well-written, and provocative survey of the nineteenth century.

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Joachim von Puttkamer. *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn: Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee, 1867–1914.* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 115.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2003. Pp. 531. €64.80.

It is one of the misfortunes of East Central European history that unlike, say, English and German, the Hungarian language makes no distinction between "Hungarian" and "Magyar." If it did, it might have been easier for Magyars to think of "Hungarian" as a state rather than an ethnic identity. To be sure, a few, such as the great liberal József Eötvös, were able to rise above nationalism; while the 1868 Nationalities Law that he sponsored emphasized the indivisibility of the Hungarian state and identified Magyar as the official language of government and administration, it made significant concessions to the non-Magyar nationalities, particularly with regard to the use of non-Magyar languages.

In the judgment of Louis Eisenmann, the law "could have perfectly achieved the result of which [Ferenc] Deák and Eötvös dreamed; not the Magyarization of all the inhabitants of the country, a stand-point which Eötvös called 'dementia,' but their transformation into loyal citizens of the Hungarian state." Joachim von Puttkamer, the author of this meticulously researched and eminently fair study of Hungarian elementary and middle schools from the year of the *Ausgleich* to the outbreak of the Great War, is rather more pessimistic, although he, too, respects Eötvös's largeness of vision. Puttkamer, who, in addition to German, commands Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian, is less critical of Hungary's nationalities policies than was R. W. Seton-Watson in his influential *Racial Problems in Hungary* (1908). He recognizes the legitimacy and ubiquity of the desire to forge a modern nation state and the ambiguity of the term "nation." Was it to be understood as an ethnic group or as a populace united by a common loyalty? Alert to the power of language to condition thinking, he points out that in Hungarian the

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Magyars formed a "nation" (*nemzet*), while all other ethnic groups were mere "nationalities" (*nemzetiségek*).

Of course, it was not language alone that inclined the Hungarian authorities to ignore and finally revise the 1868 law; they knew and were alarmed by the fact that ethnic Magyars made up less than half of Hungary's population. In 1879, therefore, they passed a law requiring the teaching of Hungarian in all elementary schools. In 1907, the Lex Apponyi, named for Religion and Education Minister Albert Apponyi, decreed that where more than half of the students were Magyar speakers, a school had to adopt Magyar as the language of instruction. It also gave state officials authority over schools—including a large number of confessional institutions that had been promised wide-ranging autonomy by the 1868 law—that accepted needed state financial support.

Puttkamer does not regard these laws as simple exercises in chauvinism. They were the result of a recognition of the disintegrating effects of non-Magyar nationalism and of the pressing need for school modernization. Having concentrated his research on Upper Hungary (*Felvidék*) and Transylvania, Puttkamer shows how successful Magyarization was in the former (not merely as a result of coercion) and how unsuccessful it was in the latter, where the Romanians, who were ably led by Orthodox clergy, and the Saxons (Germans), who viewed themselves as East Central Europe's *Kulturträger*, offered determined resistance. Unlike the Slovaks, they could look to ethnic states of their own beyond the borders of Hungary and were heirs to a tradition of Transylvanian semi-independence, the region having come under Hungarian rule only in 1867.

In Transylvania particularly, schools were the scenes of competition between national movements. Puttkamer calls attention to "foundation myths," the purpose of which was to buttress claims to territory and historical precedence: the Magyars' insistence that they were heirs of the Huns, who once occupied Pannonia; the Slovaks' claim that Great Moravia was a Slovak state; and the Romanians' argument that they were the descendents of ancient Romans, or at least Romanized Dacians, and had occupied the region for hundreds of years without interruption. He notes, too, the contribution to ethnic self-esteem of festivals and celebrations such as Hungary's Millennial Celebration of 1896, observed by Magyars more enthusiastically than by non-Magyars.

All in all, Puttkamer believes that the Magyar authorities made a mistake by allowing legitimate attempts to create a political nation and modernize the educational system to evolve into an ill-considered effort to force a linguistic-cultural unity. For that error in judgment, he concludes, they ultimately paid a high price.

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William D. Godsey, Jr. *Aristocratic Redoubt: The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office on the Eve of the First World War.* (Central European Studies.) West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 304. $18.95.

In 1906, as the First Moroccan Crisis wound down, Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany characterized Austria-Hungary, his chief ally in the dispute, as Germany's "brilliant second." There has been nearly a century of historiography on the diplomatic origins of World War I since then, and for much of it Austria-Hungary has remained the brilliant (or not so brilliant) second in the shadows of the other powers. In the last few years, however, this has begun to change with the work of scholars such as Francis Roy Bridge, Samuel R. Williamson, Jr., and the late John Leslie. William D. Godsey, Jr.'s book is an outstanding and long-overdue addition to the genre.

In his introduction, Godsey emphasizes that his study is about diplomats, not diplomacy. His goal is to present a social profile of the 251 diplomats and functionaries of the Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry who served under the last prewar Habsburg foreign ministers, Alois Aehrenthal and Leopold Berchtold. Through careful study of the archives (particularly the personnel files of the men concerned, a store of information generally overlooked) and a mastery of the printed literature, he has assembled statistical data on their social origins, education, family ties, even sources of income. He concludes that the Habsburg foreign policy elite was dominated not just by aristocrats but specifically by court aristocrats from long-established, landed families rather than men whose progenitors had achieved noble status more recently through industrial enterprise or service to the state.

In many regards, such aristocrats were assets to the monarchy. They had the social skills to interact easily with the aristocratic representatives of the other major powers, to whom they were often related. Their wealth allowed them independence of judgment. Most importantly, as befitting representatives of a multinational realm, they believed in political structures based on group cooperation rather than the ethnic exclusivity of national states. Many Habsburg diplomats occupied their posts with great distinction. At the same time, Godsey finds that aristocratic name and rank often carried more weight than professional ability in the Austro-Hungarian foreign service. Entrance requirements could be waived for special cases; thereafter, *Protektion* could advance some careers more rapidly than others. Although Aehrenthal initiated a number of reforms to bring the service more into line with the modern world, it nevertheless continued to be an organization characterized by too many "fossilized grandees" endowed with "skills better suited to the old world of court diplomacy than to the modern one of international finance and commerce" (pp. 41, 206).

This book is more than just a sociology of the Habsburg aristocracy. It paints a fascinating and—

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despite its conclusions—sympathetic portrait of the workings of the Austro-Hungarian foreign service and the men who ran it in the last years before the war. The book explores not only the social and educational background of the Habsburg foreign policy elite but also the organization of the service itself, the conduct of business, and the interaction of the foreign ministry with the political leaders in Vienna and Budapest. Godsey puts living faces on what are generally just names in most of the diplomatic studies of the time, fleshing them out with their career histories and personal attributes. He is able to do this through a sparkling prose that, without apparent effort, seamlessly melds his statistical data with apposite individual anecdotes to produce a convincing final picture. This is a book that the diplomatic history of World War I has needed for a long time.

If there is anything missing from this study, it is an explicit comparison of Habsburg diplomatic effectiveness with that of the other European states. Aristocracy was not limited to the Austro-Hungarian foreign service, nor lapses in entrance exams, nor special treatment of members. Blue-blooded diplomats from neighboring states could be as blind to questions of international finance and commerce as their counterparts from the Austrian *Hofgesellschaft*. Godsey concludes that aristocratic Austro-Hungarian diplomats proved woefully unequal to the task of defending the interests of the monarchy, but one wonders if their performance was really very much different from that of the aristocratic diplomats of the monarchy's neighbors. Path-breaking books suggest as many new questions as they answer, and this one will hopefully stimulate further research in the field.

GARY W. SHANAFELT
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TIM COLE. *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xv, 303. $19.95.

In this book, Tim Cole argues for an additional interpretation of the Holocaust: namely, a geographical-topographical-historical one, or, in other words, an interpretation through space. The first two chapters are devoted to theory, showing why and how a spatial interpretation of events generally, and of the Holocaust in particular, is not only important but necessary in order to understand what took place. Cole points to the fact that almost no attempts have been made to look at the Holocaust from this perspective, and he concentrates on the argument that the issue of ghettoization cannot be addressed without recourse to the spatial dimension, although of course ghettoization was only one aspect of the genocide. Cole's argument is persuasive, albeit perhaps somewhat overstated, as hardly anyone will deny the importance of spatial considerations when dealing with ghettos. But he is, of course, right in pointing out that this has rarely been done. He may not have been aware of the fascinating book by Barbara Engelkind and Jacek Leociak, *Getto Warszawskie* (2001). Its authors concentrate on the lives of the ghetto inhabitants, rather than on the administrative and political context, but they also use space as a central interpretative factor.

Cole provides some elementary historical background to the ghettoization in Budapest, and the next five chapters of the book go into the details of the process of ghettoization, in May-June 1944, under the collaborationist Sztojay government, and then in November-December 1944, during the terror regime of Ferenc Szalasi's Arrow Cross. The very detailed description of the administrative process is accompanied by analyses of motivations, which were in part geostrategic (at first, the idea was that if Jewish ghetto houses were scattered throughout the city, Allied bombers would not attack these areas because they would protect the Jews from bombing, and thus the non-Jews living there would also be spared), in part socioeconomic, and mostly informed by strong antisemitic sentiments. Cole argues against viewing the Hungarian Holocaust as directed solely by the Germans, or by the Hungarian central authorities; he clearly shows that local Budapest authorities initiated much of the ghettoization and took great care not to harm any perceived gentile interests. Converts to Christianity before a cut-off date, and—mainly—Jews protected by neutral diplomats, as well as special individual cases, were separated from the general Jewish public. For protected Jews, a special international ghetto was set up after the Arrow Cross takeover on October 15–16, 1944. Finally, Cole discusses the way the ghetto was (not) remembered in the postwar era. After a first period of democratic government, when some attempts at commemoration were started, the Communist regime there, as elsewhere, in effect denied the Jewish specificity of the Holocaust and commemorated not the victims but the Soviet liberators. The postcommunist era returned to the Holocaust but emphasized the rescuers, although some commemoration of the victims is also taking place; however, the ghetto itself is not really commemorated at all.

This is a useful book, providing the specialist with a detailed—sometimes superfluously detailed and repetitive—description of the ghettoization. One of the things that is missing is how the process affected the victims themselves; somehow, in concentrating on the administrative and political processes around the establishment of the ghetto areas and the changes that occurred over time, and providing numbers and names of streets and statistics of their occupants, Cole totally misses the drama and the tragedy of what was taking place. The victims are figures and numbers, with very few exceptions. Here and there mention is made of the fact that there were other ghettos in Europe, but no serious attempt is made to compare them, something that would have highlighted the specificity of Budapest. No mention is made of how the ghettos, especially in the last period, were administered and supplied with

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food and medicines, how many people died at the hands of the Hungarian fascists, how many survived and how, whether efforts were made at educating children, or whether there was any religious or cultural life under these conditions. Constant reminders of what will follow, and endless repetitions, mar the fluency of the narrative.

There is little to disagree with as far as the overall theory is concerned, and Cole is right in saying that too little attention has been given so far to detailed spatial analyses. One major oddity in his book is his insistence of putting "Jew" and "non-Jew" in quotes. He explains (p. 44) that to do otherwise "seems to suggest that there was an unproblematic Jew in Europe for whom a final solution could be designed," as though anyone had ever argued that the Jews (or any other group) were unproblematic. He quotes Raul Hillberg as saying that Jews could not easily be defined. After all, there were large numbers of Jews who did not adhere to the Jewish religion (a majority of Jews do not do that today, either, but they still consider themselves, in their majority, as Jews and not as "Jews"). In Hungary especially there were many converts to Christianity. If so, however, we ought to write "Czechs," "Hungarians" (he does, sometimes), and "Americans," because these are categories that are not very clearly marked either. It makes absolutely no sense not to accept a general description of an ethnic, cultural group such as the Jews, a majority of whom describe themselves as Jews without bothering to detail obvious differences. Cole thinks he gives Jews the freedom, posthumously, to choose their identity; actually, he does the opposite—he deprives them of it.

In contrast to my colleagues who provided enthusiastic endorsements on the cover of the book, I think that this book is useful, detailed, and tedious.

YEHUDA BAUER
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MAREK JAN CHODAKIEWICZ. *After the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II.* (East European Monographs, number 613.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2003. Pp. viii, 265. $35.00.

In the period between the end of the Nazi occupation of Poland and the consolidation of communist rule in early 1947, a fair number of the small remnant of Polish Jews that survived the Holocaust fell victim to sporadic anti-Jewish violence. This book seeks to quantify and explain the phenomenon. Marek Jan Chodakiewicz argues that the number of Jews murdered during the period is between 400 and 700, rather than the 1,000–2,000 usually cited. In this conclusion he concurs with David Engel, whose article "Patterns of Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland 1944–1946" (*Yad Vashem Studies* [1998]) assessed the number of casualties as between 500 and 600. Both Chodakiewicz and Engel agree that the unsatisfactory nature of the sources makes an exact reckoning impossible.

The antisemitic violence is usually attributed to a combination of postwar lawlessness, attacks on Jews by the anticommunist underground because of their alleged involvement in the imposition of the unrepresentative and unpopular communist government, and attempts to prevent Jews from regaining property seized during the Holocaust. These events took place in a climate of heightened antisemitism, which had been deliberately incited by the Nazis and intensified by the long-standing identification of Jews with communism, which was further strengthened by the belief in extensive Jewish "collaboration" with the Soviet occupying authorities in eastern Poland between 1939 and 1941 and the presence of a number of people of Jewish origin in prominent positions in the postwar government. In these circumstances, old superstitions could take on new incarnations. The worst outbreak of anti-Jewish violence occured in Kielce in July 1946. Forty-two Jews were murdered (another thirty were murdered in the vicinity of the town) following the disappearance of a Christian boy, which led to widespread rumors that he had been abducted by Jews who needed his blood because their wartime experiences had caused them to become anemic.

Like the author's earlier book, *Żydzi i Polacy 1918–1955: Współisnienie—zagłada—komumizm* (2000), this volume is intended to correct "anti-Polish stereotypes" (p. 347), and it does not rise above the clichés of old-fashioned nationalist apologetics. Chodakiewicz stresses the context of what he describes as the struggle of the "independentist" forces against the communists and argues that much of the violence took the form of self-defence by what he describes as the "independentist underground" against Jewish acts of revenge for wrongs allegedly done to them during the Nazi occupation. He contends that much of the violence was spontaneous and disputes the view that it was the consequence of widespread antisemitism. While he is correct to point out that the violence took place in the context of civil war conditions and that the communist authorities used great brutality and force to bring the situation under control, in other respects his analysis is inadequate. In the first place, the context is more complex than he describes. Poland at the time was not divided into a small group of collaborators with a Soviet-imposed regime and a mass-supported "independentist" underground. Most Poles drew from the catastrophic and tragic failure of the Warsaw Uprising the conclusion that they should try to accommodate as best as they could to the existing conditions. Recent figures have suggested that the number of casualties on the government side in the near civil war from July 1944 to early 1947 were as high as those among the guerillas.

Second, although Chodakiewicz stresses that all Jews cannot be held responsible for actions of Jewish communists, he sees the conflict as one between two communities and also exaggerates the Jewish presence in the new government. It is very difficult to take seriously the argument that General Świerczewski,

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General Berling, or General Spychalski were Jewish. Chodakiewicz also fails to take into account the widespread character of antisemitism in postwar Poland and seems, in spite of his disclaimers, to hold all Jews responsible for the crimes committed by the communists, whether of Jewish origin or not. What is one to make of the statement "We have estimated that perhaps between 3,128 and 6,625 Poles were victimized by Jewish perpetrators" (p. 223)?

The essence of what is wrong with this book is summed up in its conclusion. Chodakiewicz writes "there is no returning to the simplistic stereotypes concerning Jewish-Polish relations that haunted academia for the past fifty years . . . To judge relations between two groups fairly, it is necessary to study all factors influencing the predicament of each group separately, then to compare their experiences and, finally, to isolate those ingredients influencing contacts between the groups without neglecting any of them" (pp. 223–24). The fact is that there was no Jewish "group" in 1944. There was only a pathetic band of survivors, returning to their mostly nonexistent homes from the camps, their hiding places and, in the majority of cases, from the Soviet Union, where their wartime experiences had given them a lasting distrust of communism. Most did not remain in Poland. The Poles, too, after their tragic experiences under the Soviets and Nazis, were trying in very different ways to adjust to postwar reality.

What is most striking about this book is the lack of empathy with those caught up in these tragic events. I recommend Engel's methodologically sophisticated and thoughtful analysis instead.

ANTONY POLONSKY
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CHRISTOS MYLONAS. *Serbian Orthodox Fundamentals: The Quest for an Eternal Identity*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 298. $41.95.

Christos Mylonas has constructed a dense and fascinating analysis of the relationship between Serbian Orthodoxy and Serbian national identity. It is based on a panoply of sources and is intent on demonstrating the validity of the author's main hypothesis that "Orthodoxy is the sacralisation of the Serbian national identity" (p. xii). Mylonas is convinced that Orthodoxy provides the common denominator upon which Serbs construct their identity. Certain of this hypothesis, he carefully directs his sources and his arguments to make a case for it.

In Mylonas's analysis, Orthodoxy is the normative expression of Serbdom over the course of centuries. He offers a Durkheimean analysis of religion, which supports his argument that "religion [is] the social expression of all that is important about the Serbian being and his collectivity" (p. 14). In the course of seven chapters, he examines Serbian identity within an interdisciplinary framework that allows him to probe the impact of Orthodoxy on national identity and, perhaps more relevantly, to contextualize Serbian violence in the recent wars of dissolution in the former Yugoslavia.

In this endeavor, Mylonas's dramatis personae become "Homo Serbicus" and "Femina Serbica," terms that he claims to employ euphemistically. Such euphemisms do not seem inoffensive, however, particularly because they hint at a sort of unique species. This perhaps inadvertently encourages that "ancient tribal" characterization of the Serbs that has plagued recent popular analyses. In Mylonas's complex and demanding study, the uniqueness of Serbs is defined and ultimately confined by Serbian Orthodoxy. He writes, for example, "a Serbian cultural propensity . . . has evolved which socially engenders the anti-individualistic ethos of Orthodoxy" (p. 167). And further, "Upon the legitimacy conferred by the all-encompassing Orthodoxy, the Serbian man abandons any sentiments of fear and doubt . . . and evolves into a warrior, a hero or the merciless avenger" (pp. 188–89). The determinism of some of this analysis is disturbing.

The author says that the work is based on diverse published material from the region along with Western sources. He makes some critically broad conclusions about "Serbianhood" and Orthodoxy for which his documentation is most often Western sources. In many places, the arguments about Serbia and Serbs beg for substantiation from Serbian sources. While such sources are not entirely absent from this work, they are not extensively used. Moreover, while the broader theoretical analysis that permeates much of the book is clearly interesting, the applicability of that analysis to the Serbian context is often only assumed, without concrete evidence and examples from Serbian sources to corroborate such analysis. At the end of each chapter, the author summarizes the main "hypothesis" and/or assumptions of the chapter. Unfortunately, without more specific Serbian sources and references, his hypotheses often remain just that: assumptions that await further investigation. On a minor note, concerning sources, the author should be careful to attribute English translations of original Serbian texts to the work in which they were found.

Mylonas warns us in his introduction that his arguments often involve dense passages, "supported by the use of an obscure and difficult terminology" (p. xiv). He argues that there is no way to simplify his arguments without encouraging misinterpretation, although he does not want us to confuse this imperative with "an unwillingness to laicise [his] subject" (p. xv). Few readers will accuse him of understating the difficulty of his text, and most will find it one of the most challenging works they have confronted in a very long time.

In the end, one is left praising the extraordinary depth of Mylonas's analysis and eager for a response from and dialogue with Serb scholars. It is not clear to me that most Serbs would recognize themselves here. The Serbian population was profoundly influenced by

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more than four decades of communism. Modernization, education, consumerism, travel, and many other factors also contributed to a profound turning away from Orthodoxy and from the so-called Kosovo ethos that, with Orthodoxy, has arguably contributed most to Serbian identity. The many years I spent among Serbs during the Communist era did not convince me that Serbian Orthodoxy "anchors the emotions and consistency of Serbianhood" (p. 56) in any profound and conscious way—at least among most Serbs in the post-1945 generations.

THOMAS A. EMMERT
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JASNA DRAGOVIĆ-SOSO. *"Saviours of the Nation": Serbia's Intellectual Opposition and the Revival of Nationalism*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 293. Cloth $70.00, paper $27.95.

In the flood of books on the former Yugoslavia to date, there have been comparatively few products of scholarly research. It is good to see that historians like Jasna Dragović-Soso are beginning to get their word in. Dragović-Soso's book is a rich and well-written examination of the part played by Serbian intellectuals in creating a Serbian nationalist movement in the 1980s and the role of that movement in the collapse of Yugoslavia. Her conclusions are reasoned and significant: that Serbian intellectuals were not responsible for the formulation of a Great Serbian program, nor for demanding an ethnically pure state; rather, they were responsible for creating a cultural and political atmosphere in Serbia that eventually made war and interethnic violence "more logical and more acceptable" (p. 256). Along the way, she argues that the administrative structure of Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia made the national question relevant throughout the postwar period, that the Tito regime's essential illiberalism made nationalist outcries in the name of human rights likely, and that Serbian nationalism evolved as part of a "spiral of radicalisation" along with other nationalisms in Yugoslavia (p. 257). The author rejects both prevailing "theories" of Serbian nationalism, the first of which holds that nationalism is fundamentally artificial, a result of opportunism and the desire for power, and the second of which holds that national identity is historical and "immutable" and thus always present in the same essential form (pp. 4–7). Instead she argues for a "structural-contextual" approach that takes into account the conditions that prevail in the given society when nationalism arises. These are all eminently defensible arguments with which reasonable people can disagree, but only with respect and with care.

Dragović-Soso organizes her book chronologically, but in a way that favors the important themes of the history of Serbian nationalism in the 1980s. An introductory chapter delineates the fairly thin (Milovan Djilas/Mihajlo Mihajlov) history of Serbian intellectual dissidence until the late 1970s, followed by chapters that discuss the rewriting of history after Tito's death, the free expression movement, the Kosovo dilemma, relations with Slovene intellectuals, and the intellectuals' fate in Slobadan Milošević's Serbia to 1991. The important historical moments of her exposition are the beginning of the activism of Serbian intellectuals as advocates of human rights in the late 1970s, the subsuming of the positive and rational human rights agenda by the irrational requirements of the Kosovo question after 1985, the disappointment felt when (especially) Slovene intellectuals rejected the arguments of their Serbian fellows, and the appearance of Milošević as a surprising savior for Serbian intellectuals. As this story unfolds, Dragović-Soso is particularly effective in explaining how a noble and even-handed civil rights movement could be transformed by Serbs' obsession with Kosovo into an irrational nationalist movement. Her discussions of the origins and significance of the infamous "Memorandum" and of the disappointing course of relations between Serbian and Slovenian intellectuals are also excellent. But she describes the fact that the intellectual community in Serbia embraced Milošević uncritically after 1989 as "unexpected" (p. 206), which is a charitable conclusion given the behavior of that community after 1985; why was not their embrace "logical"?

Dragović-Soso bases her work on a reading of the vast literature produced by the intellectuals themselves (very little in the way of archival material is available yet). She makes use of their novels, essays, speeches, and interviews, almost none of which have been translated in English. The only thing missing in this closely argued and well-written book is a completely satisfying final accounting: what exactly did the Serbian intellectuals *do*? We know from her exposition that Dragović-Soso believes that they did not provide a road map to Greater Serbia, that they did not demand an ethnically pure state, that they did not make Serbs racist. Yet given their dominance of the Serbian cultural and political scene in the 1980s, is it enough to conclude, as she seems to, that they can be blamed only for their failure to live up to the promise of the civil rights movement with which they began their public activity? Perhaps they can be judged more assertively. But Dragović-Soso should not be judged negatively for being so careful with her argument, given the extreme flights of fancy of many who examined this topic before her. This is an excellent book.

NICHOLAS J. MILLER
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KEITH BROWN. *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 301. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.95.

In August 1903, Christian rebels rose up against the Ottoman Empire in a failed attempt to liberate the remaining Turkish territory in Europe. Known as the

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Ilinden (St. Elijah's Day) uprising, it was a key event in the history of the region: both Bulgaria and Macedonia claim it as part of their historical legacy. Keith Brown examines the impact that the uprising has had on the various ethnic, national, religious, and social groups throughout the past century. He centers on the crucial town of Krushevo where a republic was declared. Using both historical materials and interviews with present citizens of Krushevo, he attempts to answer the nebulous question of what makes a nation. The result is an admirable presentation. Although Brown's monograph is skewed more to anthropological than historical analysis, it is of importance for all Balkan scholars and of interest to those concerned with the problems of southeastern Europe.

Brown takes the story from contemporary accounts, through the interwar era of Yugoslav (Serbian), Bulgarian, and Greek domination in the region and the period of communist Macedonia, to the past decade of the Republic of Macedonia. Much of his account concerns the *Ilinden* monument dedicated in Krushevo in 1974. The design, the purpose, the names to be included in this monument were all subject to intense and sometimes acrimonious debate, much of which revolved around the political dispute between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria over the issue whether a Macedonian nation actually existed. (It should be noted that one of the key figures in the uprising, Pitu Guli, was not a South Slav—neither Bulgarian nor Macedonian—at all but a Vlah, related perhaps to Romanians. His name was included in the monument.) The monument served the purposes of Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia, but, after 1991, while annual ceremonies took place, its importance was reduced.

This book is an essential analysis of the Macedonian question. Brown elucidates the nature of the historical construction and the evolution of ethnic nations. Neutral readers of this book will find insights into both the general nature of nation building and the specific case of Macedonia. Partisans of one side or the other will not and cannot be convinced.

FREDERICK B. CHARY
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VALERIE A. KIVELSON and ROBERT H. GREENE, editors. *Orthodox Russia: Belief and Practice under the Tsars.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 291. $49.95.

This collection of essays edited by Valerie A. Kivelson and Robert H. Greene adds to the growing literature on Russian religious life, with a particularly welcome focus on the prerevolutionary phase from the mid-fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries. While many historians have rushed, understandably, to exploit the archival riches on the Soviet period that became accessible with the downfall of the Soviet Union, fewer have turned their attention to earlier periods. Recent scholarship has told, in great detail, how the Bolsheviks attacked religion but shed far less light on what that religious life was all about. This collection, which is evenly divided between the pre-Petrine and imperial periods (and complemented by a comparative epilogue), sheds light on a number of important and interesting problems.

One is the very significance of religion, specifically Russian Orthodoxy, that the Bolsheviks were at such pains to excoriate. Perhaps the baldest statement denying that Orthodoxy had any significance, while hardly original, has found its expression in the work of Edward L. Keenan (most explicitly in "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45 [1986]: esp. pp. 138–48). From the introduction, the editors, and then individual contributors, directly attack that thesis. With respect to elites, Daniel Rowland (in "Two Cultures, One Throne Room") presents a meticulous analysis of murals in the Golden Hall of the Kremlin and effectively challenges Keenan's claim of a gulf between an ecclesiastical (religious) and elite (secular) cultures. At a more popular level, Daniel H. Kaiser ("Quotidian Orthodoxy") demonstrates how closely the laity observed religious rules regarding marriage and the other rites of passage; few, for example, married during the periods for which the church proscribed weddings. The other essays, insofar as they attest to how Orthodoxy permeated Russian culture, have the same effect of discounting Keenan's dismissive treatment, not only for elites but also for the lower social orders (as Eve Levin shows in "From Corpse to Cult in Early Modern Russia"). Indeed, Orthodoxy was important not only for the indigenous of "Holy Rus' " but for those who converted, often involuntarily, yet who, as Paul Werth demonstrates in "Orthodoxy as Ascription (and Beyond)," appropriated the new religious identity and instrumentalized it in ways that authorities had never intended or expected.

A second, important dimension addressed here is that of gender—hardly a path-breaking theme in Western scholarship, but one that as yet has received only superficial treatment in Russian historiography. Isolde Thyrêt's contribution ("Women and the Orthodox Faith in Muscovite Russia") examines the question of what was gender-specific in medieval Russia and shows the blurred line between women saints and saintly women and the space in which they chose to express and discover their capacity for spiritual intercession. In "God of Our Mothers," Gary Marker focuses on Anna Labzina (1758–1828) to explore the spiritual world of a sensitive memoirist and diarist and to show a "specifically feminized social engagement" (p. 202). Nadieszda Kizenko ("Protectors of Women and the Lower Orders") compares two spiritual figures of the imperial period—Blessed Ksenia of St. Petersburg and Father Ioann of Kronstadt—to show how gender, in representation and reception, influenced the image and appeal of these two modern saints. In what is surely the most substantive piece, William G. Wagner's "Paradoxes of Piety" provides a richly detailed, archivally driven account of a convent in the city of Nizhnii

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Novgorod, recounting its rise, profiling its activities and inhabitants, and describing its eventual repression under the Soviet regime.

A third focus is the "binary" thesis that juxtaposes elite and popular, clerical and lay, textual and ritual Orthodoxy. The editors and some contributions (especially the essay by Laura Engelstein, "Old and New, High and Low") take issue with such simplistic dichotomies, which were deeply rooted in Russian intellectual history and its perception of Orthodoxy. Indeed, the dichotomy thesis gained new life in the Soviet era, partly by Soviet scholars seeking to explore "popular religion" (and thereby circumvent the stereotypes and research limits on the institutional church), partly by the Tartu-Moscow school of semioticians. It must be said, however, that the simplified dichotomy has long been passé in Western scholarship and, indeed, even in recent research on Russian Orthodoxy. It is far more productive to imagine the Orthodox religious cultures as a congeries of subsets, sometimes overlapping, sometimes not, compounded by a three-dimensionality that reflected varying levels of intensity.

Finally, this volume reaffirms the need to "historicize" Orthodoxy: to recognize how it changed and evolved over time. Michael Flier's article ("Till the End of Time"), contrary to Nicholas Berdyaev's view of a "constant" apocalypticism, shows it to have emerged in the mid-fourteenth century but to have achieved full development in the late fifteenth, in connection with the ominous onset of the year 7000 under the Byzantine calendar (1492 under the Western one). Vera Shevzov ("Letting the People into the Church") examines the emergence of a new conception of *tserkovnost'* ("churchness") with varying meanings, one of which was to underscore the inclusion of the laity in the conception of "church."

Although these articles move in different directions, they clearly demonstrate the importance of Orthodoxy in Russian culture and the need to move beyond stereotypes (whether those of officials, theologians, Slavophiles, or anticlericals) and to explore the meaning of Orthodoxy in everyday life under the *ancien régime*.

GREGORY L. FREEZE
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LOUISE MCREYNOLDS. *Russia at Play: Leisure Activities at the End of the Tsarist Era*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 309. $35.00.

With this book, Louise McReynolds has secured her reputation as the premiere historian of late imperial Russian culture. This vigorously written and superbly researched overview of Russian urban culture from the 1870s to the end of the Romanov dynasty dispels many deeply entrenched clichés about Russia's "modernization" (or lack thereof). It is based on extensive primary source research and reflects McReynolds's broad familiarity with secondary materials in American, European, and Russian cultural history and cultural theory. Wearing its theoretical mantle lightly, the book will satisfy both traditional and *nouveaux* historians alike. It deserves to be widely read.

Over the course of eight vivid chapters—on legitimate and popular theater, sport, tourism, restaurants, nightclubs and cabarets, and movies—McReynolds seeks to demonstrate the ways in which members of the emerging Russian middle classes appropriated and refashioned Western commercial culture. Leisure activities served as an important means for upwardly mobile city dwellers to distinguish themselves from the autocracy, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia—as well as to connect themselves to the progressive aristocracy.

This thesis is not novel, of course, and McReynolds thoroughly acknowledges her debt to theories on the relationship between class and culture formulated by Pierre Bourdieu, Michel de Certeau, and others. The history of late imperial Russia is still constrained by the notion that it is "prerevolutionary," so the application of ideas that might be considered commonplace in the historiography of Western Europe is still quite novel in Russian historiography. McReynolds not only breaks new ground, but her research reinforces and lends additional credibility to the findings of other, more narrowly circumscribed scholarship (such as my own work on early Russian cinema).

Although all readers will learn a great deal from each chapter of this richly detailed book, Russianists will profit the most from the chapters where McReynolds's research is most original: sport, nightlife, and tourism. Her chapter on sporting and athletic activities provides a good example of the way that public events, like horse racing, served as democratizing spaces for the intermingling of social groups as well as a means for fame and fortune. It is particularly interesting to learn about the ways in which sport encouraged the development of nonpolitical social activism, such as a nascent animal rights movement, at a time of growing revolutionary consciousness.

The transformation of hunting after the end of serfdom likewise provided another opportunity for the blurring of social distinctions, as hunting was no longer the domain of landowners and poachers but a business, with peasants as guides and hunters as customers. Turning to more physical sporting activities, the popularity of wrestling and bodybuilding led to the establishment of amateur athletic clubs and physical education programs in schools. British emigrés introduced football to Russia and organized teams in the factories they managed. Sports were, of course, male-dominated, but women were not entirely excluded. Cycling, tennis, and swimming were particularly popular activities among urban women, exciting the disapprobation of the Russian Orthodox Church, which was concerned about the effects excessive physical exertion and freedom of movement (not to mention less restrictive clothing) might have on the "femininity" of Russian women.

The changing dynamics of gender identity and gen-

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der norms are also central to this study. Russian women first overcame the prejudice against public performance as actresses on the "legitimate" stage (as well as in opera and ballet, which McReynolds does not discuss). At a time of rapid societal change, Russian women also asserted their right to traverse public spaces freely. This penetration of male-dominated space could be seen not only in the context of athletic activities like cycling but also in the ever-increasing practice of "going out," at night and unchaperoned, to enjoy dancing. Perhaps most importantly, McReynolds provides evidence that unmarried professional women began to travel alone on vacations, whether in Russia or abroad.

The book is not without its faults. The opening chapter, on the history of the "legitimate" theater is slow going. Although all historians can appreciate the need for some "pre-history," the thirty pages devoted to it here is too much and not well integrated into McReynolds's overarching conception. The book's fourth chapter, which compares the careers of the popular theater actress, Maria Savvina, and the world wrestling champion, Ivan Poddubnyi, in order to model the construction of gender identity in this era, is also a distraction. Interesting but unconvincing, the chapter detracts from the narrative flow and would have worked much better published separately as a journal article. Finally, it is curious that McReynolds, otherwise so generous in acknowledging her intellectual debts, gives short shrift to the work of American Russianists who have previously engaged some of the topics she covers. For example, in the chapters on theater, the work of Catherine Schuler, which specifically deals with women in theater and the development of a star system, is mentioned only glancingly, in a footnote. Gary Thurston's book on popular theater at this time receives no notice at all. The significance of what McReynolds has accomplished would not have been diminished by a gracious nod to the work of her predecessors.

These caveats do not, however, detract from the importance of McReynolds's achievement. This book will be the standard introduction to the subject for many years and will doubtless inspire much new research. And fittingly, it is great fun to read.

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FREDRIC S. ZUCKERMAN. *The Tsarist Secret Police Abroad: Policing Europe in a Modernising World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xix, 277. $75.00.

Fredric S. Zuckerman proposes to analyze several important problems in his new book. First, he seeks to investigate the activities and the significance of the notorious foreign branch of the tsarist national police force, whose mandate was to conduct surveillance on and, if possible, obstruct the functions of the expanding community of Russian revolutionary exiles in Western Europe prior to World War I. Second, he makes clear that he intends to contextualize the problematic of a political police culture within the framework of a larger, Europe-wide phenomenon. Last, Zuckerman attempts to link the past with the present in pointing out the parallels between efforts at international cooperation by governments to combat forms of terrorism then and now.

Although many details of the operations and personnel of the foreign branch have been known to specialists, Zuckerman's narrative and his evidence extend beyond all previous studies. There have been few centuries when the Russian government was lacking in suspicion about the potential threats to its authority, and a variety of institutions were activated to limit these challenges, from Ivan the Terrible's *oprichnina* to the creation of the *Agentura* in 1883. The event that created the need for a new organization to operate abroad against the revolutionaries was the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, since many exiles were publishing newspapers and pamphlets as well as forming groups and parties dedicated to overthrowing the tsarist regime in the comparative safety of Western Europe.

Zuckerman shows both the successes and the failures of the political police abroad over the course of several decades. The moment of triumph appears to have been in 1890, when the director of the *Agentura*, P. I. Rachkovskii, succeeded in mobilizing elements of the French police and press to permit a fabricated danger to develop into a series of high-profile arrests of Russian exiles, including one of their luminaries, Peter Lavrov. This came shortly after Rachkovskii had hounded and harassed Lev Tikhomirov, another prominent radical exile, into such a demoralized state that he was willing to turn on his former comrades in the underground and renounce his own anti-tsarist ideological commitments. Indeed, Rachkovskii credited himself with the destruction of the remnants of the People's Will Party abroad.

Rachkovskii also was involved, more so than the other directors of the *Agentura*, in blurring the boundaries between police actions and international diplomacy. He worked tirelessly to bring the leaders of European governments to see that a common threat existed for all of them, and that the solution to the problem of terrorism from below was to establish an alliance system across national boundaries. To accomplish this, he shared his files of 50,000 suspects with the French police and published his own manifestos on the dangers of anarchism, Jewish conspiracies, nihilism, and socialism, among which he saw no significant distinctions.

In the end, the experiment failed for a variety of reasons. A damaging blow was delivered by Vladimir Burtsev. An independent exile, Burtsev set up his own judiciary by recruiting a number of revolutionaries willing both to conduct surveillance on the spies hired by the *Agentura* and to formally bring charges against them in ad hoc courts in Paris and London. Most embarrassing, Burtsev denounced the head of the

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foreign branch, A. M. Harting, as a participant in one of the police roundups of Russian exiles who were sought by the Paris prefecture. Above all, however, the *Agentura* was hampered by inadequate funding, bureaucratic infighting between the central office in St. Petersburg and the Paris headquarters, and a lack of cooperation by England, France, and Italy, whose governments resisted working comprehensively with Russia despite an unprecedented wave of assassinations of high officials across the continent.

There are some minor problems with the book. The chronology is at times awkward, as the discussion advances and then retreats back to an earlier period as well as traversing the same ground in several different chapters. Zuckerman favors the term "tsardom," though it is frequently unspecified. No mention is made of the two attacks on the German emperor in 1878, nor of Sergei Kravchinskii's assassination of the Moscow chief of police the same year. Germany was officially unified in 1871 at the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War, not in 1870 (p. 38). There was no International at the time of the Lyon arrests in 1882 (p. 59), unless the author is referring to the anarchist Jura Federation.

Zuckerman's book is an important contribution to the growing literature on state policing institutions. This and his earlier volume, *The Tsarist Secret Police in Russian Society, 1880–1917* (1996), make him a leading authority in this field.

MARTIN A. MILLER
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B. V. KOLONITSKII. *Simvoly vlasti i bor'ba za vlast': Kizucheniiu politicheskoi kul'tury rossiskoi revoliutsii 1917 goda*. [Symbols of Power and the Struggle for Power: A Study of Political Culture of the Russian Revolution of 1917]. St. Petersburg: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Nauk. 2003. Pp. 350.

In this book, B. V. Kolonitskii pictures the revolutionary process in Russia not as politics but as a tidal wave of symbols. He argues that the dominant symbols in both the overthrow of the tsarist regime and the subsequent struggle among socialists were chiefly those of the prerevolutionary underground. Thus the active players in the revolutionary drama drew on a pan-European revolutionary heritage of songs, flags, and slogans to shape their collective sense of self and to stigmatize their opponents. Radical activists counterposed a revolutionary "we" (p. 310), identified with the term comrade (*tovarishch'*), to a hated bourgeoisie, and they shunted aside as insufficiently revolutionary the looser term citizen (*grazhdanin*), which was identified with political liberation from tsarist rule.

The book is divided into three overlapping sections: the destruction of the monarchy and its political symbols, the negation of the old symbols, and the symbols of a new life. Within these rubrics, Kolonitskii organizes his story according to what might be considered genres of expression. He discusses the struggle around clothing (and even buttons), forms of address, coats of arms, tsarist emblems, portraits and monuments, and so forth. The advantage of not forcing these issues into a single overarching political narrative of revolutionary change is considerable, since it allows him to treat each form of public expression as a separate site of conflict, with its own rules and its own dramatis personae. From this vantage point, Kolonitskii explores a range of conflicts that have been largely hidden from historical researchers. For example, clashes between the Bolsheviks and proponents of new national governments are familiar, but who would imagine these struggles playing out in a competition between the flags of the nationalities and the red flag of revolution? Similar is the conflict over military shoulder-straps (*pogoni*) in which some unwary officers lost their lives.

To view the revolutions of 1917 in part as a struggle over naming will hardly surprise readers familiar with the great satirical writers of the 1920s. In fact, Kolonitskii has a section in which he describes the ways in which certain expressions, symbols, artifacts, buildings, and even institutions were categorized as "old regime" (p. 229) while others were not. Under such circumstance, private businesses and restaurants hurried to adopt such names as "freedom," "Red Flag," and "Republic" (p. 244). The Provisional Government joined in the process and on March 15 changed the name of the Imperial Public Library to the National Library and that of the Imperial Academy of Sciences to the Russian Academy of Sciences. Alexandr Kerensky and his supporters, however, were unable to master the language of the revolutionary underground from which so many of the dominant symbols arose and failed to adopt unequivocally the most radical forms of expression. The Bolsheviks, on the contrary, prepared for their military seizure of power by arming themselves with potent symbols and thus benefited from a sensibility that allowed for no enemies on the Left. V. I. Lenin and his colleagues innovated in making the revolution their own, but they also drew on widespread sentiments of class war, hero worship, and a new sense of time.

It is remarkable to find so much that is new in a book on so storied a subject. Yet as Kolonitskii observes, previously historians have rarely focused on the struggle over symbols. The reasons for this lacuna are not hard to find. In some cases, such the military shoulder-straps, which Joseph Stalin restored during World War II, the source of the neglect is obvious. More generally, however, the symbolic language that proved so amenable to the Bolsheviks in 1917 was hardly a suitable subject for study in the oligarchic society that the Soviet Union soon became. Moreover, for Western historians, many of the archives that Kolonitskii consulted were inaccessible until the fall of communism.

Kolonitskii's strategy of exploring different forms of expression works well, and his book is enjoyable to read and intellectually stimulating. The effect is to provide students of the revolution and of twentieth-

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century Russian culture with something equivalent to a baseline of the Russian popular political imagination. In this respect, it will be valuable to scholars working in such diverse areas as cultural history, Soviet politics and social history, and literature and the arts. Because of its liveliness and inherent interest, it would also be suitable for students if translated.

JEFFREY BROOKS
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MICHAEL S. GORHAM. *Speaking in Soviet Tongues: Language, Culture, and the Politics of Voice in Revolutionary Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 266. $40.00.

The Bolshevik Revolution required a new public discourse to communicate to a largely unsympathetic population, argues Michael S. Gorham, and his stimulating book pursues the process of creating and refining a language culture that could speak to and for the new revolutionary society. This sophisticated, theoretically informed, and clearly written study narrates the development of a coherent language of state from the 1920s into the 1930s, drawing on fiction, state documents, newspapers, language policy, and pedagogical practice to illustrate his argument.

The need to cultivate an authoritative language provided the basic challenge for the new regime. Linguists in the 1920s recognized that a communication gap had arisen due to the mix of bureaucratese, slang, acronyms, stump-compounds, and Marxist rhetoric in which different elements of the population tried to express their revolutionary goals. Gorham investigates four successive models for resolving this Babelian confusion. Initially, theorists and writers like Vladimir Mayakovsky advocated a revolutionary and innovative language that would empower common citizens, utilizing dynamic and creative forms to resist ossification. The task here, recognized by Leon Trotsky and others, was to raise the ability of the population to use this language. An alternative populist approach emerged alongside this one, which supported a language model that derived from the voice of the people, however "unrefined." This language culture would allow workers and peasants to speak and write as revolutionaries without losing their verbal roots in the factory and village.

These revolutionary and populist models, however, could not reconcile the competing authorities of the state and the people. In attempting to speak to power, the people instead became "tongue-tied," unable to express complex and abstract ideas of power and ideology in their populist vernacular. Here and throughout the book, Gorham provides illuminating illustrations from a variety of writers—futurists, proletarian writers, and the new Soviet intelligentsia.

To replace this tower of Babel with a uniform authoritative language, a set of odd bedfellows offered as a remedy the return to a national model of public discourse grounded in the authority of the prerevolutionary Russian literary tradition: the "classics." Language purists abroad (emigré Russians) and at home (Maxim Gorky) denounced the vulgarization of Bolshevik speech practice. The only way to unify the enormous multiethnic semiliterate population, argued Gorky, was to create and maintain a single national language. Educators readily embraced this new movement, and so-called proletarian writers also began to emulate the voice and unobtrusive narrator of the nineteenth-century classics. The campaign resulted in replacing the charismatic but chaotic orally oriented discourse of the revolution with a more established written and canonic literary language.

The need remained, however, for authority to speak to the people in ways that could be understood and that would transmit the values of the new regime. A fourth model, the "canonization of the party-state," emerged by the beginning of the 1930s, leading to a gradual homogenization of the language models introduced to that point. The primary models for authoritative writing became the works of V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin, and the preferred genre moved firmly from oratory to the written, particularly the newspaper, text. The use of this party-state language became the cue to membership in the polity: the classics gave the language solidity, Soviet ideology gave it revolutionary content. Citizens needed to develop "dual competence" in order to participate in all the activities of the state, economy, and daily life. The emphasis now, argues Gorham, turned from revolutionary state-building to the maintenance of the state, a process he implies was a logical progression in the development of a stable revolutionary society. In a richly argued final chapter, Gorham illustrates the triumph of this party-state language by examining a series of texts, from Dmitrii Furmanov's *Chapaev* (1923) to the "production sketches" penned by thousands of worker and peasant correspondents. He also highlights the ascendance of the canonic language by examining the linguistic "failures" of Boris Pil'niak and Andrei Platonov, whose works challenged the presumed integrity and legitimacy of the new language.

The low level of literacy at the time of the revolution, Gorham argues, worked to the advantage of the language project. Personal gain as well as membership in the new polity depended on acquiring language and joining the canonic "speech community." By the 1930s, he claims, incantation rather than innovation became the guiding linguistic principle. But far from representing merely a "great retreat" to a prerevolutionary realist literary canon, Soviet language culture represented a new and stable synthesis of revolutionary experiment, populist orality, a realist literary canon, and the ideological code of Marxism-Leninism.

This exemplary interdisciplinary work should be read by all historians who use the texts of this period as their "sources."

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IGAL HALFIN. *Terror in My Soul: Communist Autobiographies on Trial.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 344. $45.00.

Igal Halfin's book examines the language and ritual of Russia's Communist Party in the 1920s and 1930s. In particular, the author looks at party discourse and autobiography in order to shed light on the brutal dynamics of Joseph Stalin's Great Purge. He emphasizes the power of Bolshevik language and claims that the potential for violence was inherent in Communist discourse itself. According to Halfin, "a Manichean view of the universe penetrated the Communist discourse" (p. 13), and this discourse, which divided society into the good and the evil, "had unintended consequences" (p. 5). The book effectively broadens our understanding not only of the Communist Party but of revolutionary violence in Soviet Russia.

In his examination of Communist discourse, Halfin focuses on party members rather than the Soviet population at large, and seeks to explain how Russia's ruling elite could turn against itself in the 1930s. For example, he states that the indiscriminate persecution of the opposition after the Kirov murder in 1934 "had its roots in the official political discourse" (p. 230). Halfin argues that party members whose thoughts were structured by the language of Bolshevism embraced the violence inherent in this language.

Halfin's analysis of Communist discourse draws on a variety of sources (works of Soviet fiction and scholarship, personal testimonies and letters, memoirs, Marxist theory, official party texts). In particular, he examines the genre of autobiography and emphasizes the differences between narratives of the self in the 1920s and the 1930s. The author concludes that in the 1920s, Communist autobiography "dwelt on the phenomenological evolution of the individual's worldview and on his arduous work of self-correction and self-discovery, highlighting his dramatic conversion to Communism" (p. 262). According to Halfin, the adoption of Stalin's Constitution in 1936, and with it the announcement that Soviet society had been perfected, introduced "a crucial shift in the articulation of the Bolshevik moral enterprise" (p. 244) as members of the opposition who earlier could be redeemed were now thoroughly demonized. In the 1930s, Communist autobiography presented "an unchanging, unalterable picture of the autobiographer's soul" (p. 262) that did not allow for spiritual transformation or personal development. The conversion narrative of the 1920s was no longer possible.

Halfin describes how the party turned its attention to judging the soul and assessing the inner self of its members in the 1930s. By 1936, political biography reflected the conviction that evil was innate and immutable, and that only two basic types of souls existed: the good and the wicked. Thus, Halfin asserts, "the road to the Great Purge opened" (p. 244). Ideology effectively drove the bloody process: "The Great Purge crisscrossed the country with such ferocity" due to "the fundamental Communist belief that evil was universal and that it must be unmasked and eliminated on a universal scale" (p. 273).

Halfin contrasts his study with works by "[h]istorians who explain the dynamic of the Great Purge as a struggle between actors who cared about nothing but the maximization of their access to spoils" and who "present Communist self-fashioning as window-dressing" (p. 270), although he does not identify these historians by name. His work instead highlights the importance of ideology, the "soul-judging framework" of Communist self-fashioning (p. 272), for its role in propelling the purges forward. Halfin's study traces an essential shift in party narratives of the self from the 1920s to the 1930s, and his analysis of how party discourse contributed to Stalinist violence is compelling. The book identifies an important connection between language and terror in Communist Russia. I would only note that the author appears to exaggerate the significance of Stalin's Constitution of 1936. For Halfin, the language of this document that declared the existence of a perfect, classless society in Russia fundamentally influenced the course of the Great Purges. He states that since Stalin declared in his constitution that class war was over, class could no longer be relied upon to identify the enemy. Yet in practice, class remained a damning marker, as evidenced by the large number of class aliens who were "unmasked" during the Terror. In addition, Halfin argues that since Stalin's constitution declared that society was perfect, evil came to be understood as residing in the soul of individuals. However, the causal link between the language of Stalin's constitution and the party's feverish hunt for the enemy within appears tenuous. One is still left wondering why the violent potential of Bolshevik discourse was harnessed most effectively in the late 1930s, and why violence against party members diminished thereafter.

GOLFO ALEXOPOULOS
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GOLFO ALEXOPOULOS. *Stalin's Outcasts: Aliens, Citizens, and the Soviet State, 1926–1936.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 243. $39.95.

The past decade has been an exciting time for scholars of Soviet history. Following the collapse of the communist system, the Russian government declassified millions of official documents and thus provided researchers with a wealth of new information about the Soviet regime and its subjects. Many historians, myself included, have boasted about their access to newly opened archival materials, but few can match the claim of Golfo Alexopoulos, who not only gained access to declassified documents but actually discovered an archive that few scholars even knew existed. On the remote edge of a small town in Siberia, behind a concrete wall topped with barbed wire, Alexopoulos located the Archive for the Preservation of Reserve Records, a state repository for over 100,000 case files

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on people deprived of rights under the Stalin regime. Based on these files, and on a range of materials from other archives, Alexopoulos has written a fascinating monograph on Stalinist definitions of citizenship and the suffering endured by those excluded from the Soviet polity.

Beginning with the 1918 Constitution, the Soviet government denied rights of citizenship to several million people it considered bourgeois enemies: private traders, people who hired labor for profit, clerics, former agents of the tsarist police and White Army, and so forth. Initially deprived of voting rights, by the late 1920s these "class aliens" also lost access to housing, employment, food rations, education, and medical care. In fact, many of them were arrested and sent to labor camps during the Stalinist drive to collectivize agriculture and eliminate private trade. As Alexopoulos explains, the process of disenfranchisement sought both to mark outcasts and to make citizens. In this sense, it was tied to the larger Soviet goals of social transformation: elimination of the bourgeoisie and creation of a productive socialist society.

Outcasts could redeem themselves and gain membership in this society if they performed socially useful labor and successfully petitioned to have their rights restored. In the case files she examined, Alexopoulos uncovered thousands of petitions requesting the restoration of citizenship, and these documents allow us for the first time to hear the voices of the disenfranchised. Of course, appeals to government authorities do not represent an unmediated record of people's thoughts and identities; as Alexopoulos notes, outcasts employed various strategies of self-presentation in their bid to regain social standing. Some of them composed autobiographical accounts that echoed the official Soviet narrative of proletarian consciousness attained through manual labor. Other petitioners wrote in the form of a ritual lament, a highly stylized tragic story that attributed their previous wrongdoing to dire circumstances beyond their control. Alexopoulos identifies the ritual lament as a type of counter-narrative based on traditional Russian poems and songs bemoaning one's fate and pleading for mercy. Somewhat surprisingly, given the Soviet government's ruthlessness, these pleas were often successful, as roughly half of all petitions were approved.

The Soviet Constitution of 1936 ended the policy of disenfranchisement and restored rights to all members of the population. By that time, Joseph Stalin and his fellow leaders believed they had liquidated enemy classes and built the foundations of socialism. Somewhat paradoxically, they simultaneously launched the Great Terror: the incarceration and execution of several million "Trotskyists," "wreckers," and "anti-Soviet elements," including many of the people whose rights had just been restored. Despite an emphasis on human transformation through honest labor, officials continued to be suspicious of people previously disenfranchised. Alexopoulos points out that Soviet authorities regarded deceptive behavior as an inherent bourgeois trait, so they were never certain if former outcasts were genuinely reformed or just skillfully acting. Those whom they suspected of continued opposition to Soviet power they sought to eliminate once and for all during the Great Terror. As Alexopoulos concludes, "An earlier policy of social engineering that involved the dual practices of purging alien elements and evaluating worthy citizens was replaced by a campaign of expulsion with almost no possibility of redemption" (p. 184).

With this book, Alexopoulos makes a valuable contribution to the field of Soviet history. Its significance derives both from the importance of her topic and the originality of her research. The book deserves a wide audience among historians of Russia and will be read with interest by other scholars as well.

DAVID L. HOFFMANN
Ohio State University

DAVID L. HOFFMANN. *Stalinist Values: The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity, 1917–1941*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 247. Cloth $47.50, paper $18.95.

In this monograph, David L. Hoffmann provides a new cultural framework for understanding Soviet history during the interwar period. There is a venerable scholarly tradition that sees Stalinism as a betrayal of revolutionary socialist principles. Leon Trotsky was the first to accuse Joseph Stalin of presiding over a Soviet Thermidor and to charge that the Stalinist bureaucracy had become a parasitical class that used traditional values to confirm its power and prestige. Nicholas S. Timasheff, arguing from a nonsocialist perspective, hailed the cultural conservatism of the 1930s as a return to Russia's "normal" course of development. But subsequently, the question of Stalinist culture fell into disfavor, and historians focused increasingly on the nature of Stalinist terror, the pathologies of Stalin and his cohort, and, more intriguingly, the possibilities of social mobility and support for state policies in what had hitherto appeared to be a totalitarian society.

Stephen Kotkin, in his brilliant book, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization* (1995), challenged the silence by arguing that despite the deep social inequality and terror that characterized Stalin's rule, there was no discernible retreat from a commitment to socialist ideology. The resuscitation of the question of ideology coincided with the growing popularity of cultural history. And in the 1990s there appeared a veritable flood of dissertations and monographs that dealt with Stalinist culture as it manifested itself in diverse sites such as Soviet subjectivity, propaganda, gender discourse, consumerism, schools, films, festivals, polar explorations, art, and literature.

While the research was novel and exciting, few of the scholars reflected on how their local findings had fundamentally reshaped our larger understanding of

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Stalinism as a system. To his credit, Hoffmann has fashioned an innovative paradigm within which he situates much contemporary research, including his own previous work on peasant identities. Hoffmann argues that the Stalinist state neither "betrayed" the socialist revolutionary nor "retreated" to traditional Russian mores. Instead he shows that the Stalinist order, like other European post-Enlightenment states, sought to catalogue, mobilize, and shape its citizens into ideal men and women. Defining modernity as the rise of the interventionist state and the birth of mass politics, Hoffmann details the various ways that the Soviet state tried to enlighten and transform human nature in their quest to create an ideal socialist order. Like their bourgeois counterparts, Soviet educators and health officials tried to instill literacy, and the values of cleanliness, sobriety, and punctuality among workers. Higher up the ladder, senior party officials were expected to be cultured, and conduct their private life with dignity and moral restraint. Like other European nations, the Stalinist state sought to bolster its birth rate by pursuing aggressive pronatalist policies that included a ban on abortions and rewards for large families. The Soviet government also intermittently attempted to promote a socialist version of consumerism. Finally, Soviet leaders, like their Western counterparts, used invented traditions and a virulently nationalist version of history to create a cultural patrimony that would transcend social and ideological divisions.

Even as Hoffmann traces the trajectory of what he calls illiberal modernity through the Soviet landscape, he carefully delineates its special characteristics. Soviet officials sought to rationalize the social order and maximize production, but they were resolutely anticapitalist and socialized all means of production. If the New Soviet Person was supposed to be cultured and sober, he/she was also expected to abjure liberal individualism and internalize the collective ethos. Finally, in perhaps the most controversial chapter of the book, Hoffmann argues that in pursuit of a harmonious and modern society, the Soviet state used violence and terror on an unprecedented scale. As Hoffmann says, "yet to conceive of and launch a mass excisionary operation required not only a murderous determination to eliminate the enemies of Soviet socialism but a conceptual framework based on social cataloguing and the technologies of modern state violence" (p. 183). One wishes that Hoffmann had problematized the notion of modernity and pursued the trans-European comparisons in more detail. But this book will force us to think about the wider international implications of Stalinism. The writing is a model of clarity, and the text can be used at both the graduate and undergraduate levels.

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E. Thomas Ewing. *The Teachers of Stalinism: Policy, Practice and Power in Soviet Schools of the 1930s.* (History of Schools and Schooling, number 18.) New York: Peter Lang. 2002. Pp. xiv, 333. $29.95.

One of the greatest paradoxes surrounding the first decades of the Soviet "experiment" concerns the Bolsheviks' plans for building an industrial workers' state within what in 1917 was still largely a peasant society. Aside from the absence of basic economic infrastructure and technical know-how, much of Soviet society was too poorly educated to grasp even the most elementary aspects of party propaganda, much less the arcane materialism of Marxism-Leninism. How, then, did the Bolsheviks expect to revolutionize everyday life throughout the USSR?

Part of the answer to this question lies in the party's strong commitment to popular literacy and public schooling during the 1920s and 1930s. At least as influential as other priorities on the cultural front during these years, Soviet educational efforts led to the creation of a new elite and one of the world's largest reading publics. This emphasis on primary and secondary schooling also increased the indoctrinational power of Soviet mass culture, teaching the society how to "speak Bolshevik" in a way that explains some of the social support that Stalinism ultimately enjoyed.

Of course, as successful as the Soviet educational system was, it was also marked by the tension, drama, and brinkmanship that characterized much of the rest of Soviet society under Joseph Stalin. Scholars interested in a nuanced analysis of public schooling during this period will want to pay close attention to E. Thomas Ewing's fine monograph. A methodological tour-de-force, this book examines the pedagogical strategies of teachers who spent the better part of their professional lives in state service, making the best of the Soviet leadership's often inconsistent and halting support for their endeavors.

Ewing begins with an analysis of how teachers were often obliged to act as mediators between state and society, alternating uncomfortably between roles as regime spokesperson and scapegoat. After contextualizing the party's prioritizing of universal education within the mobilization frenzy of the period, Ewing shifts gears to examine how this massive expansion of public schooling affected the teaching profession as a whole—both the cadres and their pedagogical methods and disciplinary strategies as well. Particularly interesting is Ewing's conclusion that the dominant pedagogical practices of the 1930s were shaped by a combination of state policy, institutional limitations, and the preferencies of the teachers themselves. Many of these dynamics took shape during the darkest days of the 1936–1938 Great Terror, becoming a means of survival in addition to a source of livelihood.

Drawing on extensive work in the former Soviet archives, Ewing frames these repositories' endless litany of curricular shortcomings, political errors, and poor student performance with an interpretive eye for

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the educational system's long-term consistency and staying power. Insightful analysis is supplied along the way on issues such as class, ethnicity, social mobility, and the relationship between center and periphery. Also of major concern are questions of gender, agency, state power, and grass-roots resistance. But perhaps most impressive is Ewing's deft incorporation of examples and explanatory paradigms drawn from the literature on the history of education, allowing classroom conditions in the United States, France, Great Britain, and Germany to provide a comparative benchmark for assessing the Soviet educational system's accomplishments and failures. This, combined with the use of modern educational theory, strengthens the study by supplying a level of analytical clarity and perspective that is often lacking in the rather exceptionalist literature on Stalinism. Gracefully written and well furnished with intriguing material from the central Moscow archives, this book would be rewardingly read alongside Larry Holmes's *The Kremlin and the Schoolhouse: Reforming Education in Soviet Russia, 1917–1931* (1991) and *Stalin's School: Moscow's Model School No. 25, 1931–1937* (1999), Lisa Kirschenbaum's *Small Comrades: Revolutionary Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932* (2000), and Sheila Fitzpatrick's classic, *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky, October 1917–1921* (1970).

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JÖRG BABEROWSKI. *Der Feind ist überall: Stalinismus im Kaukasus*. Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 2003. Pp. 882.

Regional studies is a growing field in Soviet history. This is a welcome trend, spurred by the opening of archives and libraries long inaccessible to foreign researchers. As Jörg Baberowski rightly notes, the Soviet Union was a multiethnic state with a large Muslim population and much more than merely Moscow and Leningrad. Yet the field has its own pitfalls. The Soviet empire consisted of numerous regions, unique to one degree or another and all worthy of historical studies in their own right, but overemphasizing their uniqueness risks losing sight of the larger picture. Since no single region was truly representative of the country as a whole, generalizing on the basis of one region threatens to render its particular significance almost moot.

Baberowski's massive tome of nearly 900 pages is a somewhat mixed study of one region in the former Soviet Union. Baberowski focuses on the Transcaucasus, particularly Azerbaijan (with the oil city Baku as its capital), which he notes "represented the imperium in a miniature—all elements that afforded tense relations to the Tsarist state and the Soviet Union were combined here" (p. 17). Baberowski begins his study in the first half of the nineteenth century (when Russians came as "civilizers"), but as the subtitle of this volume suggests, he is interested in Stalinism as manifested in the Transcaucasus.

The October 1917 Revolution, which the Bolsheviks staged to gain power in Petrograd, led to a bloody civil war in the country, including Azerbaijan. Unlike that of Russia proper, the revolution in Azerbaijan assumed the character of what Baberowski calls "ethnic cleansing." The revolution excluded the Muslims (who accounted for the majority of the urban poor and the rural population) from power, leading to massacres of Muslims (including women and children) committed mainly by Armenians, according to Baberowski. Taking issue with the classic *The Baku Commune, 1917–1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution* (1972) by Ronald Suny, Baberowski maintains that the famed Baku Commune was no commune at all for Muslims: it was a "stronghold [*Hort*] of terror and pogrom" (p. 138).

After the civil war, there as elsewhere, the Bolsheviks sought to secure civil peace (instead of civil war) by way of "indigenization": the promotion of native languages, cultures, administration, and education. Baberowski sees the experiment carried out in Nakhichevan from the mid-1920s as the beginnings of Stalinism. Nakhichevan, an autonomous republic within Azerbaijan bordering Armenia, Turkey, and Persia, had a mixed population of Azerbaijani, Armenians, and Persians. It was a strikingly "backward" enclave where, in the mid-1920s, there was no telephone or telegraph service, and eighty-seven percent of the urban population were infected with syphilis and typhus. The center had no control over this area, which was ruled by feudal clans and family circles. Even Aleksei Rykov, a moderate within the Bolshevik Party, saw no other solution than a resort to terror in order to bring the region to "reason" (p. 544). After extensive purges amid stubborn local resistance, however, nothing appears to have changed in Nakhichevan. All the same, the Bolsheviks believed in the power of political terror with which they, like their tsarist predecessors, were determined to transform ("civilize") "backward" society. Indeed, according to Baberowski, this is how history developed from the late 1920s in the campaigns for cultural revolution, dekulakization, wholesale collectivization, and rapid industrialization.

Baberowski's stories, like that of Nakhichevan, are fascinating. (Indeed his stories extend too far and wide—covering family relations, social customs, literacy, alphabet reform unveiling, and other issues of native culture—to be cogent.) Nevertheless, he seems to overstate the significance of the Nakhichevan case. Important as it may have been, there is no evidence to show that what happened there had a decisive influence on Bolshevik thinking. In fact, one can find similar cases in many other regions (including the countryside of Russia proper) where "backwardness" was the order of the day against which the Bolsheviks fought a determined battle.

Baberowski is right to emphasize that Joseph Stalin's terror, itself feudalistic and barbarian in nature,

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was an ideologically perverted method of realizing civilizing missions; Stalin's rule, influenced by the violent culture of his native Caucasus, was a "feudalized" power (pp. 776, 829). Yet Baberowski's approach, which he defines as "cultural history," is not new and fails in the most critical instance of Stalin's terror: the Great Terror of 1937–1938. He emphasizes the significance of denunciations in the Great Terror, but now more than before it is clear that denunciations did not play a significant role in the Great Terror, which was enacted from above. The author's emphasis on culture blinds him to Stalin's own hunger for power, security, and survival. Thus, Baberowski has nothing add to the discussion of the international environment in which the population of the Soviet Union (including Azerbaijan, a border state) lived; the threat of war (both from the east and from the west) appears to have determined the timing and the nature of the Great Terror. Moreover, Baberowski provides little information on how the Great Terror affected Azerbaijan in comparison with other regions (e.g. non-Muslim, non-Russian regions), or the ethnic breakdown of the terror victims in Azerbaijan (although he does mention that ethnic minorities were targeted). It is possible that Baberowski could not find the data, but without data it is difficult to assess the significance of Azerbaijan in the development of Stalinism.

While dismissing the thesis on the "Great Retreat" (from revolutionary ideals and dreams) as "comical" (p. 822), Baberowski notes that after the Great Terror Moscow came to terms with the prevalence of clan leaders, clientele networks, and private shadow economies in the Caucasus. The traditional structure of power thus outlived the Soviet system. Yet, apart from this important observation, Baberowski's book abruptly ends in 1938, delivering much less than the title promises. It is not clear how he would have carried his thesis through the war and postwar years of Stalinism.

As a history of the Caucasus, the present book is full of fascinating information. As a history of a region in the Soviet Union, it is not as successful. In this instance, "cultural history" proves limiting conceptually and methodologically rather than liberating.

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STEVEN MERRITT MINER. *Stalin's Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941–1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 407. $55.00.

Steven Merritt Miner discusses the wartime uses and abuses of religion in the USSR. Like other scholars, he ties the war years' relative improvements for the Orthodox Church to domestic issues. He then maps new ground by pointing to the Soviet regime's desire to make its westward expansion in 1939 and again in 1944–1945 more palatable to inhabitants of the newly acquired regions. Miner acknowledges that the church became prominent in Soviet talk and propaganda only in 1943 but notes that the regime promoted a more positive image of Russian Orthodoxy from the start of the German invasion.

Joseph Stalin, Miner finds, played a delicate game with his own citizens, foreign officials, and the American and British publics. Stalin had to make some concessions to religious sentiment but could not go too far in permitting the church to operate independently. For various reasons, including naïveté, several notable foreigners assisted this effort. Some cooperation stemmed from commitment to the Soviet cause, for example by the director of the British Foreign Ministry's Soviet Relations branch, Peter Smollett, born Smolka, who passed documents to Moscow. Miner suggests that Smollett significantly affected British public opinion but recognizes that wartime circumstances favored building a positive attitude toward the USSR.

Soviet activity to assuage religious feelings in the western borderlands was most important as one of several tools for "countering and disarming non-Russian, and anti-Soviet, nationalism" (p. 11). Yet this use of religion, it appears, applied only to the Orthodox Church; Miner shows that Soviet authorities remained unremittingly hostile to the Uniate Church and Catholicism. Tsars and adherents of Orthodoxy opposed the Uniate faith from its inception in the sixteenth century, seeing it as a Polish political effort to placate religious feelings during eastward expansion. Miner outlines the roots of such issues in the region, yet argues both that Soviet policy followed Russian traditional lines and that it was in a murderous class by itself. Much of his story centers on events in Ukraine, an extraordinarily complex area in the period studied. This background sometimes emerges effectively, for example in passages discussing the varied reception for the Germans in different parts of Ukraine; at other points the Ukrainians become an undifferentiated mass.

Miner regularly refers to massive tragedy wreaked on "society" by a "totalitarian" regime, but he distances himself from "traditionalists" by denying that Stalin was a "master manipulator." Miner also denounces certain "revisionists," claiming they have portrayed Stalin as "the impotent plaything of his advisers and of historical forces beyond his grasp" (p. 3). However, this view is not expressed in the works cited here. Miner's book is itself revisionism: the Kremlin's policies on religion "continually evolved in response to developments in the war" (p. 10), the leadership lost control of processes it set in motion, "of course the majority of people sided with the Moscow government" when the Germans invaded (p. 33), local officials acted in some cases beyond or against central policy, and authorities believed enemies of the state were omnipresent (as opposed to being manufactured by the regime for its own purposes).

A number of important points are left out. It is

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disturbing that an account of religion in the USSR does not mention the Orthodox patriarch's proclamation of anathema on the Soviet authorities in February 1918 and his call for the faithful to shun the new government, which at the time included Left Socialist Revolutionaries. During the Civil War, the church overwhelmingly identified with the White cause. The connection between Orthodoxy and violence in 1917–1921 was a two-way street that Soviet leaders had hardly forgotten twenty years later.

Among the scholarly works not cited are Amir Weiner's study of Ukraine in the war, recent articles on popular response to the German attack by writers such as Andrei Dzeniskevich and Mikhail Gorinov, and Jeffrey Burds's discussion of extraordinary viciousness by right-wing Ukrainian partisans toward Jews and Soviet officials. Miner approaches an apology for such activity: Stepan Bandera's band "was politically close to fascism . . . [but] It would have been miraculous if . . . resistance groups had not themselves adopted authoritarian ideas . . . the war was scarcely a hothouse of Jeffersonian democracy" (p. 63). Neither was East Central Europe in general, especially given the protracted chaos and slaughter in 1914–1921 and again in 1939–1945, but Miner displays tolerance only for Bandera's ruthless killers.

Still, this book makes a serious contribution to our evolving understanding of the Stalinist system. If brutal and murderous, the regime was also reactive and uncertain. Miner effectively brings out the ways in which religion and politics, blended as ever in this part of the world, lurched forward together in the service of Moscow's aims.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

JONATHAN P. BERKEY. *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800*. (Themes in Islamic History, number 2.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 286. Cloth $58.00, paper $21.00.

In this book, Jonathan P. Berkey expands on his previous works dealing mainly with Muslim religious scholars and popular religion in Egypt and Syria under the Mamluks (1250–1517) to encompass all premodern Muslim history in a general text. Berkey's breadth of scope and attention to detail make his book a useful resource for those wanting to survey the current state of Western, especially English-language, writing about Islam. Although probably too difficult for undergraduates, Berkey's text contains many footnotes and bibliographical references to original research, making it a vital aid for academics and advanced students alike.

The book's four parts and epilogue deal successively with the Near East before Islam, the emergence of Islam 600–750, the consolidation of Islam 750–1000, medieval Islam or the "Middle Period" 1000–1500, and the early modern period 1500–1800. Berkey's emphasis on the broad context of Islam in the Near East is clearly welcome, for histories formerly have given too little emphasis to connections across political, religious, and civilizational boundaries. The best part of his book is that covering the period 1000–1500, the area of his own primary research. Here the author discusses the competing structures of religious authority of the time, carefully describing the ambiguities of the religious situation and the lack of any official and final definition of Islam excluding all deviation. For this period, a nuanced picture emerges of the complex relations among the rulers, the religious scholars, and the rest of the people, no one group being able completely to control or dominate the others.

In the first three parts of the book dealing with what is usually seen as the formative period of Islam (namely late antiquity and the period 600–1000), Berkey relies heavily on the divergent results of other researchers. By trying to remain neutral amid their scholarly controversies, he somewhat diverts attention from how historians are split into two mutually hostile camps over early Muslim history (pp. 58–60). A more traditional party of historians, exemplified by Hugh Kennedy, M. J. Kister, Marshall Hodgson, Fred Donner, Stephen Humphreys, and Richard Bulliet, defends the idea that a sifting of the sources, combined with other evidence, will produce positive results and that the traditional scheme of early Muslim history is unlikely to be radically altered. A revisionist party, exemplified by John Wansbrough, Gerald Hawting, Lawrence Conrad, Michael Cook, and especially Patricia Crone, strongly questions the validity of all Muslim literary sources for the early period and tries to replace the traditional scheme with various highly speculative constructions. The upshot of this contest, revealed in Berkey's book, has been primarily to cast doubt on the traditional account while not replacing it with anything else.

Berkey attempts to keep a balance by frequently referring to the works of the revisionists while also citing the work of more traditionalist scholars. Despite his neutrality, however, the influence of the skeptics makes itself felt. Thus, unlike most other introductions to Muslim history, Berkey's scarcely mentions the role of the Prophet Muhammad (pp. 66–70), preferring to emphasize outside influences on the formation of Islam, giving the impression that Muhammad and the Muslims introduced very little that was new in their religion (pp. 61–65). Berkey insists that the establishment of a distinctive Muslim identity was a long, drawn-out process (p. 73). In upholding this position, he diffidently casts doubt on the authenticity of the Qur'an (pp. 59, 66–67), which contains numerous verses indicating Muslim universalism from the beginning (Qur'an 9:33; 21:107; 34:28; 48:28; 61:9), and he also does not say what kind of identity the earliest Muslims then possessed.

Furthermore, Berkey asserts that Islam spread because of pressure from Muslim rulers on non-Muslim

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populations (pp. 163–164, 172, 197–198), although the opposite view, that such pressure is counterproductive, is better attested in history. Berkey's view would deprive people embracing Islam of both self-awareness and agency and fails to explain why Muslims have continued until now to cultivate their spiritual life in a myriad of different forms. From Berkey, one gets very little idea of why anyone would practice Islam or want to continue to do so. In all, the picture Berkey paints of classical Islam is unattractive.

Finally, the nine-page coverage given to the last period of the book, 1500–1800, which includes one quarter of the time promised coverage in the work's subtitle, is extremely cursory. This is unfortunate, because it is this period in particular that has been chronically scanted and neglected by orientalists. As this period witnessed the greatest spread of Islam outside the Near East and its elaboration in many forms in West and East Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, Berkey's neglect tends to reinforce the stereotype that Islam is mainly a Near Eastern religion, and he adds to this impression by barely mentioning developments elsewhere.

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LAWRENCE FINE. *Physician of the Soul, Healer of the Cosmos: Isaac Luria and His Kabbalistic Fellowship*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 480. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

Lawrence Fine's book is the first full-length intellectual biography of Rabbi Isaac Luria (1534–1572). The preeminent Jewish mystic of the sixteenth century, Luria's teachings and their elaborations—"Lurianic kabbalah"—influenced nearly all subsequent exponents of the Jewish mystical tradition. Notwithstanding his significance to adepts, the bewildering complexity of Luria's mysticism would alone have insured its obscurity were it not for the efforts of the late Gershom Scholem. For Scholem, Luria articulated the theology of his era: God no less than his people suffered catastrophic exile. Both required ingathering from far-flung places, and the commandments of Judaism were understood to have the power to redeem divine light wherever they were practiced. Sparks that descended into darkness, however, were beyond the reach of good acts; they might be redeemed only through what Scholem famously called "the *mitzvah* [commandment] that derives from sin." Scholem held that this cosmogony-eschatology fueled the Sabbatian messianic movement of the seventeenth century and its antinomian excesses, as well as many dialectical historical reactions to it, from Hasidism to the Jewish Enlightenment, the Reform movement, and Zionism. For some two generations, this view was the reigning paradigm in Jewish historiography, the "grand narrative" of Jewish history from expulsion to emancipation.

Only in the late 1980s did Moshe Idel shatter the hegemonic narrative from nearly every conceivable angle: the cosmogonic myth was peripheral to Luria's central concern with mystical praxis; Luria's rich metaphoric language did not include the term "exile"; and the expulsion from Spain could not unequivocally be regarded as catastrophic by mystics enjoying a religious revival in the Galilee as its consequence. Moreover, Luria's doctrine was nearly unknown in the 1660s and could not account for the universal appeal of Sabbatianism. Although a mystic, not even Sabbetai Zevi himself was a student of Lurianic teachings. In place of the Scholem's Hegelian theses and countertheses, Idel produced case studies in the intellectual hybridity that characterized Jewish culture in an era of migrations. In the process, Luria has gone from being a lynchpin of Jewish—and by extension world—history to being simply the preeminent Jewish mystic of his day. As such, he ought to be familiar to any student of mysticism.

The bad news is that Luria's teachings are a thicket of theosophical detail, almost impenetrable to one who would not sacrifice years of immersion in study and contemplative practice. If the Zohar, the classical work of Jewish mysticism composed some three hundred years earlier in Spain, is drenched in intoxicating devotional eroticism, Luria's kabbalah takes a more anatomical approach to the divine that takes a medical-school commitment to master. Secondary literature has tended to take the form of articles, most of them in Hebrew, written for the scholarly cognoscenti. Fine's is the first academic work published in English on its subject. Through masterly synthesis and organization, the author has produced the first accessible account of Luria and his kabbalah in English—or any language—that is also richly detailed and historiographically up to date. The book and its excellent bibliographical notes also form an ideal entrée and guide to the field.

Fine's study begins with a brief biographical sketch of Luria's life, which he bases on the most historically reliable sources available. These being rather thin, a good deal of the picture is filled in with a characterization of Jewish life in sixteenth-century Egypt and the Galilee, the two venues of Luria's life story. The historical survey here will provide helpful orientation to many readers, although I would have liked Fine to have addressed the issue of language more directly in this chapter. In this melting-pot environment of immigrants, what language did Luria speak to his disciples?

From these chapters, Fine moves on to a characterization of Luria's charismatic religious authority. After a problematic treatment of "Lurianic myth" in terms of Basilides's Gnosticism, Fine devotes the remainder (and larger half) of the book to a fresh exploration of the practices that Luria undertook and prescribed. The analysis of mystico-magical techniques has been at the center of Fine's scholarly project throughout his career, but here his studies have the benefit of being fully integrated and placed in a broader context. In his concluding chapter, Fine emphasizes Luria's messianic ambitions and the mystical fellowship as the context of

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their realization. The fellowship he assembled in just two short years bespoke hope. Yet the accounts reveal a disappointment with the fellows that would climax with Luria's premature death in a plague—which the master himself believed afflicted him as a punishment for revealing too much to the unworthy. We unworthy students of today have a treasure in Fine's work, which introduces us to Luria's thought no less than to the fellowship in which his ideas were to be embodied.

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JANE HATHAWAY. *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen*. (Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 295. Cloth $68.50, paper $22.95.

This book by Jane Hathaway sets out to explore two political factions, the Fiqaris and the Qasimis, that played a dominant role in Egyptian politics from roughly the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. These factions preceeded the Mamluk households, previously studied by Hathaway, that dominated the political scene in the eighteenth century (see *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt, the Rise of the Qazdaglis* [1997]). As in the earlier book, Hathaway attacks the Mamluk school of interpretation that considers Ottoman history as a continuation of Mamluk (1250–1517) history. Even though factions had existed in the Mamluk sultanate, the author argues, the factions of Ottoman Egypt were closely linked to contemporary factions in other parts of the Ottoman state, their emergence being a function of the decentralization of the state. The book also draws parallels with contemporary societies in Europe and the Safavid Empire as well as with a large number of other times and places, ranging from biblical times to Arab tribal divisions to the medieval Italian city states.

The Fiqaris and Qasimis are examined through the myths and tales elaborated in the eighteenth-century Damurdashi chronicles, first explored by P. M. Holt in 1962. These chronicles contain disparate versions of the rivalry between the two factions, in which myth and reality are not always clearly distinguishable. The author provides a detailed analysis of these tales. Unlike Hathaway's first book on Mamluk households, which was written as a political narrative, this one focuses on myths about the Fiqaris and the Qasimis. It stresses the relevence of these tales and the strength of the symbols they contain in cementing social relations and creating community feeling among disparate social groups. Readers will see parallels between the myths recounted by Hathaway and Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" associated with the national trends emerging in the nineteenth century. Those interested in seeing how a postmodern approach can be applied to seventeenth-century Egypt's political factions will find the book appealing in the breadth of its concerns and in its analysis of one form of relationship between symbol and reality. Hathaway emphasizes the text over social reality and historical process and the metaphorical over the "literal." She stresses the symbolic meaning of some of the visual representations linked to the factions, such as their public rituals as well as their bicolored flags and their banners.

Readers looking for an explanation of the political polarization of the Fiqari and Qasimi factions will not find it here. The book does not explore what exactly was at stake, why any person or group might join one faction rather than the other. For factions to have attracted merchants, craftsmen, and peasants, there must have been major inducements and various mechanisms that could explain such an important political phenomena, an issue that the book does not elaborate upon. Nor is any explanation given about how rural people were enticed to join factions, or what benefits they could hope to receive. Society and social dynamics are in fact absent from the book. Instead, we have a neat dichotomy between the two opposing political factions, but we do not see what led to their development, the interaction between them during numerous decades of their existence, nor the mechanisms of their demise in favor of the Mamluk households.

Neither the Mamluk nor the Ottoman interpretation of the history of Egypt can go very far in answering these questions because neither goes beyond elite history. The answers to some questions may be found in the voluminous Cairo archives of the period, which the author has not consulted. Today young Egyptian scholars like Muhammad Hakim, Nasir Ibrahim, and Magdi Girgis are making use of these archives and coming up with a broader view of power relations in Egyptian society under Ottoman rule. It is a pity that Hathaway is not aware of their work.

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MINE ENER. *Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800–1952*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xxx, 195. $35.00.

Despite a title that suggests full chronological treatment of a single theme, this book is somewhat segmented. Mine Ener deals mainly with nineteenth-century Egypt, with sparse coverage of the immediate post-World War I period, and even less on the key period of King Farouq's rule (1936–1952). This observation should not, however, be taken as a criticism of the originality and importance of the material offered. Ener carries earlier studies by LaVerne Kuhnke on public health projects and Amira Sonbol on the medical profession further toward the goal of knowing how personal lives are affected by programs reflecting either government or privately initiated policies.

Here the subject may seem obvious: what measures were undertaken over time to aid Egypt's urban or rural destitute? Second, and very important for this study, was there a political agenda behind different

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types of measures? This book does recognize Islamic values such as beneficence (*ihsan*), almsgiving (*sadaqa*), and the role of pious foundations (*awqaf*) as components of ideal societal concern for the poor. Its main focus, however, is on the intent of policy makers from Muhammad Ali (1805–1848) forward in providing aid to the destitute. Ener shows that part of the motivation for founding two key nineteenth-century "agencies"—the Mahall al fuqara in the 1840s (a restructuring of the venerable *maristan* [hospital] of Qalawun), and the Takiyyat Tulun (set up in the even more venerable Mosque of Ibn Tulun in the 1850s—was to clear the streets of Cairo and Alexandria of troublesome and unsightly beggars.

Her examination of *dabitiyyah* (police) records shows that, when "arrests" were made, procedures then determined whether individuals actually qualified for admission to government shelters for the poor. Particularly after the founding of the Takiyyat Tulun in the 1850s, many male detainee-applicants were redirected into government work projects—a policy that confirms Ener's contention that "benevolence" had several sides, depending on perceptions of what poor relief might or might not accomplish from a political point of view.

The first chapters draw heavily both on European observers' descriptions of the Takiyyat Tulun and on detailed accounts of cases of individuals either admitted to, or rejected until its closure (as a result of Egypt's decline into fiscal insolvency) after the mid-1870s. This chronological dividing line introduces a shift to a different focus, perhaps one imposed by the British occupation's withdrawal of budget support for aid to the poor in general. But it is hard to understand why the author not only shifts her focus almost entirely to European commentaries on the state of Egypt's indigents but goes back in time to use these commentaries to essentially reiterate what has already been covered. Eventually she does give some concrete information on what the occupation regime actually did, and how its policies were perceived, again mainly by European observers. One exception to this reliance on non-Egyptian sources (especially *The Lancet*, a British periodical aimed at health professionals) are the interesting selections from *Al Lata'if al Musawwara*, an Egyptian illustrated periodical containing caricatures depicting social conditions that appeared in the first decades of the twentieth century.

But one is left with the impression of discourse on an observably different plane, beginning with Ener's discussion of Kamel Greiss's 1916 landmark speech before the Sultanic Society of Political Economy. There is no change in the central issue of the need to alleviate mendicancy, but the title of the last chapter, "The Future of the Nation," seems misleading. What the author documents for the period of emergent Egyptian nationalist politics is fairly clear evidence that there would be, at least until the founding of a Ministry of Social Affairs in 1939, rivalry between different sources of possible benevolent aid for Egypt's massively expanding numbers of poor. "New" developments, including the reemergence of private charitable associations, became targets for political scrutiny out of fear that they might gain too much influence at the expense of formal but ineffective political parties.

Although there is a general theoretical conclusion in the last chapter ("From the Poor to Poverty"), my impression is that the subject has by then become telescoped. Just as the reader begins to see the promise of learning what the early Nasser regime would have to address, the story ends without serious analysis of details of the critical prewar, and even more critical post-World War II period.

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A. HOLLY SHISSLER. *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. viii, 280. $59.50.

In this excellent work, A. Holly Shissler studies the interactions between religion, social environment, and nationality as embodied in the identity transformation of Ahmet Ağaoğlu (Agayev) (1867–1939). A Shiite born in Azerbaijan, educated in Tiflis and St. Petersburg, Ağaoğlu spent six years in Paris studying with James Darmsteter, who introduced him to Ernest Renan and Juliette Adam, editor of *La Nouvelle Revue*. Ağaoğlu returned to Baku in 1894 and, after intense involvement in nationalist politics and publishing, fled to Turkey in 1909, where his revolutionary Young Turk friends from Paris had gained power.

Active in Turkish politics, academia, and publishing, Ağaoğlu joined, at the urging of Kemal Ataturk, the "loyal" opposition Liberal Party (established and closed in 1930), only to be marginalized by the ruling Republican People's Party whose corruption and oppression he criticized (although he was its deputy). He remained active almost to the end of his life, publishing some thirty books and numerous articles "stretching from Baku to Istanbul," as he put it.

Some in Turkey viewed Ağaoğlu as an intellectual maverick, but as Shissler correctly points out, he actually used his multifaceted identities as the "available materials from which to shape identities ... anew" (p. 12). Indeed, his Azeri tribal (mother) and aristocratic (father) family background, Shiite Islam and Persian culture, and Russian political and intellectual influences supplied the ingredients of Ağaoğlu's basic identity. His stay in Paris, social strife in the industrializing Baku, and, his last thirty years (spent in a shrinking Ottoman Empire that produced the modern Turkey) added new dimensions to his intellectual horizon. He had a short stint in free Azerbaijan in 1918 before returning to Istanbul.

Shissler analyzes Ağaoğlu's political and ideological evolution from an admirer of Persian national uniqueness into an Azeri modernist and Turkist by relating him to the people, ideas, and events that conditioned his intellectual transformation. She uses a long intro-

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duction to provide a broad theoretical frame of national identity based on Miroslav Hroch's "small nation" concept, John Hutchinson's "cultural nationalism," Renan's anticlericalism, and belief in science and religious conscience. In the process, the reader is treated to the short biographies of leading Muslim intellectuals as well as political and social events in Russia and the Ottoman state.

Ağaoğlu, according to Shissler, accepted the idea of a primordial nation, historical and cultural continuity, and religion and language as the bases of identity, but all within the frame of a changing social environment; hence his view that it was not Islam but the Islamic society that changed, so that the latter might become "Western" in mentality and still preserve its identity and character. Shissler states that Ağaoğlu's ultimate goal was "the creation of a liberal, civil society populated by 'whole persons'" (p. 209), a society of free men sharing the same mentality, the essence of a nation. In addition to signaling the crucial role played by the Muslim emigré intellectuals from Russia in the development of Turkish nationalism, Shissler points to their acceptance of Islam as part of the "national" culture that bound together all these Muslim groups. The question of whether ethnicity was part of this "national" culture drew Ağaoğlu into a heated discussion with orthodox Islamists who equated ethnicity-based nationalism with racism and saw it as a violation of Islam.

Ağaoğlu defended a liberal secularism, but what the regime ultimately accepted as "secularism" in the party program in 1931 and as a constitutional principle in 1938 was an ill-defined political nationalism. One year later, it replaced the *Turk Ocaklari* (Turkish Hearths) and its *hars* or cultural Turkism enforced since 1911–1912 with the People's Houses, charging the latter to disseminate a national Turkism supported by a "secularism" (actually state-controlled religion, that is, Islam). Thus the reorganization of these institutions was caused by the regime's fundamental ideological reorientation rather than fear of opposition from the Hearths, as Shissler, relying on W. Weiker, contends.

Shissler's detailed study of Ağaoğlu stops in 1921, although she presents a succinct summary of his activities thereafter that does not do justice to Ağaoğlu's role in the "New Turkey," as the book's subtitle seems to imply. In Turkey, interest in Ağaoğlu prevailed not so much among Turkists as among liberals, detached scholars interested in reconciling Islam with liberalism and modernity much before Premier Turqut Ozal's liberalizing policies in the 1980s.

The book has some blemishes: the footnotes in chapter one are numerically misplaced; Ali Huseyinzade taught, not studied, in the Istanbul Medical School. These are insignificant, however, in relation to its wide theoretical scope, penetrating comparative analyses, and multifaceted qualities. It is a must for historians of the Russian and Ottoman states, sociologists, and students of ideas.

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LAWRENCE TAL. *Politics, the Military, and National Security in Jordan, 1955–1967.* (St. Antony's Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xv, 181. $60.00.

The aim of this book is to explain why Jordan joined the Arab coalition against Israel in the 1967 war. According to Lawrence Tal, King Hussein's decision "was based on emotional rather than rational factors" (p. 109). His mistake in the steps leading to war was to depend "on decisionmakers [sic] with little or no military experience" (p. 113). The author does not consider that if Hussein chose to rely on men of little or no military experience to advise him about going to war, perhaps he was making a decision based on a political calculation, not a military one. As a political decision, was it a mistake?

Jordan lost control of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and East Jerusalem as a result of the 1967 war. Of course, we cannot know what would have happened had Jordan not joined the Arab coalition in 1967. Conceivably, the monarchy could have been overthrown. Or, given some Israeli statements and actions between 1948 and 1967, especially the Israeli diversion of the Jordan River and the Israeli raid on the West Bank village of Sam'u in 1966, Israel might have expanded into the West Bank and East Jerusalem anyway. Loss of territory is a disaster; but in this case the disaster of the 1967 war has fallen mainly on the Palestinians and Israel rather than on Jordan, at least so far.

Tal begins his tale in 1955 as Jordan shifted from British support to American, and King Hussein came into his own through the crises of the 1956 Suez War, a 1957 coup attempt in Jordan, and the 1958 overthrow of his cousin's monarchy in Iraq. This was a period of great excitement in the Arab world, and much hope. British and French-created governments collapsed and new governments began to build the bases of economic and social reform, and of their own political hegemony, in the shape of limiting land ownership and protecting trade and industry. Such did not happen in Jordan, however. There, "the cohesion of its national security establishment" (p. 125) outflanked potential political upheaval and made abrupt social and economic change unnecessary.

Tal's analysis rests on a description of the national security establishment and thus of the revolving door of office holding in Jordan. Yet, while individuals, or great men as they used to be called, are important in shaping history's course, so, too, is structure. It is notable that the countries that were subject to revolutions, civil wars, and coups d'état in the 1950s and 1960s (Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon) were populous

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states with important urban centers and an educated elite, while the states that did not go through such upheaval—Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and the other Persian Gulf states—had none of these attributes. The Jordanian monarchy faced a civil war in 1970 that was a direct result of new Palestinian displacement in 1967, but the civil war did not topple it.

Since Tal bases his analysis on secondary sources and United States and British diplomatic correspondence, his assumptions will be familiar to all: Jordan in the 1950s and 1960s, like the Arab world, was torn between moderates and radicals. Moderates engaged in reform; radicals engaged in rampant Arab nationalist and socialist rhetoric. Jordan's monarchy was traditional (although it was only thirty-five years old in 1957) and moderate; Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser and his ilk in Syria and Iraq were radical and threatened Western interests. The creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964 at Nasser's behest, and with King Hussein's acquiescence, was a mistake that led to the incompatibility of Palestinian and Jordanian aims. These assumptions cannot be sustained with what we know now, and even in the face of what we knew then. How radical was an Egyptian government that achieved the withdrawal of British troops by negotiation and ruthlessly suppressed its own internal Communist Party even though it bought arms and advice from the Soviet Union? How moderate or reformist was a Jordan that in moments of national reconciliation had thousands of political prisoners to release as a good will gesture? How compatible were Palestinian and Jordanian aims given that Palestinians had been evicted from their homes and lands and wished to return while Jordanians had not and wanted to hold on to what they had?

These assumptions lend the book a quaint tone. 1967 was certainly a disaster, but its full brunt has been borne by Palestinians, Lebanese, and Israelis. On a purely Jordanian scale of logic, perhaps King Hussein's decision to join the Arab coalition in 1967 has not proved to be such a mistake after all.

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DAVID S. POWERS. *Law, Society, and Culture in the Maghrib, 1300–1500.* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 267. $60.00.

By means of a detailed and multifaceted treatment of selected legal cases, David S. Powers, in a thought-provoking study, explores the application of Islamic law in fourteenth and fifteenth-century North Africa, during the Marīnid period (614–869/1217–1465). Powers's book depicts and analyzes the roles of and relationships among the various participants in the legal process (the litigants and their witnesses, the *qāḍī*, the *muftī*, and the ruler) and the complex ways in which legal principles were brought to bear in actual cases that frequently involved not only the material well-being of the parties, but also their status and reputation in the larger community. Powers's study supplements his previous research on the work of the *muftī*, continues his commentary on the conclusions reached by earlier theoreticians of Islamic law (most notably Max Weber and Joseph Schacht), and advances the growing scholarly discourse among historians and anthropologists (for example, Lawrence Rosen, Brinkley Messick, Muhammad Khalid Masud, and Powers himself) on the workings of Islamic law in specific contexts. In response to the views expressed in some earlier works of scholarship, Powers employs his case studies not only to establish that "creative jurisprudence" (p. 51) indeed occurred in Islamic societies after the fourth/tenth century, but to convey how it occurred, and to show, furthermore, that while extralegal considerations certainly played a role in the thinking of judges and jurisconsults, these specialists consistently worked to ascertain the facts of the cases brought before them, to assess the evidence submitted to them by the parties, and to render their judgments and opinions on the basis of the pertinent legal principles.

The heart of Powers's book lies in six case studies drawn from the vast collection of *fatwā*s known as the *Miʿyār al-muʿrib* (completed in 901/1496), compiled by the *muftī* Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī (834–914/1430–1508) and apparently intended to serve as a practical resource for judges and other legal specialists. Al-Wansharīsī spent the latter phase of his life compiling the *Kitāb al-Miʿyār*, for which he transcribed some six thousand *fatwā*s composed by hundreds of *muftī*s from Andalusia, the Maghrib, and Ifriqiya over a period of close to half a millennium; the jurisconsult also included several *fatwā*s of his own. While most *fatwā*s in al-Wansharīsī's collection have been substantially edited, Powers has taken for his case studies a number of "primary" *fatwā*s, preserved complete with their specific identifying information and transcriptions of other relevant legal documents. The cases cover a wide range of legal topics (a disputed claim to paternity; an accusation of fornication levelled against a prominent, if somewhat notorious, jurist; a dispute between two villages over water rights; a contested inheritance; an accusation of slander against a number of *sharīf*s; and a dispute over transferance of ownership [*tawlīj*]). In his treatment of these cases, Powers illuminates the legal and the social issues at stake: he presents the appropriate legal principles and their sources; he discusses the references made by judges and *muftī*s to earlier, parallel cases; and he shows how the legal specialists weighed the various legal and extralegal factors in their handling of these matters. Powers skilfully places each case in the context of larger developments in Maghribi society under the Marīnids—most notably, the growth of the Mālikī *madhhab*, the increasing influence and status of *sharīf*s, and the growth of Sufism. In this way, he sheds light on the explicit and implicit factors that conditioned spe-

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cialists' applications of legal principles, and also on the place of law in the larger historical transformations of the period.

Among the most interesting characteristics of the cases analyzed by Powers is the frequency with which *muftīs* disagreed with one another over the optimal outcome of a dispute. As Powers demonstrates, the issuing of opinions that diverge in their readings of the pertinent authoritative texts and in their proposals for resolution suggests the degree to which legal norms could be and were contested within Maghribi communities under the Marīnids. It is often the implicit assumptions that shape the positions taken by the litigants at the outset of a dispute, the legal debates among judges and *muftīs* as the case unfolds, and the eventual decision-making process that are as striking as the explicit criteria invoked, and Powers is adept at bringing these unstated assumptions to the foreground, thus further illuminating our understanding of the society that produced the cases and the legal responses to them. Additionally, Powers addresses the perspectives of other scholars, such as Rosen, whose view that the *qāḍī*, in rendering judgment, aims largely to effect a restoration of the social relationships of the litigants Powers seeks to qualify significantly through his analysis of actual cases (drawn, of course, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries rather than from the latter half of the twentieth century, during which time Rosen carried out his own research in Morocco).

While it could be held that seven *fatwās* drawn from a single collection constitute a small sample forced here to bear a disproportionately heavy burden of interpretation, such a view would, in my opinion, overlook the depth of the insight into the legal culture of Marīnid Morocco, and the society that molded and was molded by that culture, that Powers's study so ably provides. The reader may not find Powers's assessment of all elements of a given case convincing, but the author does not overstate his fundamental conclusions, which he advances, moreover, with copious references to additional *fatwās* recorded in al-Wansharīsī's collection and elsewhere, and also to a variety of legal and other types of sources. Each chapter interweaves the voices of the litigants and legal specialists themselves, Powers's contextualization of each case in the larger framework of earlier and contemporary legal discourse, and Powers's stimulating commentary on the explicit and implicit dimensions of the case. Accordingly, for all the particularity of the six cases presented, Powers is able to deepen significantly the scholarly discussion of the professional activity of the *muftī* and the use of *fatwās* under the Marīnids. The result is an exceptionally valuable addition to the scholarly literatures on the workings of Islamic law, on the one hand, and on the social history of the Maghrib on the other.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

PETER MARK. *"Portuguese" Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 208. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

The West African coastal region called Senegambia reaches from the Senegal River southward to below The Gambia, but the adjacent area now known as Guinea-Bissau is also addressed in this book by Peter Mark, so the study actually takes in the entire region known to specialists as the Upper Guinea Coast. During the period of Portuguese commercial dominance that began with fifteenth-century seaborne exploration, Portuguese settlers called *lançados* settled along the coast as far south as Sierra Leone and established themselves as middlemen and coastal traders. The *lançados* (some of whom were Jews fleeing religious persecution) married African women, and although by the early sixteenth century Portuguese commercial supremacy was in decline, the linguistically and culturally diverse indigenous populations had been joined by the offspring of the Luso-African marriages. The latter called themselves "Portuguese," and Mark discusses how their Luso-African identity was first articulated and then transformed over time according to prevailing Senegambian cultural values. The author is careful to explain that he places "Portuguese" in quotationmarks, only to differentiate between Luso-Africans and Lusitanians of Europe. His research revealed that the most fundamental defining characteristic of being "Portuguese" was to engage in commerce, and that the second was language, with Portuguese being spoken early on but later evolving into Crioulo, which is a hybrid of Portuguese and local linguistic influences.

Religion was another defining characteristic of "Portuguese" identity, with the Luso-Africans being basically Catholic while engaging in an amalgam of Christian, Jewish, and African practices (p. 16). Mark is doubtless aware that Islam should be included in this mix; in fact, he draws the connection in a later discussion of religious syncretism (p. 87). Manding traders from the western sudanic hinterland who were at least nominally Muslim were settling and intermarrying in the area from very early on. They brought their own blend of Islamic ideology and animist belief, the more subtle signs of which can sometimes be difficult to recognize within the archival sources. At one point in his discussion of local religious syncretism, Mark cites the Catholic missionary Father Barreira, an important eyewitness source, who in 1607 complained about the "heathen" behavior of "Christian Blacks" who were making offerings to *chinas*. Barreira also reported that when some local people saw images of Christ or the Virgin Mary, they referred to them as "white man's *china*" (pp. 16–17). Mark identifies *chinas* as "local shrines" (p. 152, n. 29), but it seems certain that what Father Barreira was hearing when he recorded the word was *jinna* (Arabic *jinn*, English

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"genie"), a term borrowed from Islamic tradition by western sudanic Muslims including the Manding, who use it generically for all manner of local deities and spirits.

The final standard of identity for membership in the "Portuguese" communities of Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau was material culture, with the Luso-Africans being identified by the distinctive style of their dwellings. Three of the six chapters are framed around exhaustively researched architectural history beginning with the sixteenth century. Regarding southern Senegambia and the Bissau region, for example, Mark describes how architecture was both a symbolic and a subjective marker of identity, serving as an instrument of self-definition, on the one hand, and externally imposed definition on the other.

The author mentions that, when he began this study, he intended to focus only on the history of precolonial Senegambian architecture. As he got more deeply into the subject, however, he became increasingly interested in the broader history of the Luso-African community whose members defined themselves almost exclusively by cultural and social parameters, steadfastly asserting that they were "whites," regardless of their skin color (p. 147). Mark handles this potentially thorny subject extremely well, revealing the intricacies of local models of identity (e.g. religious, occupational, marital) that he found were characterized by fluidity, in which individuals and sometimes entire communities assumed different identities at different times (pp. 144–45).

Ultimately, then, this book's unifying theme is the association of West African architecture with issues of cultural interaction. From Mark's basic discussion of identity as it is reflected in people's dwellings, with style and building technology responding to challenges of local climates and environments, he expands the scope of his inquiry to encompass the complexities of intergroup relations and patterns of cultural assimilation among Africans, Europeans, and Afro-Europeans on the Upper Guinea Coast. He acknowledges the French anthropological theory of *métissage* as useful for describing the formation of cultures produced from interaction and assimilation between multiple societies, but rejects it as too vague for use as an analytical category (pp. 82–83). Thus, in his chapter on "Mixed Manners" in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Gambia, Mark prefers to explore "the complexity and intimacy of cultural interactions . . . [that] are reflected in the existence of fluid and dynamic sociocultural identities that challenge any clearly delimited classification" (p. 88). Drawing on illuminating examples from both archival sources and extensive firsthand fieldwork, Mark reveals that physical characteristics were, in the final analysis, irrelevant to social and economic position and had little or no bearing on whether one was considered "Portuguese." Ultimately, the evidence of religious syncretism, marriage alliance, social etiquette, and material culture reveals that it was social status and occupation rather than biological heritage or physical appearance that were the primary markers of being "white" and "Portuguese" (pp. 89–91).

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GEORGE E. BROOKS. *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century.* (Western African Studies.) Athens: Ohio University Press and Oxford: James Currey. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 355. Cloth $65.00, paper $26.95.

George E. Brooks has written an original and informative study about "Eurafricans" in western Africa, specifically the Upper Guinea Coast region, from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. The Eurafricans, settled residents in this part of Africa, were initially Portuguese and "New Christians," who reverted to Judaism in their new domicile, but later they included Luso-Africans, Franco-Africans, and Anglo-Africans. The author's purpose is to describe and analyze the activities of this population in an area covering 1500 kilometers, from Senegambia to Sierra Leone, or, more aptly, from Maine to Florida. The book has ten chapters, an introduction, fourteen well-drawn maps, a comprehensive bibliography of archival, published, and unpublished sources, and a helpful index.

Brooks introduces a multiform reality, interweaving social and economic (commercial) history with environmental history, historical climatology, religion, and gender. Chapters one and two provide detailed information about the region's ecological zones, its political, cultural, and social ("human") geography, and its long-distance trading networks. Peoples were organized in spaces over a wide area that were defined by exchanges, political organizations, institutions, religious beliefs, shared languages, mythologies, and legends. The existence of these organized spaces made it possible for the Portuguese and later European competitors to conduct their commercial activities, but, at the same time, they had to accommodate themselves to prevailing local practices and relationships. Three exchange networks—sea, river, and land-based—are described in some detail. In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, new social groups came to be associated with them. They included Portuguese men who married African women and settled in African communities (*lançados*), Portuguese-speaking Africans (*grumetes*), and Luso-Africans. These different groups form Brooks's earliest Eurafricans.

Chapter four examines the era of droughts and famines that affected the Upper Guinea population from about 1630 until about 1860. This period also witnessed the rapid expansion of Dutch, English, and French trade in Upper Guinea and the relative decline of Portuguese commercial activity, the growth of Atlantic slaving voyages, and the rise of military elites

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like the *nyanchos* of the Kaaba Empire. Chapter five offers a fascinating account of the rise to prominence of Luso-African women (*nharas* in Crioulo; *senoras* in English; *signare* in French) in Senegambia after the mid-seventeenth century. They acquired wealth and influence from their skills as traders and translators and developed a distinctive lifestyle. French and English traders, unlike their Portuguese predecessors, cohabited with Luso-African rather than African women. Luso-African women had wider kinship networks than African women, and, in contrast to the latter, they spoke Crioulo, the lingua franca of commerce. Since Europeans suffered high mortality rates in western Africa, the *nharas* frequently married more than once, improving their commercial opportunities and property holdings with each change of partner.

Chapter six gives a detailed description of European trade with the Kaaba Empire and Sierra Leone (Serra Leoa) in the second half of the seventeenth century. Chapter seven, which is rather short, describes the fortunes of the Second Cacheu Company (1690–1706), a Portuguese trading company operating with varying degrees of success in Upper Guinea during the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Chapter eight describes in much detail and at great length the expanding Atlantic slave trade of the eighteenth century. Brooks links this development to droughts, famines, and deteriorating economic and social circumstances in the Upper Guinea region. Warfare became more intense and slave raiding more frequent, military and political elites pursued lifestyles of conspicuous consumption, and the rise of Futa Jallon imamate, following a successful jihad of the sword, contributed not only to the spread of Islam but to increased slave exports from the region. Chapters nine and ten look, respectively, at the rise of Franco-African and Anglo-African slave traders who, in the second half of the eighteenth century, expanded their spheres of trade in different parts of the region, thereby supplanting Luso-African traders and middlemen.

Brooks's work is richly documented; this review can only suggest the wealth of information to be found in it. For students of West African history, this work will represent a major historiographical contribution to a neglected field of inquiry. In this reviewer's opinion it is also important for students of the Atlantic slave trade, early modern and world history, the history of European expansion, and African diaspora history. For anyone interested in the interactions of Western Europe and West Africa in the early modern period, this thorough study tells an unforgettable and convincing story.

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RICHARD RATHBONE. *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana 1951–60.* (Western African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press; Accra: F. Reimmer; Oxford: James Currey. 2000. Pp. xi, 176. $19.95.

Throughout Ghana, there are innumerable chiefs of varying levels of authority and configuration. Many of these chiefs are directly descended from rulers who, centuries ago, administered autonomous traditional states. Then, as now, when he appears in ceremonial functions, the chief, especially in southern and central Ghana, is magnificently clothed, bedecked with copious gold jewelry, and surrounded by royal insignia, projecting an image that evokes consummate majesty, tradition, and power.

Yet, as political independence dawned in the immediate postwar period, politicians and scholars alike wondered whether chieftaincy would not in time become as anachronistic as colonialism itself. After all, the processes by which chiefs ruled and the rituals by which their authority was maintained, it was argued, would make the institution antithetical to modernization. Would modernization create a new kind of Ghanaian citizenry for whom chieftaincy would be irrelevant?

Richard Rathbone's book chronicles the processes by which the Convention Peoples' Party government of Kwame Nkrumah systematically assaulted chiefly power to the point that in the course of a mere decade this historic institution of chieftaincy in Ghana was radically altered. Determined to end the fissiparousness of regionalism, Nkrumah's government proceeded on a course aimed at reforming the palpably unsatisfactory local government system, and in the process it severely compromised the authority of traditional rulers.

Rathbone makes a highly significant contribution to our understanding of the domestic political history of Ghana, which is largely incomprehensible without an active consideration of chieftaincy. Heretofore, most scholars of Ghana's recent history have been more fascinated by the glamor of the central epic of Ghana's nationalist triumph—that is, the heroic story of decolonization—to the relative neglect of the less attractive and more complex history of chieftaincy.

First, following the Korsah Commission of 1951, the largely unregulated Native Court system was reformed and renamed local courts, with "chiefly benches" being replaced by paid magistrates. "This," according to Rathbone, "seemed to herald the beginning of the end of chiefly domination of local justice" (p. 50). Simultaneously, chiefs' control over stool revenues was also whittled away. Further, their role in national politics was marginalized by the creation of regional Houses of Chiefs, which could consider only matters referred to them by government ministers or the national Assembly, and even then their role was virtually limited to proffering advice to government.

In the assault on chieftaincy, recalcitrant chiefs such

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as Okyenhene Ofori Atta II were publicly humiliated and ultimately destooled, notwithstanding the stout defense put up by one of Ghana's leading jurists, J. B. Danquah, who was evidently right in asserting that not only were the traditional states over whom the chiefs ruled older than the modern state of Ghana itself, but that the lives of most people were regulated by custom and not solely by national laws. Henceforth, a chief could be so recognized only when he was gazetted, and thus, chiefs could now be legally deposed by government without any recourse to customary law or practice.

Through other constitutional means, the independent power of chiefs was methodically eroded. Any chief who was suspected of being a sympathizer of the National Liberation Movement opposition party lived under fear of destoolment. In the Ashanti Region where the powerful Asantehene traditionally was supreme, the Ashanti Confederacy was reconstructed in 1958, leading to a dilution of the Asantehene's power, and subsequently the Ashanti Lands Bill placed the Kumasi stool lands and their revenues under the direct control of central government.

Much of this, by Rathbone's own admission, is "not a pretty story" (p. 8), but it is one that has to be told nonetheless. In the end, "although independent chieftaincy ... was most assuredly defeated, chieftaincy itself was not dead" (p. 142). Although considerably transformed, the institution of chieftaincy has survived against great odds, in part because chiefs continue to "symbolize place" and "pride in locality"; they occupy a particular niche in the long chain of history (p. 164). In fact, the history and politics of governance in Ghana are considerably enriched by Rathbone's analysis, which provides a particular and powerful context for understanding the nature of Ghana's postindependence political topography, especially that of the rural terrain.

Chieftaincy is inexorably part of Ghana's long history and what makes it distinctive. Local histories may lack the high drama of the politics of national history, yet Rathbone's account is itself full of drama. In some ways a sequel to his *Murder and Politics in Colonial Ghana* (1993), this book is written with characteristic elegance, flair, and fluidity.

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RICHARD J. REID. *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society and Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*. (Eastern African Studies.) London: James Currey; Kampala: Fountain Publishers; Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 274. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

In this ambitious book, Richard J. Reid undertakes the formidable task of examining the material base of Ganda political power. Eschewing elitist and centrist approaches, his goal is to demonstrate how Ganda human and material resources actually were mobilized. In so doing, he provides a huge amount of substance together with a sweeping, often revisionist, analysis of the Ganda historical experience. Emerging from this analysis is a more decentralized and less militarily potent kingdom than has typically been portrayed. While some readers will find Reid's ideas and new directions controversial, the book certainly makes a significant contribution to East African historiography.

After an introduction stating goals and providing a historiographical overview, the book is divided into four parts. The first, a broad survey of the precolonial Ganda economy, features specific chapters on agricultural production, herding and hunting activities, and craft industries. The second part deals with Ganda's human resources, with individual chapters on free labor and slave labor. Part three deals with Ganda commerce and features chapters on domestic and regional exchange and the development of long-distance trade. The final part deals with military and naval matters and comprises chapters on the rise and purported decline of land forces; military organization, tactics, and weapons; and the emergence of Ganda naval power.

The book has many areas of strength. Chapter two, for instance, comprises a remarkably detailed survey of Ganda agriculture and advances a convincing argument that banana production was not nearly as easy, abundant, or certain as it has been typically portrayed. Likewise, the next two chapters, "Herdsmen and Hunters" and "Crafts and Craftsmen," present an intimate picture of a surprisingly diverse domestic economy. Although some readers will find particular aspects contestable, the investigation of slavery in chapter six makes a significant contribution to a neglected area of Ganda history. There is also a short but eloquently written section of chapter three dealing with the importance of water in shaping Ganda identity, a theme more widely (if less poetically) addressed in chapter eleven.

The book is not without faults, however. Methodologically, despite his honest admission of having to rely heavily on essentially Eurocentric sources, Reid inexplicably appears not to have conducted any oral interviews with Ganda informants, which would have given his treatment a stronger African voice. The weakest portion of the book is part four, "War and Peace." This is particularly disappointing since Reid, rightly decrying the lack of attention that has been paid to East African military history, promises to rectify that neglect through a systematic analysis of Ganda warfare. His analysis is built around two main themes: first, that conflict involved not just short-term goals of economic acquisition based on raids but also longer-term strategies of territorial expansion that contributed to processes of state construction; and, second, that the later nineteenth century was actually a time of military decline (rather than the era of martial omnipotence of popular depiction) that induced the bolstering of Ganda naval power.

The first theme was developed in response to outsiders' depictions of African warfare as bloodthirsty,

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irrational, and lacking in the "supposed nobility and higher purpose, never mind the larger strategic aims, of European war" (p. 179). Reid embarks on a determined quest to show that Ganda warfare was just as "rational and imbued with a sense of higher purpose" (p. 179) as that of the West, even to the point that he rejects altogether the term "raid" as descriptive of Ganda military activity. This is misguided. While one trusts that Reid does not mean to imply that Western war was in any sense more "laudable," one is perturbed by the effort to place Ganda practices into a European context. Beyond this, recent studies have convincingly established that conflict involving raiding cycles, often shaped by logistical problems, has in fact been a common form of warfare practiced in many parts of the world. Far from being "underdeveloped," this sort of "raiding war" was every bit as serious and complex as warfare involving large armies, protracted campaigns, and territorial aggrandizement. Despite the author's assertions to the contrary, it has been demonstrated that raiding could indeed effect genuine sociopolitical change. Certainly. it could underpin broad strategic goals, even to the alteration of frontiers. This is not to deny the inherent possibility of Reid's contention that Ganda warfare was waged for long-term as well as short-term goals. Rather, the problem is that he does not adequately demonstrate this: in the couple of dozen specific instances of Ganda conflict he investigates, short-term gains—the plundering of enemies, and even Buganda itself, for booty—are abundantly clear, while even a glimmer of long-term, purportedly "loftier" strategic goals is virtually indiscernible.

With the second main theme, one is again prepared to entertain the suggestion of a late nineteenth-century Ganda military decline, but once more empirical evidence hardly supports such a contention. One wonders, for instance, whether grandiose expeditions against Rwanda and Nyamwezi—never launched—were ever seriously contemplated at all. One of the main illustrations of poor military performance, the war against Vuma in 1875, actually entailed amphibious operations, and so does more to negate the argument for the rise of naval power proposed in the final chapter than to demonstrate any decline in waging land warfare. There are, additionally, distracting problems of substance, such as the unconvincing attempt to relate the development of light throwing spears to Ngoni influences (p. 195) and a description of the firing mechanism of flintlocks (p. 222) that is simply incorrect.

Although these problems do mar the overall success of the book, I hasten to reiterate that there is still much to admire here. Unquestionably, the book suggests refreshingly new approaches to studying centralized states, and certainly it merits the attention of serious students of East African history.

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JOANNA LEWIS. *Empire State-Building: War and Welfare in Kenya, 1925–52.* (Eastern African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press; Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers; Oxford: James Currey. 2000. Pp. xvii, 393. $22.95.

The Kenyan colonial state, although basically a conquest one, was both an event and a process. As an event, it was a revolutionary construct that came into its own through physical and ideological means. As a process, it was an apparatus that transformed, and in turn was itself transformed, by the African societies with which it came into contact. Thus, while in its transforming capacity it created a colonial economy and a colonial society, in the process of transformation it changed from its conquest/pacificationist stance between 1902 and 1920 to a status that at once talked about, on the one hand, mediation among settler, Indian, and African interests and, on the other hand, the protection of native populations under the vaguely defined notion of trusteeship. During the interwar period and beyond, the colonial state moved in quick succession from its self-appointed role of mediator, to a settler-dominated construct that was interventionist in stance when it came to social and economic change in the colony. This story, as nuanced and fascinating as it is, cannot be said to have received the attention it deserves from historians as, say, debates surrounding the Mau Mau war of liberation. This is even the more true when it comes to the debates that informed these changes, the idea of welfare in Britain and its interface with notions of empire-building, trusteeship, and community development in the colony. That is the story that Joanna Lewis sets out to tell in her book.

Although the book has as its canvass the geographical space, Kenya, and a crucial period "flanked on either side by the tail-end of the Depression and the early violence of Mau Mau" to offer a history of administrative thought and practice as "told through the ways in which Europeans tried to engineer social change" (p. 3), its subject matter of necessity leads to a discussion of the ideational arena that informed the end of the British Empire. This is the "history of men and women at work whose labors reflected and affected their times," the men and women who, encouraged "to modernize trusteeship but enjoying little in the way of an extensive state structure or easy access to civil society . . . looked to improve African welfare as metropolitan Britain launched its welfare state." The conspicuous disjuncture between intent and practice notwithstanding, welfare and state-building in Kenya were not only "inexorably intertwined" but also reveal how post-World War II thought and practice became "one of the most enduring legacies of colonial government" (pp. 1–2). This history is told through four "historiographies of Empire" (p. 4): the metropolitan historiography of the importance of World War II; the historiography of metropolitan thought and action; the historiography of gender as a historical dynamic; and the historiography on the late colonial state and its

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centrality to the understanding of "the fate of twentieth-century Africa" (p. 13).

Through her exploration of these historiographies, Lewis shows how, after the war, the Colonial Office increasingly came to pay more attention to African welfare, with specific attention to poor urban living conditions, rural squalor, health, and education.The four "witnesses" to the way war changed the tempo and contents of debates about these developments were Lord Hailey, who grafted Colonial Official thinking "on to a colonial reality that was hitherto opaque and out of London's reach" (p. 88); Margery Perham, the "godmother to the colonial service in the last thirty years of colonial rule" (p. 89) and "university aunt of the colonial service" (p. 362) who not only "dramatized a real crisis in the imperial conscience" (p. 110) but also urged "for an expanded state-building project designed to be Africa's panacea and right" (p. 101); a politically active class of Africans in Kenya who began "to pick up the echoes of Perham's colonial reckoning in impressive and threatening ways"; and the senior officials in Nairobi who, because the preceding three witnesses had testified to and exposed "a fragmenting, unstable vision of how to proceed with the modernization of trusteeship" (p. 111), acknowledged that "social and economic improvements" were crucial to the colonial enterprise while at the same time insisting on "longer timetables plus local autonomy" (p. 120).

Although progress in reform and change began to be realized during the second colonial occupation as technicians, trainers, and professionals were brought in, the net result of all this was that the social reform and engineering envisioned by Perham and the postwar British Labour government slowed down. This was compounded by the growing assertiveness of the interventionist state and by the lack of tangible progress by African political groups agitating for reform. According to Lewis, the latter manifested itself in the lack of influence on the tempo of change by African returnee soldiers, since few of them assumed leadership roles in bodies like local native councils. Furthermore, the contestation between colonial officials over what African welfare or development meant did not help matters. Although these individuals were not opposed to the notion of African self-help, they thought it "difficult to break up the relationship between generalist district officers and their system of control through equally generalist chiefs." To them, "technical expertise never broke free of this subordination which sets the pattern for the rest of century" (p. 155).

The book ends with the Mau Mau rebellion, and with a generalized overview of how community development was not only accepted policy but also a panacea to Kenya's problems. That this incredible story ends in 1952 is disturbing, given the author's promise in the introduction of the book that it is "a history of how contemporary development practice has its roots in the colonial period" (pp. 1–2). Taking the story further and anchoring it in, say, the all-important 1954 Swynnerton Plan for land reform in Kenya would have been better. But this must perhaps await for a sequel to which any student of the British Empire and colonial state-building must look forward with great anticipation. Lewis is also silent on the role/place of Christian missions in the unfolding drama, and on liberal settlers who envisioned a multiracial society in Kenya. But these are quibbles that in no way diminish the scholarship that went into the research and writing of the book. It should not only go a long way in filling a gap in modern Kenyan historiography but will be a must read for students of empire and colonial state-building, as well as for African leaders as they challenge colonial legacies on notions of development and seek new development paradigms for their countries.

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E. S. ATIENO ODHIAMBO and JOHN LONSDALE, editors. *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority and Narration*. (Eastern African Studies.) London: James Currey; Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers; Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 306. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

A thousand words can never do justice to this tremendous collection, so I will state at the outset that it is a must read. This book is not just about Mau Mau, or even Kenya. By comparison and implication, it addresses the issues of modern African states that were forced to follow the incredibly inappropriate European nation-state model as their only option to join the global world. In their introduction, editors E. S. Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale argue that even the European nations were neither "natural" nor "historically inevitable" (p. 2). As a book addressing many of the complexities of the African state and ethnicity, this collection provides new approaches, skillful writing, imaginative topics, and in-depth analyses on new dimensions and complexities of decolonization and nationalism.

This book suffers slightly from its mixed purposes, which somewhat undermine organizational coherence. They include Lonsdale, and Odhiambo's (and Bruce Berman's) long-term project to recover much of the still-hidden history of Kenya's statehood; new dissertation revelations; portions from upcoming, intensive book-length projects; new printed and oral sources for Mau Mau; and new questioning of the centrality of Mau Mau in the national agenda.

How do we convey the history of Kenya's nationalism, fifty years later, and what does it mean to uncover the tormented memories, legal documents, pamphlets, hymns, printed reactions, and British and Mau Mau military histories? Odhiambo chastises historians for allowing the continued presentation of a single nationalist story—the constitutionalist version that continues to be taught in Kenya schools—when in fact there were many nationalisms. Bethwell Ogot agrees as he skillfully uncovers many Kenyans who worked tirelessly,

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often at their peril, for Kenya's nationalist agenda. Ogot faults Jomo Kenyatta for transforming the nationalist dream that he originally seemed to support into upholding a greater imagined Kikuyu society (p. 11).

Marshall S. Clough explores long-term contests for memory of Mau Mau. He masterfully takes us through crises of Mau Mau memory in Kenya since independence, showing the several occasions when it threatened political stability. Many have "called for historical amnesia in the interests of national consensus" (p. 252), but Clough shows that this is unlikely to happen. Kenyans want to remember what they fought for, although they would rather not remember the hunger, the pain, the repression, the prisons, the loss of family, land, and dignity, or the realities of civil war. Still, evoking Mau Mau can threaten any government.

In Kenya and Britain, how were words and symbols used to legitimize or undermine localized efforts or to interpret Mau Mau more generally? Derek Peterson reveals how the Independent School community in Nyeri thought their support of Mau Mau to be a civilizing mission. They used record books, letters, identity cards, flags, and other forms of writing to "imagine a sovereign state" (p. 76) superior to that of the British. They saw themselves engaged in a war determined to protect the moral order and to stave off sorcery and violence (p. 93). Cristiana Pugliese, in a first attempt to assess Kikuyu pamphlets and songs written in the seven years prior to the Emergency, discovered that the pamphlets show somewhat uncompromising "strands of Kikuyu thought" (p. 117), each stressing primary goals such as the desire for land, the demonstration of Westernized skills, and the need for specific Kikuyu nationalism. Hymns masked these differences and provided a "unity of mind and purpose" that did not in fact exist (p. 117). Joanna Lewis shows how the press in Britain sensationalized the Mau Mau conflict and, in so doing, contributed to the popular view that empire was costly and nasty: "the value of empire was by no means self-evident to the postwar public" (p. 246). Using articles from the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror*, she shows how extensively these papers conveyed empire news, to the point that many readers felt themselves to be conversant in the dialogue about decolonization.

James Ogdue's look at "Ngugi's Mau Mau's" shows how Ngugi wa Thiong'o struggled with the contradictions of the Mau Mau story over time and changed it from an old narrative of the nation to a new one of liberation (p. 270). More recently, Ngugi has shifted again to pair people's present struggles with national issues as he continues to view family and home as things the state should protect. This resonates with Lonsdale's examination of "Authority, Gender and Violence," whereby he shows Kikuyu explanations for instability through metaphors of hunger, food, and greed. Mau Mau tore apart Kikuyu society: youth were taking charge, yet both Christianity and Kikuyu ancestral religion facilitated differences in power and wealth. Much of the struggle came to center on gendered transformations. Women allowed as fighters in the forests created new problems and new rules. Wives and daughters in the villages had massive responsibilities to nourish villagers and warriors, while struggling in their village "prisons" under the eyes (and sometimes brutality) of the Home Guard. Ultimately, Lonsdale argues, the fighters had "made it impossible for the British to rule as they had done before" (p. 69), and "If, as Mathenge said, 'Home is the starting point,' then it was marriage, not status of forest veteran, that was decisive to the fighters' future reputations" (p. 70).

Caroline Elkins illuminates the serious implications of the long-term civilian battleground (as distinct from prisons and detention camps) even further, showing how the subsequent war was played out in the villagization program. Here, loyalist Kikuyu oversaw the virtual imprisonment of the women and children and did nothing to protect them from violation of their bodies, famine, disease, loss of homesteads, death from beatings, and the total undermining of Kikuyu social beliefs (pp. 217–18). The campaign for the "hearts and minds" of the Kikuyu, transplanted from Malaya, drove women, hungry and disheartened, to focus solely on survival. "Only when there was a total obliteration of the Kikuyu domestic landscape in the villages did women begin to confess their oaths and leave Mau Mau" (p. 217).

The military history of the Land and Freedom Army is investigated for the first time in two essays. David A. Percox shows us how the British government used Emergency conditions to arm, not just for the battle, but to ensure that their chosen Kenyatta government would be militarily secure. In the "Battle of Dandora Swamp," David Anderson shows how young and inexperienced some of the "gang" members of Mau Mau were. This British victory, coming toward the end of 1954, was a rare direct confrontation of troops. The trial records of the thirty-seven men and four women reveal weaknesses of the Mau Mau army following operation Anvil, show the desperation of its Nairobi recruiters, and convey the severity of the punishments inflicted even on the very young (p. 172). Kennell Jackson demonstrates the sophisticated complexity and flexibility of the survival craft of the forest fighters, from huge hidden camps to rallying points for common attacks. Since they could "fission off" when necessary, fighters often thwarted their pursuers. Jackson shows careful organization for food, communication, recruitment, and training. They were fast, quiet, and used songs, speeches, and prayers to keep enthusiasm and loyalty high. Ultimately, his argument resounds in most of the other chapters in this book: the skills of the forest fighters allowed them "to delay the British sense of triumph" (p. 186).

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

JOHN J. CZAPLICKA and BLAIR A. RUBLE, editors. *Composing Urban History and the Constitution of Civic Identities*. Assisted by LAUREN CRABTREE. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, and Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 430.

BLAIR A. RUBLE, Living Apart Together: The City, Contested Identity, and Democratic Transitions. JOHN MICHAEL VLACH, Looking Behind the Marble Mask: Varied African American Responses to Difficult History in Washington, D.C. OLGA SEZNEVA, Dual History: The Politics of the Past in Kaliningrad, Former Königsberg. ILYA UTEKHIN, Filling Dwelling Place with History: Communal Apartments in St. Petersburg. GRIGORII V. GOLOSOV, Identity Contests: Local History and Electoral Politics in St. Petersburg. YAROSLAV HRYTSAK and VICTOR SUSAK, Constructing a National City: The Case of L'viv. CYNTHIA PACES, The Battle for Public Space on Prague's Old Town Square. HOWARD GILLETTE, JR., Washington, D.C., in White and Black: The Social Construction of Race and Nationhood. JAMES A. MILLER, Black Washington and the New Negro Renaissance. SIEGFRIED MATTL, Vienna since World War II. BRIAN LADD, Local Responses in Berlin to Urban Decay and the Demise of the German Democratic Republic. PEP SUBIRÓS, Barcelona: Cultural Strategies and Urban Renewal, 1979–1997. JIŘÍ MUSIL, Growth and Stagnation in 20th-Century Prague. OJARS SPARITIS, The Rebirth and Restoration of Administrative, Political, and Cultural Symbols in Riga's Town Hall Square. JOHN J. CZAPLICKA, Urban History After a Return to Local Self-Determination—Local History and Civic Identity.

QUENTIN SKINNER and BO STRÅTH, editors. *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 235. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.00.

QUENTIN SKINNER, States and the Freedom of Citizens. DAVID RUNCIMAN, The Concept of the State: The Sovereignty of a Fiction. GIANFRANCO POGGI, Citizens and the State: Retrospect and Prospect. MAGNUS RYAN, Freedom, Law, and the Medieval State. ALMUT HÖFERT, States, Cities, and Citizens in the Later Middle Ages. MARTIN VAN GELDEREN, The State and Its Rivals in Early-Modern Europe. ANNABEL S. BRETT, The Development of the Idea of Citizens' Rights. JUDITH A. VEGA, Enlightenment's Differences, Today's Identities. LUCIEN JAUME, Citizen and State under the French Revolution. SUDIPTA KAVIRAJ, A State of Contradictions: The Post-Colonial State in India. BO STRÅTH, The State and Its Critics: Is there a Post-Modern Challenge? MICHÈLE RIOT SARCEY, Citizenship and Equality of the Sexes: The French Model in Question. ANDREW DOBSON, States, Citizens, and the Environment.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

BRUNO LEMESLE, editor. *La preuve en justice de l'Antiquité à nos jours*. (Collection Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2003. Pp. 271. €20.00.

SOPHIE DÉMARE-LAFONT, La preuve du viol dans les droits du Proche-Orient ancien. SOAZICK KERNEIS, Le chaudron des parjures: Rome, les barbares et l'ordalie. EGBERT TÜRK, Les intellectuels et la réforme judiciaire d'Henri II Plantagenêt en Angleterre: L'exemple de Gautier Map. BRUNO LEMESLE, Premiers jalons et mise en place d'une procédure d'enquête dans la région angevine (XI^{e}-XIII^{e} siècle). ALAIN PROVOST, Déposer, c'est faire croire? À propos du discours des témoins dans le procès de Guichard, évêque de Troyes (1308–1314). JULIEN THÉRY, *Fama*: L'opinion publique comme preuve judiciaire: Aperçu sur la révolution médiévale de l'inquisitoire (XII^{e}-XIV^{e} siècle). MARTINE CHARAGEAT, Témoins et témoignages en Aragon aux XV^{e}-XVI^{e} siècles). FABRICE VIGIER, En quête de preuves! La publication de monitoires ecclésiastiques dans le diocèse de Poitiers à l'époque moderne. FRÉDÉRIQUE PITOU, L'usage de la preuve au siège ordinaire de Laval au XVIII^{e} siècle. LAURENT FERRON, Prouver le crime de viol au XIX^{e} siècle. FRÉDÉRIC CHAUVAUD, Le sacre de la preuve indiciale: De la preuve orale à la preuve scientifique (XIX^{e} siècle-milieu du XX^{e} siècle). ÉRIC PIERRE and DAVID NIGET, La preuve selon les tribunaux des enfants et des adolescents (1914–1945).

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I am mystified by Kenneth Cmiel's reference to my book, *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights*, as part of a chorus singing with "Panglossian cheer" and telling an "it's getting better" story of human rights ["The Recent History of Human Rights," *AHR* 109 (February 2004): 117–35, 131]. I can only assume that this is a case of judging a book by its cover—or rather, its title.

The book's message is far from Panglossian. After a dispassionate survey of American and British human rights campaigns, I conclude that governments have consistently benefited more than—and sometimes at the expense of—the supposed beneficiaries. Washington administrations have repeatedly reaped rewards from the issue, especially in the domestic arena. Thus Franklin D. Roosevelt invoked human rights to win support for new policies and institutions; Jimmy Carter used the cause as a national pick-me-up at a time of post-Watergate disillusionment; and Bill Clinton and George W. Bush appealed for rights abroad to enhance their moral stature at home. The plight of the persecuted has always come a poor second to political requirements.

The author's assertion that the book belongs to the "it's getting better" school of thought is presumably based on a misunderstanding of the title, *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights* (p. 131). Had he ventured further, he would have realized that it does not refer to the alleviation of suffering but to the status of human rights as a political process. In particular, I argue that, in Western capitals, human rights doctrine has waxed and waned inversely with the Cold War, assuming a prominent role at times when anti-communism lost its momentum. Human rights thus enjoyed a brief but significant ascendancy in the 1940s, was subordinated to anti-communism in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1980s but enjoyed a renaissance during the détente years in the 1970s and again in the present post–Cold War era.

The author goes on to assert that books such as mine fail to take account of "dirty work" in Rwanda and Kosovo or machinations over the International Criminal Court, and that they place too much store by the human rights organizations. He presumably overlooked Chapters 2, 3 and 9, which offer a critical appraisal of international war crimes tribunals (including the ICC and those dealing with crimes in Rwanda and Kosovo), and Chapters 5 and 7, which provide an equally forensic assessment of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and others. Furthermore, the book debunks some of the myths, based on wishful thinking, concerning the evolution of the Universal Declaration (Chapter 1), the legacy of Nuremberg (Chapter 2), and the movement's founding figures (Chapter 4).

As for Cmiel's suggestion that mine is among the "breezier accounts aimed at a popular audience," I make no apology for attempting to make my book accessible to as wide an audience as possible, and I hope my writing avoids the worst excesses of academic prose (p. 131). But breezy or not, it was written to make serious points about the politics of human rights. That is why it is carefully supported by primary source material (some previously unpublished) from the State Department, Foreign Office, and Quai d'Orsay, as well as from Parliamentary, Senate, and House debates and hearings.

Kenneth Cmiel's unsubstantiated assertions do a disservice to those who wish to take a sober look at human rights policy.

KIRSTEN SELLARS
London

Kenneth Cmiel does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

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ERRATA

In the April 2004 issue, the book *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic* was listed incorrectly as edited by two people; it should have been James Horn, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf as editors (review, p. 518). We regret the error, which will be corrected in the annual index.

In Arnold J. Bauer's review of Mimi Sheller's *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (*AHR* 109 [April 2004]: 573–74), the reviewer reports he misquoted the author on page 573. He meant to write, "Sloane's biographers, however, do not mention that the income was produced through slave labor 'with all the attendant coercion, rape and mortality of slaves,'" not "morality." He regrets the error.

LINKS

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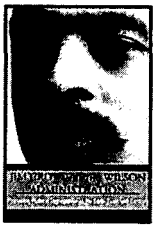
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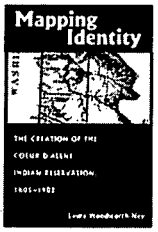
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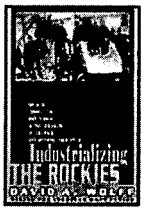
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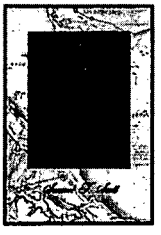
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CALL FOR PAPERS AND PANELS

The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina, will host the 72nd meeting of the Society for Military History. The conference will take place **February 24–27, 2005** in historic Charleston, South Carolina.

The theme of the conference will be the Rise of the Military Profession. The Program Committee seeks papers and panels that deal with the origins and growth of military professionalism. Other related topics might examine military professionalism and its connections to ideology, cultural context, politics, education, and business professionalism. Comparative studies of different nations, services, and branch components are also encouraged. Although the conference will focus on military professionalism, the Program Committee also desires papers and panels dealing with any facet of military history.

Panel proposals must include: 1) A panel coversheet listing the title of the panel and contact information for all members 2) A brief overview of the panel highlighting its scholarly contributions 3) One-page abstracts for each paper 4) A brief vitae for all members of the panel, including chair persons and commentators. Individual paperproposals must include a one-page abstract and brief vitae. The Program Committee welcomes volunteers to serve as chair persons and commentators. Volunteers should submit a vitae with their request. All information related to the conference can be found online at: **http://citadel.edu/history_dept/News%20and%20Announcements/News%20home.htm.**

Deadline for this call for papers is September 1, 2004. The Program Committee desires that all proposals be sent electronically by email attachment in Microsoft Word. If this is not possible, hard copies can be sent.

Submit all materials to:

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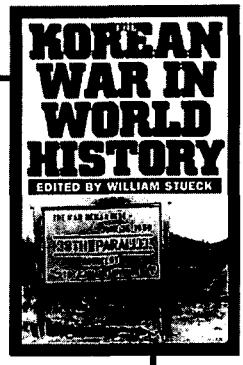
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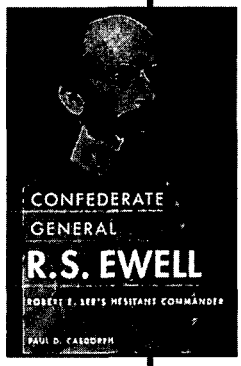
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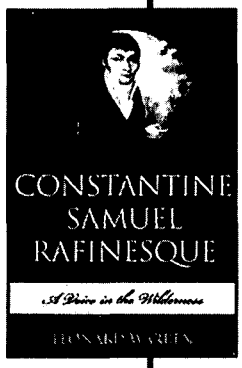
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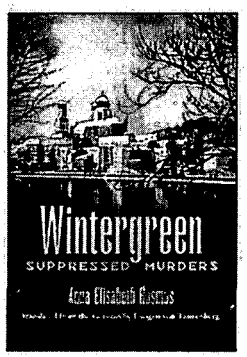
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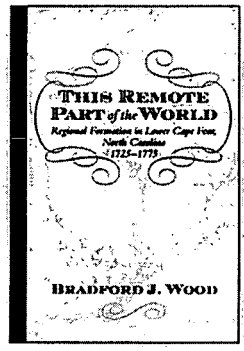
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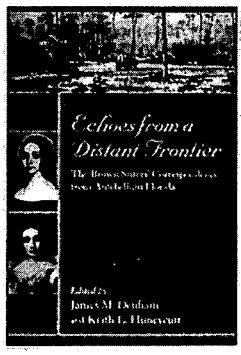
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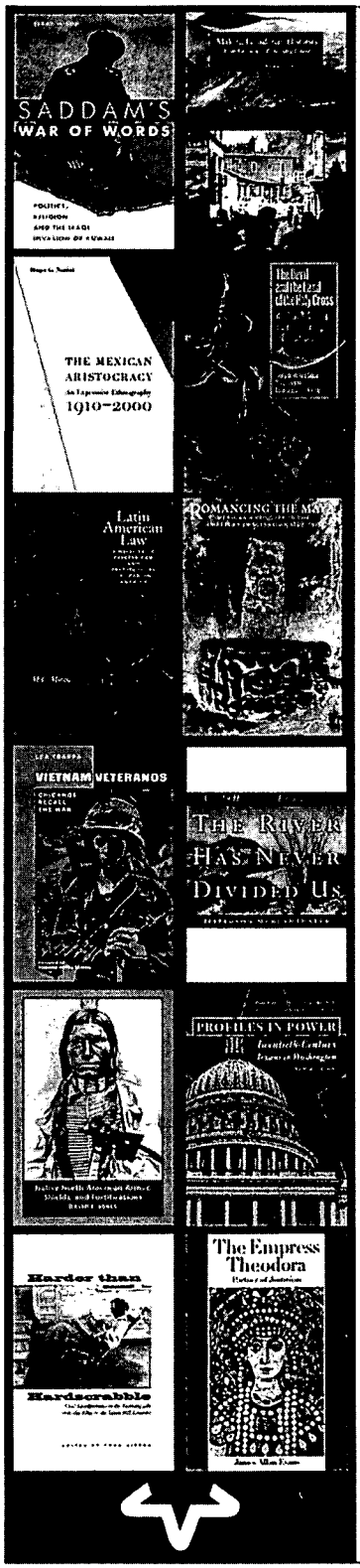
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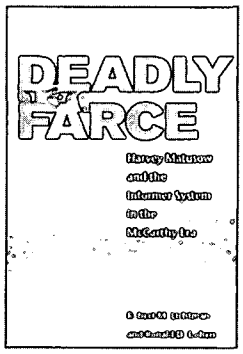
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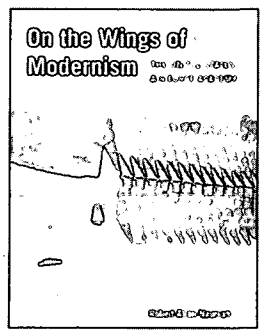
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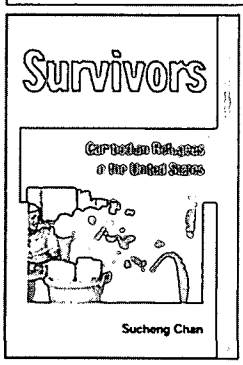
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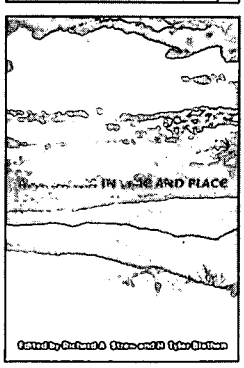
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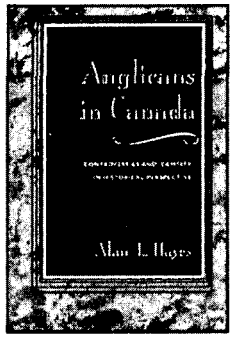
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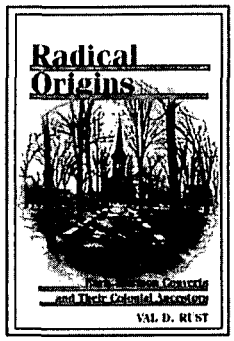
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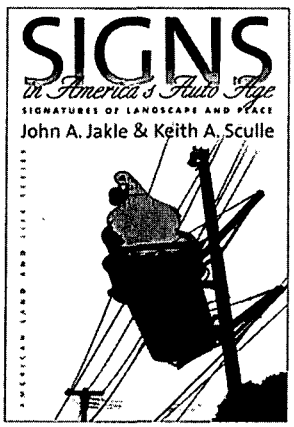
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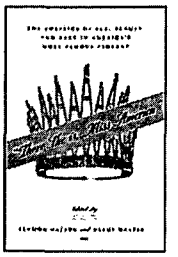
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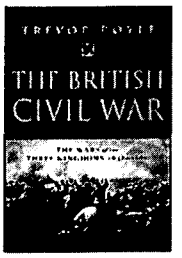
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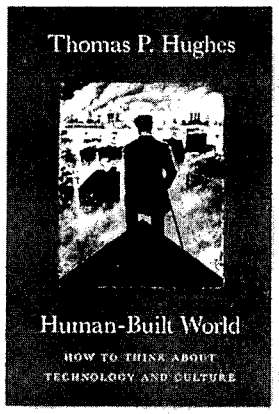
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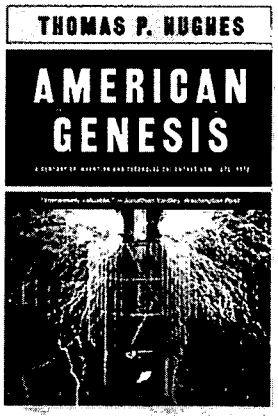
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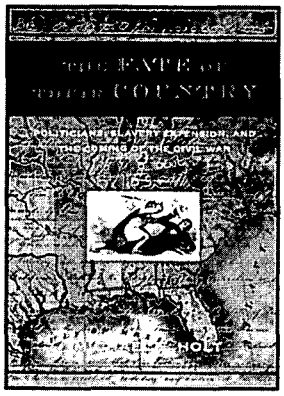


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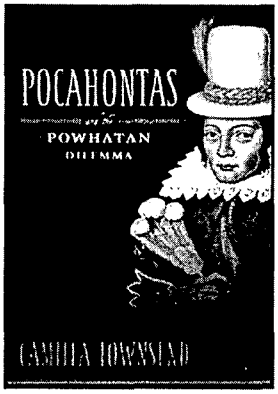
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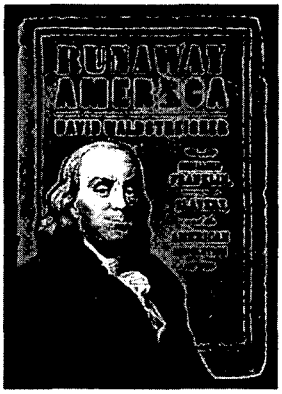
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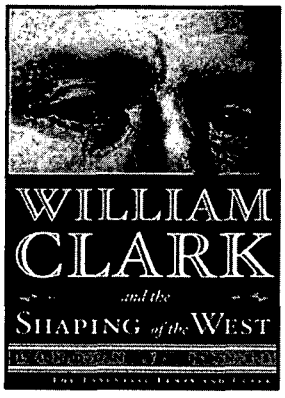
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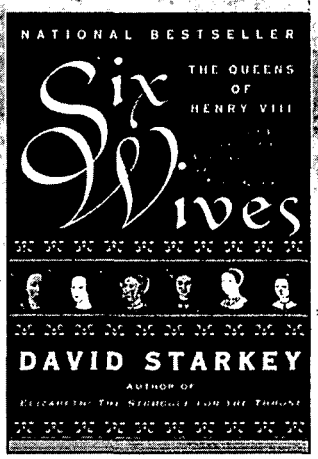
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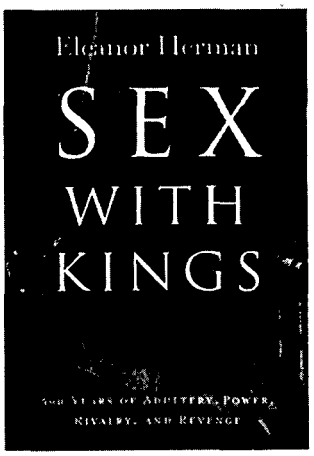
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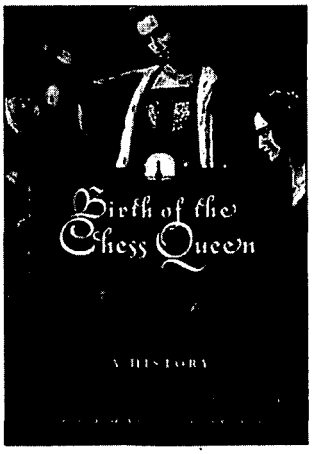
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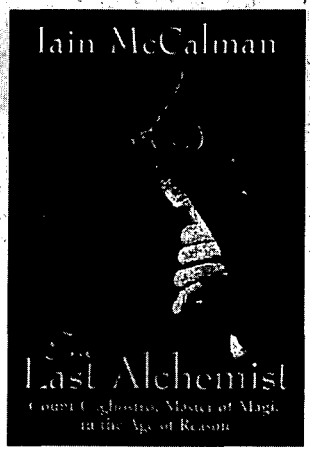
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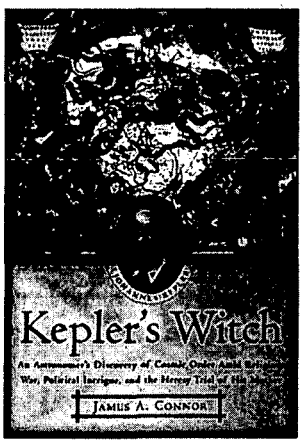
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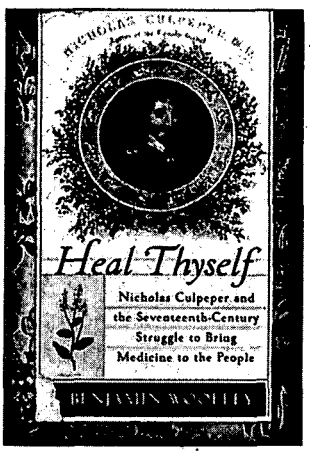
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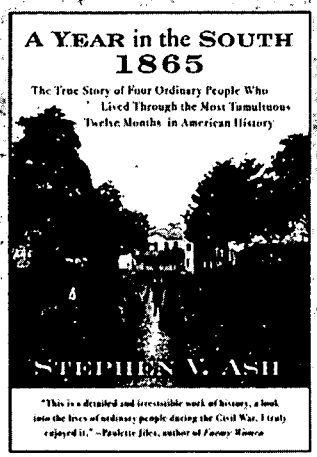
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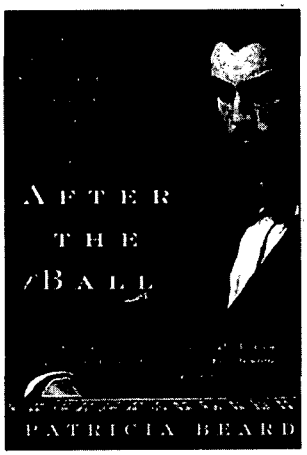
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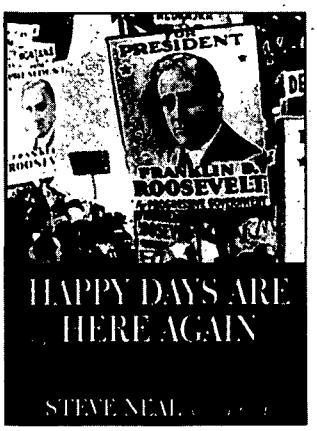
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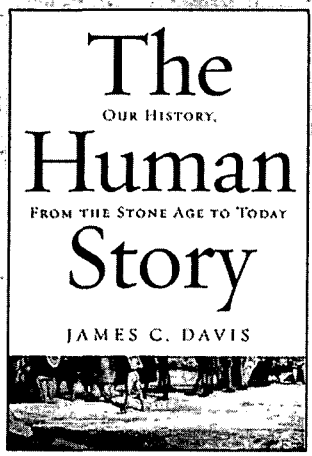
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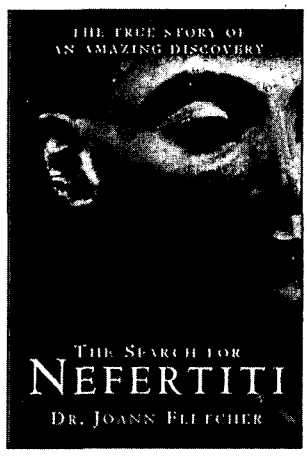
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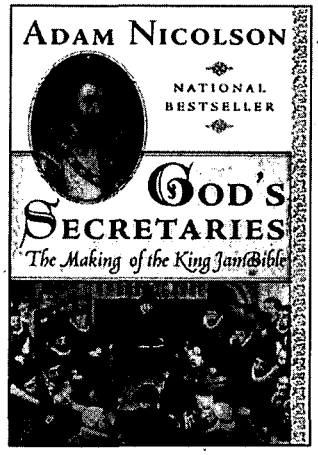
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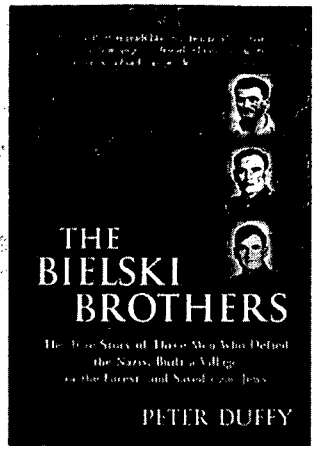
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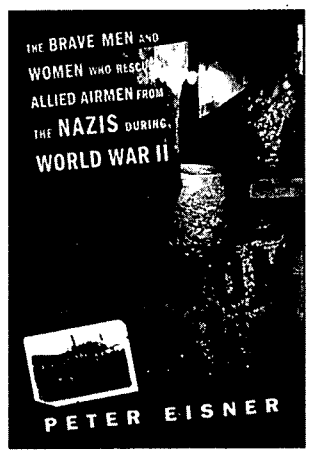
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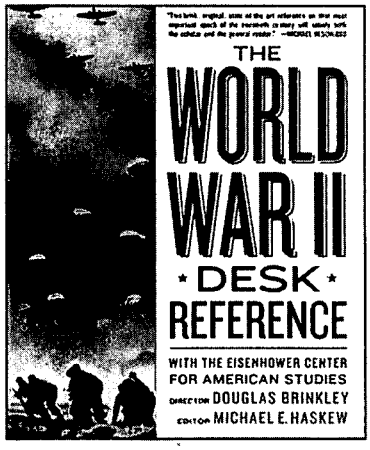
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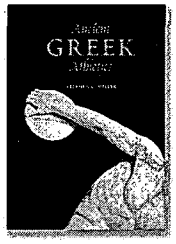


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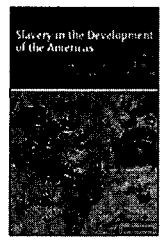
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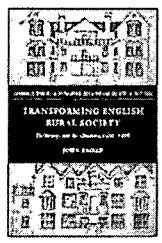
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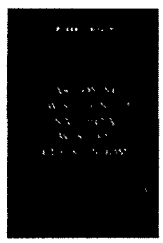
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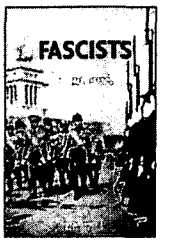
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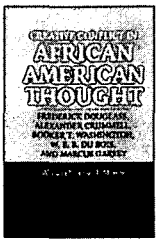
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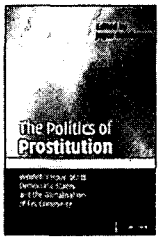
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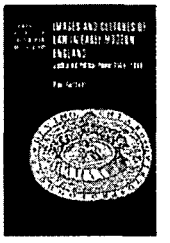
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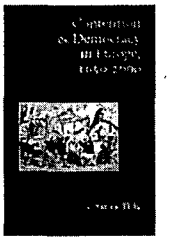
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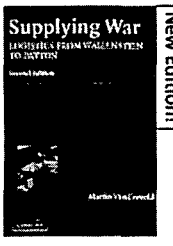
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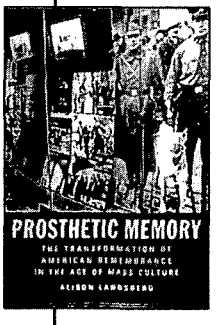
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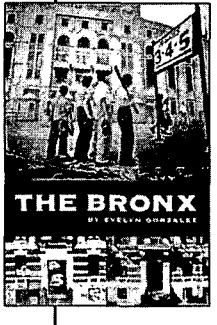


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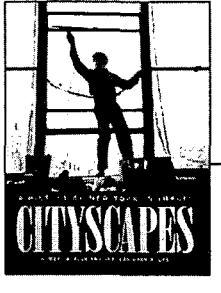
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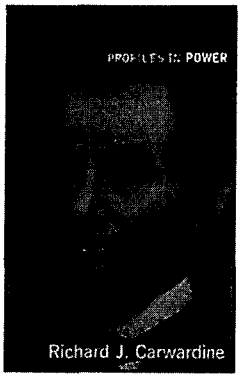
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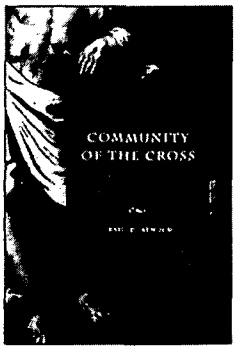
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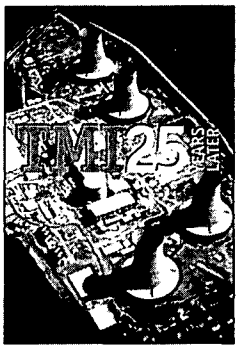
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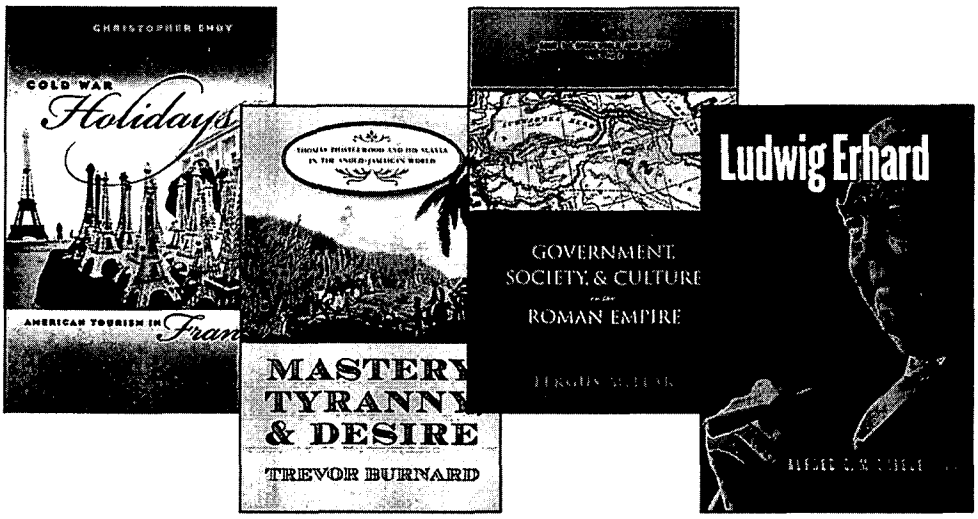
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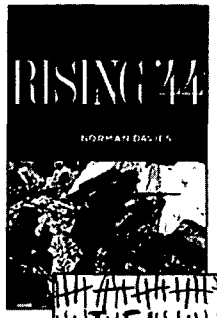
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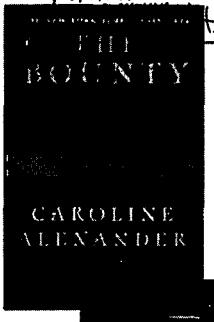
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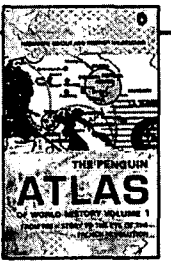


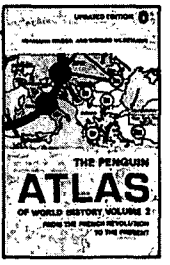
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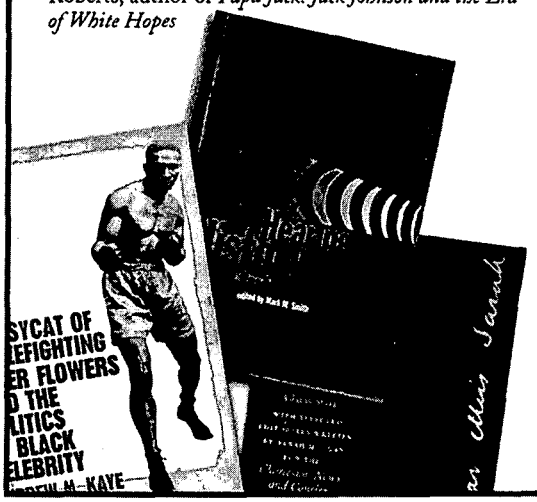
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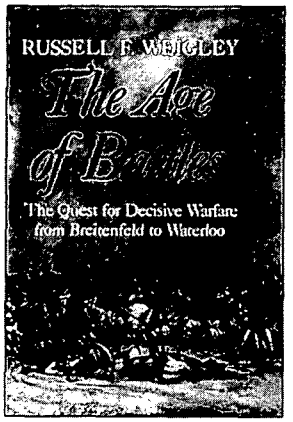
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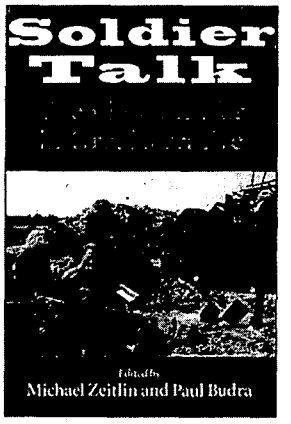
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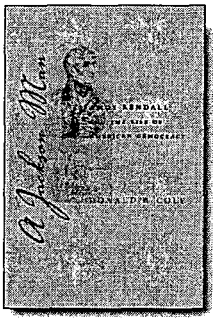
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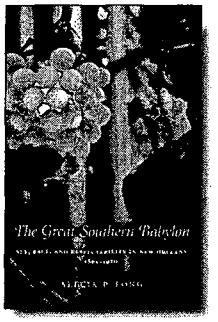
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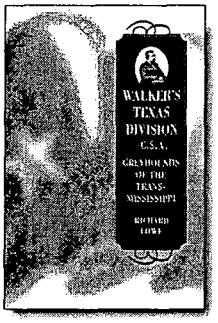
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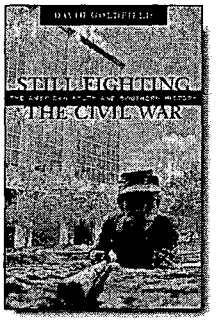
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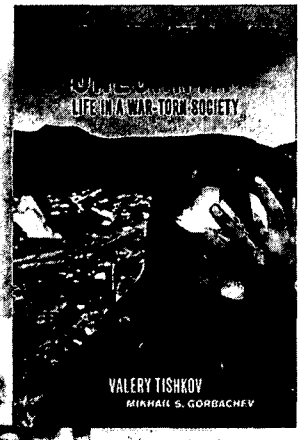
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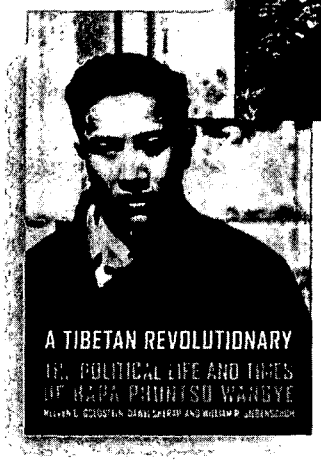
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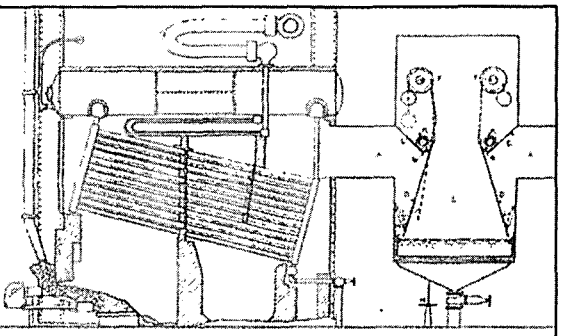
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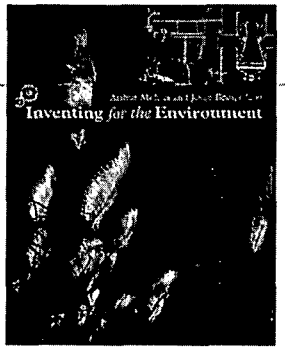
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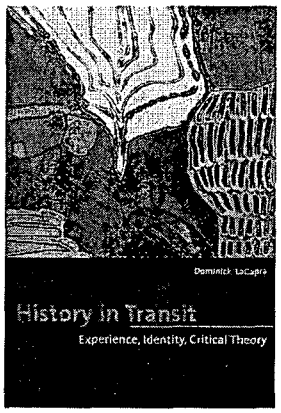
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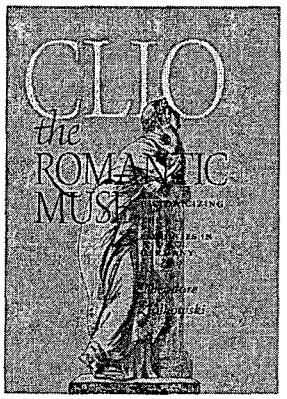
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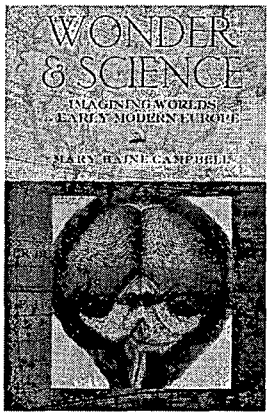
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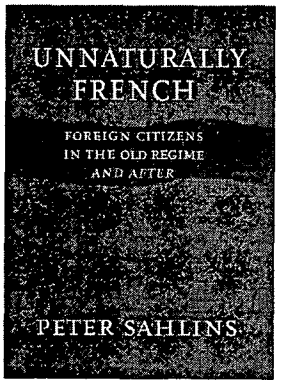
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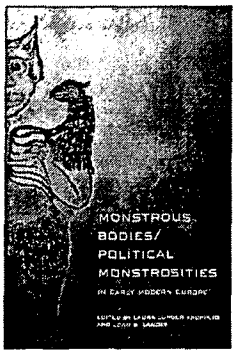
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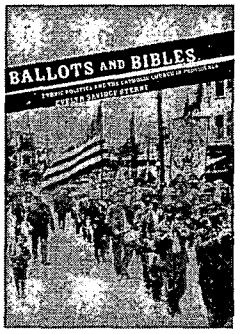
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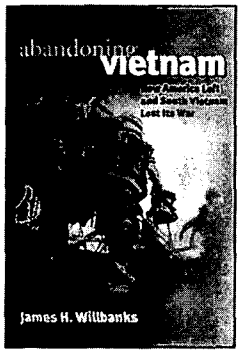
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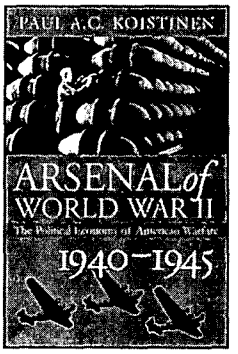
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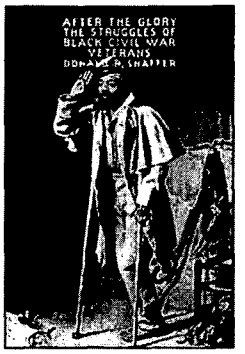
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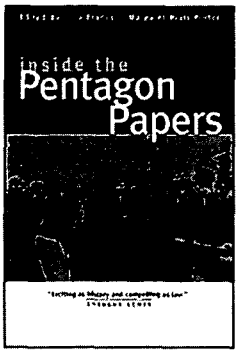
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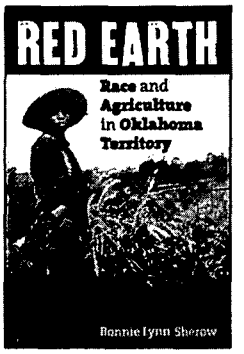
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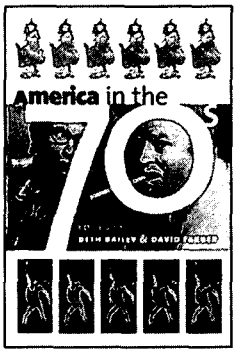
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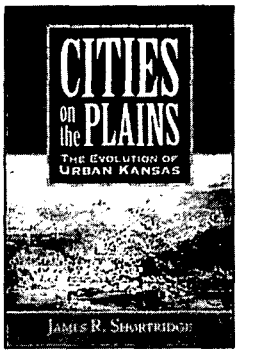
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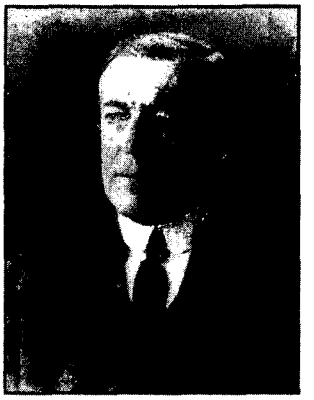
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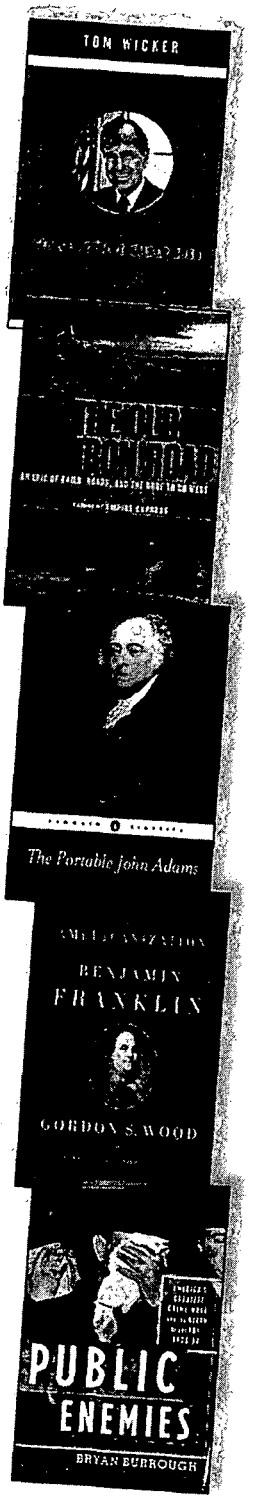
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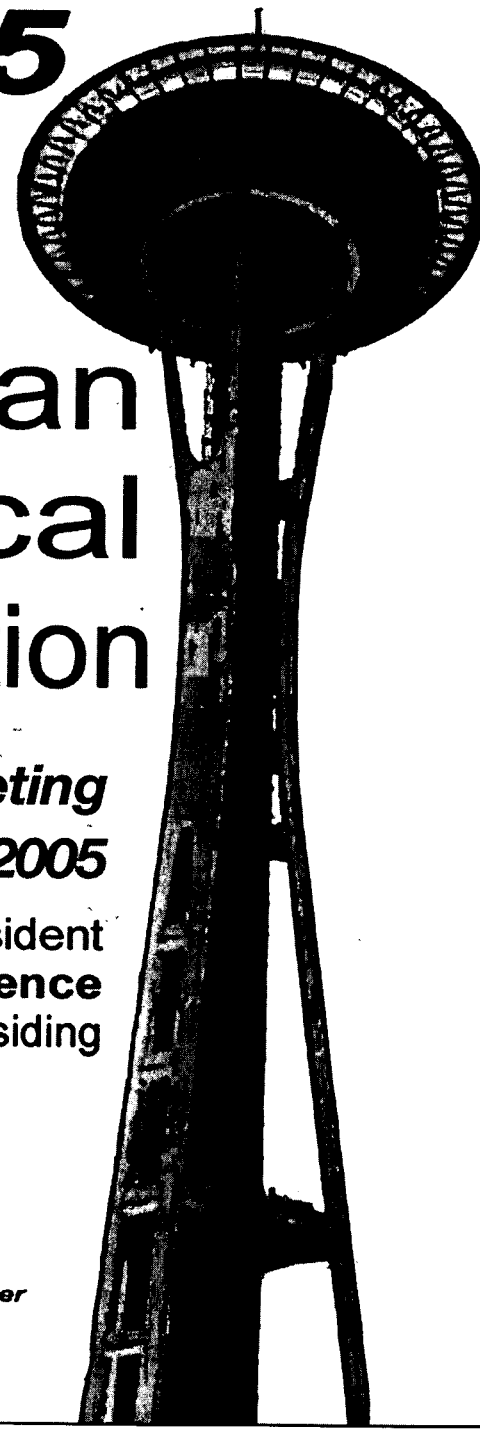
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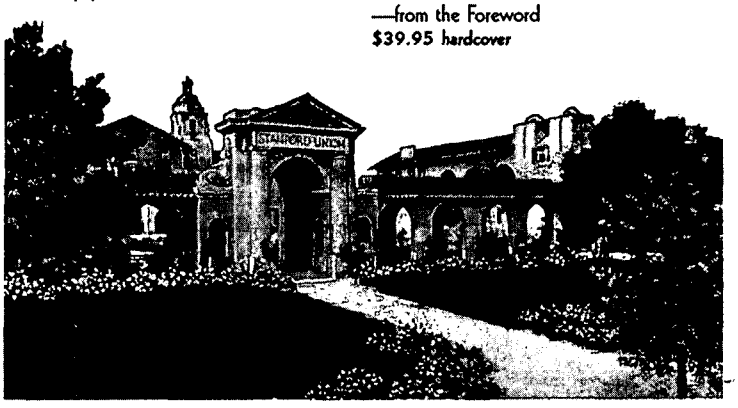
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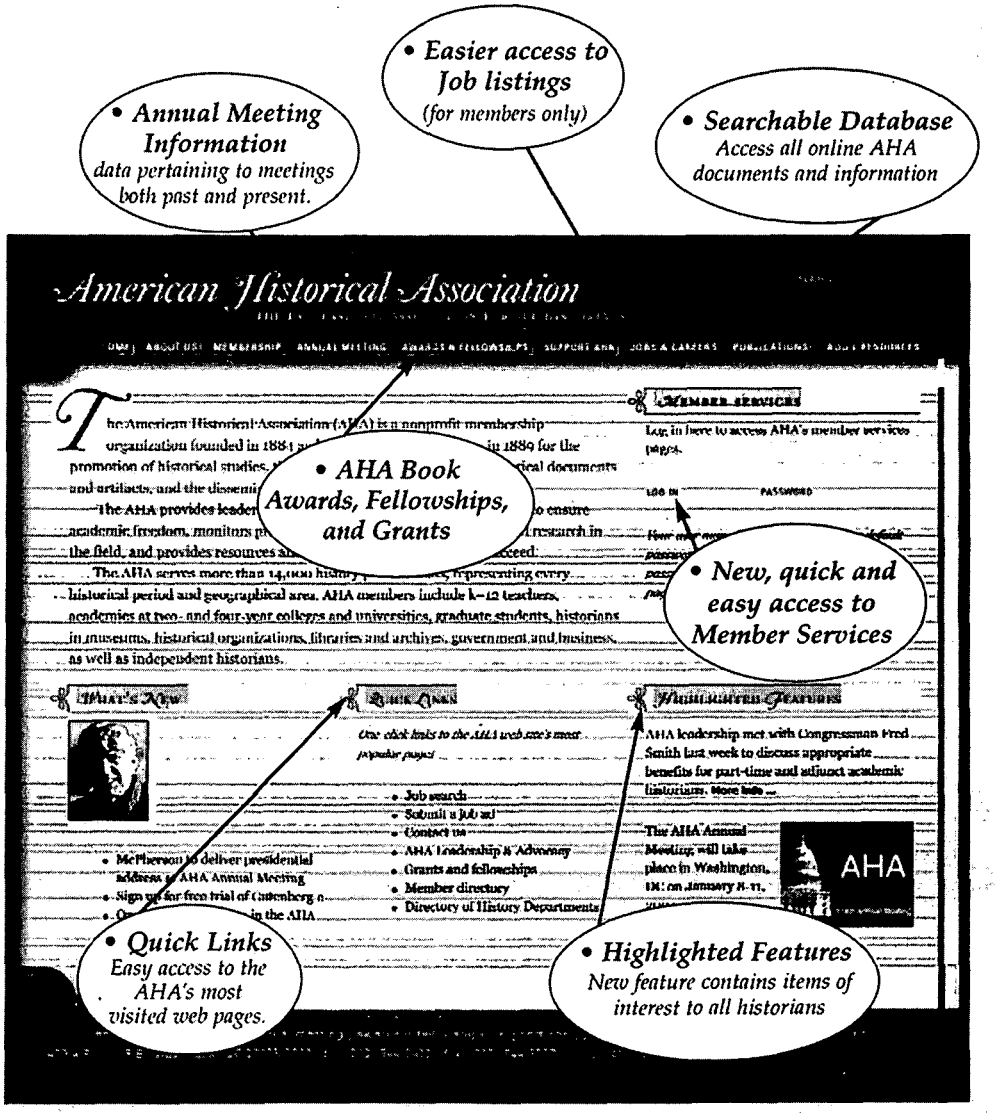
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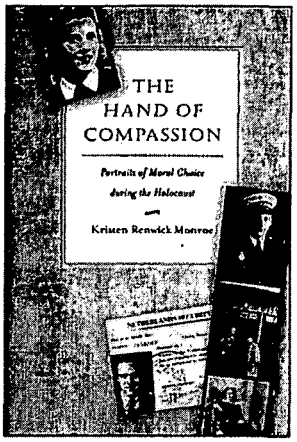


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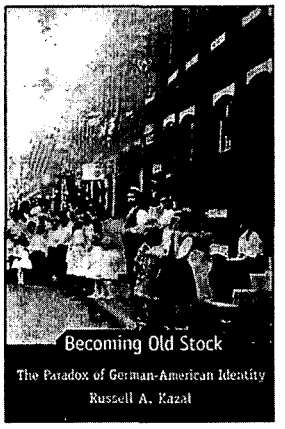
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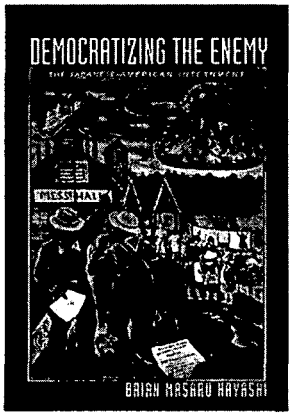
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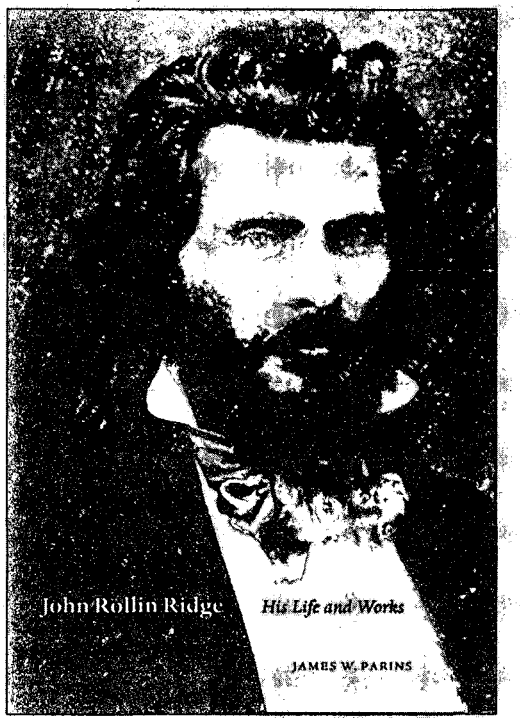
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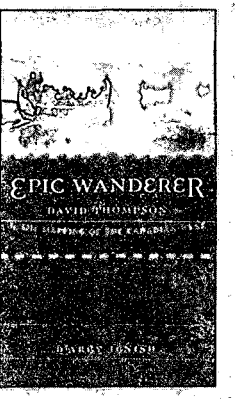
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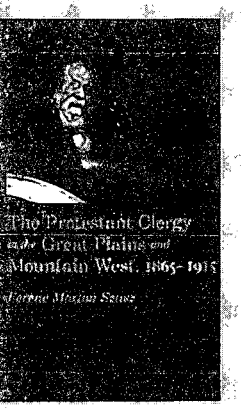
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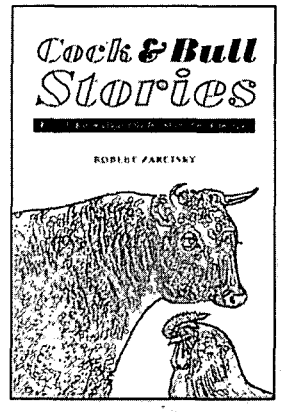




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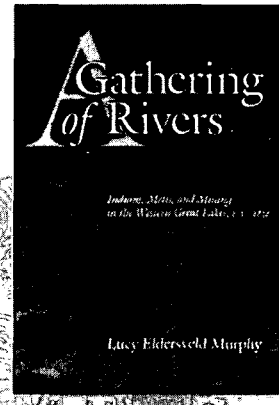
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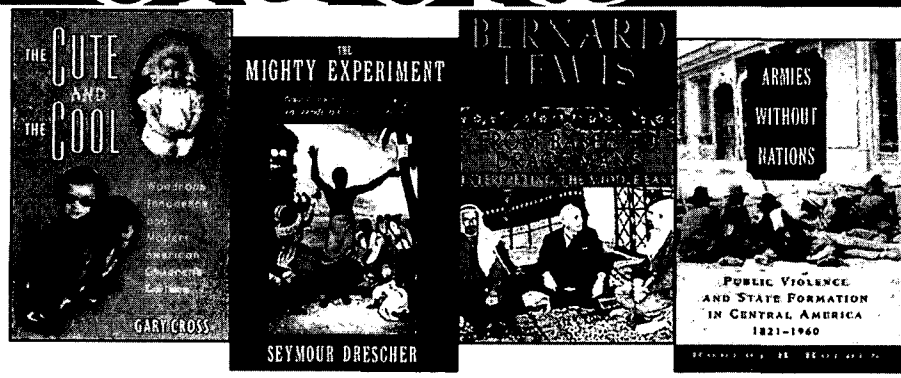
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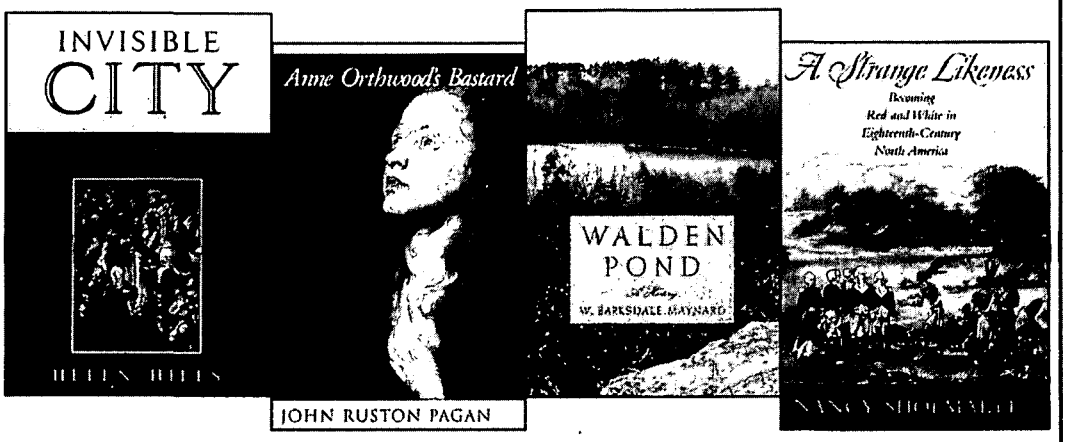
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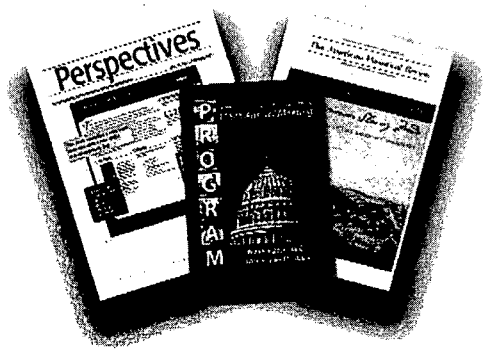
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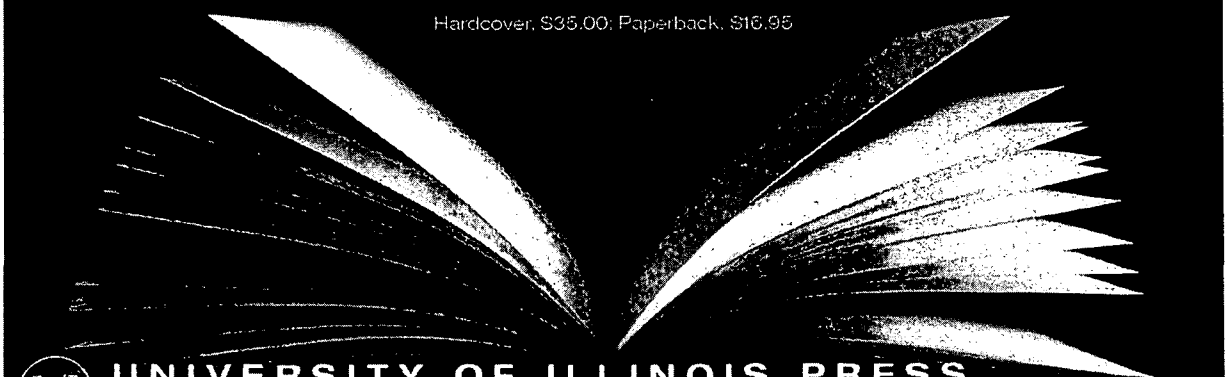
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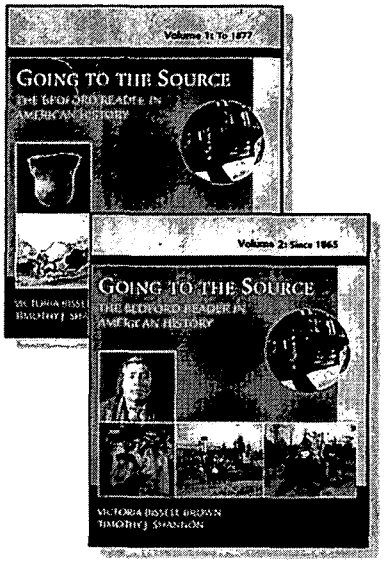
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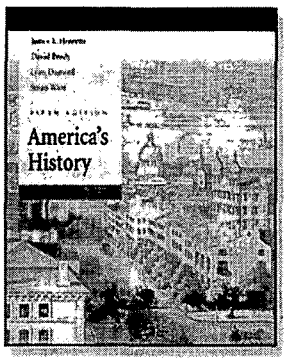
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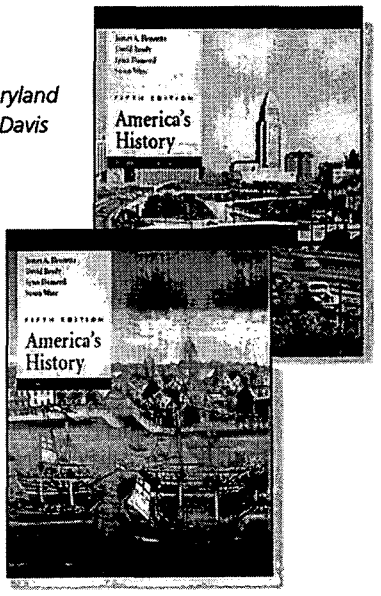
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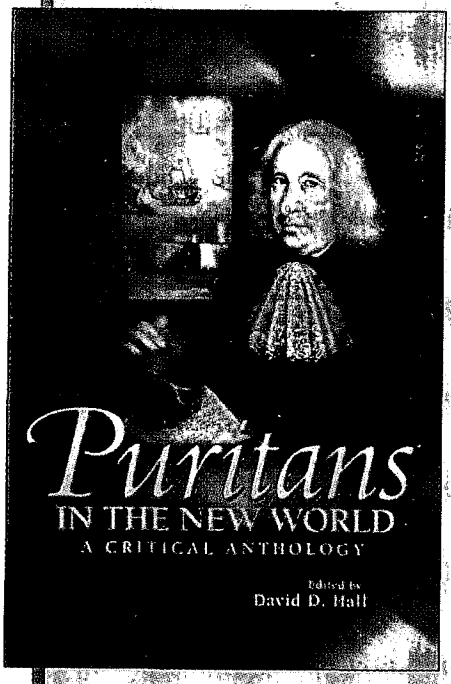
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